

* THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD *

The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain

A Mediterranean Diaspora

—
Edited by
Mercedes García-Arenal
and Gerard Wiegers



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BRILL

The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain

The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

FORMERLY MEDIEVAL IBERIAN PENINSULA

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Mercedes García-Arenal
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Translated by

Consuelo López-Morillas
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This book was planned as such. That is to say, its editors started by deciding on a series of important issues, and we then allocated each issue to a specialist who was carrying out first-hand work in that area. To make the book as coherent as possible and in order to prevent overlapping, repetition or contradiction, we asked all authors to write extensive summaries of their respective chapters and these summaries were distributed among all the participants ahead of a conference with the same title as this book which took place in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in September 2009, with the financial support of the Sociedad Estatal para las Conmemoraciones Culturales and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank both institutions, as well as those who attended the conference and took part in the debates and discussions, many of which modified and clearly enriched the final texts presented in this volume.

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List of Abbreviations

ACDF	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede [Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith] (formerly: Santo Oficio), Vatican City
ADC	Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca [Diocesan Archive, Cuenca], Cuenca
ADM	Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia [House Archive of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia], Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cádiz
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas [General Archive of Simancas], Simancas (Valladolid)
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional [National Historical Archive], Madrid
ANA	Archive National d'Alger [National Archive Algiers], Algiers
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [Torre do Tombo National Archive], Lisbon
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu [Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus], Rome
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano [Vatican Secret Archive], Vatican City
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
BL	The British Library, London
BNA	Bibliothèque National d'Algérie [National Library of Algeria], Algiers
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España [National Library of Spain], Madrid
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arçivi, Istanbul
BUS	Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca
DRAE	Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española
EI	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , Leiden, Brill, 2nd (EI ²) and 3d edition (EI ³)
MDV	Ministère de la Défense, Service historique de l'armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes
SIHM	Henri de Castries, ed., <i>Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc</i>
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia [Royal Academy of History], Madrid
TSK	Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Istanbul

Note on Transcription: the system used here for Arabic names and terms is Brill's simplified transliteration system.

List of Frequently Used Terms

ALFAQUÍ: Scholar on Muslim Law (from Arabic *al-faqīh*). In Mudéjar and Morisco communities it often designated the local religious authority, who acted as imām, preacher and servant of the mosque.

ANDALUSI OR ANDALUSIAN: someone whose origins are in the part of the Iberian Peninsula that once belonged to Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain, not to be identified with modern Andalucía). This is the name by which Moriscos were recognised once they had settled in the Magreb.

CRISTIANOS VIEJOS: Old Christians, who did not descend from Jews or Muslims.

JUDEOCONVERSOS OR CONVERSOS: Christian Converts of Jewish descent. New Christians or *Cristãos Novos*.

JUDÍOS DE NACIÓN: the Jewish 'nation': those who were born Jews and publicly lived as Jews, those who never had converted to Catholicism.

JUDÍOS DE SEÑAL: openly acknowledged Jews who wore a badge or a distinctive signal in their clothing. It generally is equivalent to "judíos de permiso".

JUDÍOS DE PERMISO: Jews who for special reasons were permitted to stay in Christian territories or to pass through them, because of diplomatic or commercial missions.

MARRANOS: Christians of Jewish origin who had reverted to Judaism.

MORISCOS ANTIGUOS OR MUDÉJARES ANTIGUOS: those Moriscos whose ancestors had been baptized before the conquest of Granada, mostly in the areas of Old and New Castile.

MORISCOS GRANADINOS: Moriscos in Castile and elsewhere who descended from the Granadan Moriscos who had been forced to migrate to other places in Spain after the second uprising in Granada (1568–1570).

MORISCO LADINO OR MORISCO ALJAMIADO: Spanish or Portuguese speaking Morisco.

MUDEJAR (Sp. *mudéjar*, Arabic al-mudağğan): Those Muslims who had stayed behind in Christian territory and had accepted Christian domination while officially and legally being Muslims. In Muslim sources it is a pejorative term.

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Introduction

Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers

Out they went, then, the unfortunate Moriscos, on the days marked by the royal ministers, in a disordered order of procession, those on foot mixed with those on horseback, the former walking among the latter, bursting with grief and tears, amid a great uproar and confused shouts, burdened with their sons and daughters and wives and their infirm and aged and children, covered in dust, sweating and panting, some of them packed into carts with their jewels and trinkets; others on beasts of burden with strange contraptions and rustic postures, on saddles, riding gear, baskets, water carriers, surrounded by saddlebags, earthenware jugs, metalware pots, little baskets, clothing, smocks, shirts, cloths, tablecloths, lumps of hemp, pieces of linen and other suchlike things, each one carrying whatever he had. Some went on foot, bedraggled, badly dressed, with an esparto-grass sandal on one foot and a shoe on the other, others with their capes around their necks, others with their little knapsacks and others with their various bundles and packages, all hailing those who looked on: “May the Lord save you from this: *señores, queden con Dios* [may God be with you, i.e. farewell].” Among the aforementioned in the carts and the beasts of burden on which they travelled to the very edge of the kingdom (all of which were hired, for they were not able to take with them more than they could carry on their persons, such as their clothing and the money given them for the possessions they had sold), there were from time to time women (those of the wealthy Moors) bedecked with various silver medallions on their breasts or hanging from their necks, and necklaces, chains, rings, bracelets, and a thousand adornments and colours in their clothing, with which they somewhat dissembled the pain in their hearts. Others, the vast majority, went on foot, tired, pained, lost, fatigued, sad, confused, jumbled, enraged, ill, vexed, bored, thirsty and hungry... In short, both those on horseback (despite their sad finery) and those who went on foot suffered at the beginning of their banishment incomparable travails, terrible bitterness and sharp pains and sentiments in their body and soul, and many died from pure affliction, paying for water and shade along the way for it was in the summertime when the poor wretches left.¹

1 Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos españoles y suma de las excellencias christianas de nuestro Rey Don Felipe el Catholico Tercero: diuidida en dos partes* (Huesca: Pedro Cabarte), 1612. *Apud* Florencio Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España: causas de su expulsión, y consecuencias que esta produjo en el orden económico y político* [Madrid: Imp. de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1857] (Seville: Espuela de Plata), 2006, 223–224:

This moving and expressive description of the Expulsion of the Moriscos was written by the eye-witness Pedro Aznar Cardona. The author was a defender and apologist of the Expulsion, but his words seem to convey pity, perhaps mixed with a certain amount of malicious enjoyment, at the sight of the deported Moriscos leaving Spain. The Expulsion amounted to one of those spectacles, in every sense the execution of a punishment, destined to arouse admiration and applause from those who thought like Aznar Cardona, but it was also designed to be exemplary and aimed to instil fear. It was an event which turned out to have extreme, unimagined dimensions when it actually took place. The scale of the operation may well have gone beyond what was originally sought and argued for in councils and *juntas*, and the process was fraught with problems and complexities. The expulsion measure was not initially intended to have “total” application and was defended through the use of very varied arguments, none of which applied to every member of all the Morisco communities. The polite farewell uttered by the Moriscos advancing along the path towards deportation to the bystanders who watched the spectacle, “*señores, queden con Dios,*” is perhaps the most painful of the details in

“Salieron pues, los desventurados moriscos, por sus días señalados por los ministros reales, en orden de procesión desordenada mezclados los de a pie con los de a caballo, yendo unos entre otros, reventando de dolor y de lágrimas, llevando grande estruendo y confusa vocería cargados de sus hijos y mujeres y de sus enfermos y de sus viejos y niños, llenos de polvo, sudando, y carleando, los unos en carros apretados allí con sus alhajas y baratijas; otros en cabalgaduras con estrañas invenciones y posturas rústicas en sillones, albardones, espuertas, aguaderas, arrodados de alforjas, botijas, tañados, cestillas, ropas, sayos, camisas, lienzos, manteles, pedazos de cáñamo, piezas de lino y otras cosas semejantes, cada cual lo que tenía. Unos iban a pie, rotos, malvestidos, calzados con una esponteña y un zapato, otros con sus capas al cuello, otros con sus fardelillos y otros con diversos envoltorios y líos, todos saludando a los que los miraban: ‘El señor los ende guarde: señores, queden con Dios’. Entre los sobre dichos de los carros y cavalgaduras (todo alquilado, porque no podían sacar ni llevar sino lo que pudiesen de sus personas, como eran sus vestidos y el dinero de los bienes muebles que hubieran vendido) en que salieron hasta la última raya del reino, iban de cuando en cuando (de algunos moros ricos) muchas mujeres hechas unas debanaderas con diversas patenillas de plata en los pechos, colgadas de los cuellos, con gargantillas, collares, arracadas, manillas y con mil gayterías y colores en sus trajes y ropas, con que disimulaban algo el dolor del corazón. Los otros, que eran más sin comparación, iban a pie, cansados, doloridos, perdidos, fatigados, tristes, confusos, corridos, rabiosos, corrompidos, enojados, aburridos, sedientos y hambrientos. [...] Enfin, así los de a caballo (no obstante sus tristes galas) como los de a pie, padecieron en los principios de sus destierro trabajos incomparables, grandísimas amarguras, dolores y sentimientos agudos en el cuerpo y en el alma, murieron muchos de pura aflicción, pagando el agua y la sombra por el camino por ser en tiempo de estío cuando salían los desdichados.”

Aznar Cardona's account. Or perhaps those words should be read as resembling El Cid's reaction on receiving the order that banished him to exile: "Albricia, Alvar Fañez, ca echados somos da tierra" [Rejoice, Alvar Fañez, for here we have been expelled from the land].²

The Expulsion of the Moriscos constitutes a significant instance of ethnic, religious and political cleansing. It fed off an ideology firmly based on the idea that freedom of word and religion were incompatible with the functioning of a well-ordered society. It was an ideology which valued uniformity over diversity and argued in favour of the Expulsion because it deemed the processes of complete cultural assimilation and full integration which it claimed to pursue to have failed. In more contemporary parlance, it justified the Expulsion because of the Moriscos' continued production of cultural difference. However, it is unlikely that full assimilation would ever have solved the problem, since this was a society which still placed great store by the notion of *limpieza de sangre* [cleanliness or purity of blood], an idea that was by then more than two hundred years old and had embedded itself deeply in Old Christian society. In fact, this obsession with *limpieza de sangre* originated with the great processes of mass conversion which took place in the Iberian Peninsula from the late fourteenth century onwards and brought an end to the legal existence of a plurality of religious groups with clearly defined boundaries whose presence had characterised the Peninsular Middle Ages. The obsession with *limpieza de sangre* (which had become almost inseparable from religious orthodoxy) carried with it the fear of cultural, political, religious and social infiltration, a fear that was equal to or greater than the feeling of failure brought about by the alleged lack of Morisco integration. The importance of this fear of infiltration, of the contamination associated with the inheritance of shame and the subsequent theological "stain," became obvious when Moriscos were ordered to leave the country even when they were able to prove that they were good Christians. The unnoticed return of many Moriscos and the way in which some of them stayed on in their places of origin (discussed in this volume by Vincent and Tueller, among others), show that they were often indistinguishable from their Old Christian neighbours in language, dress or social and religious behaviour, as is also demonstrated by the fact that Old Christians were sometimes able to pass themselves off as Moriscos. There is no doubt that genealogical descent from Muslims became the only argument for a purge which according to contemporary providentialist discourse was needed to avoid divine punishment (Pulido). Even so, we know relatively little about why the decision authorising the expulsion was made; or at least, the reasons do not always seem to be sufficient or

2 Verse 14, *Cantar de Mio Cid* (Barcelona: Carroggio), 2007.

exclusive, i.e. we cannot be sure why they only affected the Moriscos and not other minorities who were never expelled, such as the *judeoconvertos* or gypsies. We are conditioned, as often occurs to historians, by our knowledge of the ending of this particular story, and we tend to think of it as the natural result of preceding acts. The outcome retroactively confers the consistency of an organic whole upon previous events. At the same time, the final catastrophe reveals the random, contingent nature of some of those events.

As far as this book is concerned, Aznar Cardona's eye-witness account of the Moriscos' departure from the Peninsula can be seen as representing a central axis.

Part One is devoted to reflecting upon and explaining how the moment described by Aznar Cardona came to be. It deals with the identity of the protagonists, the nature of the debate, the role played by different members of the government, the Catholic Church, the religious orders or the Vatican. It also covers the context, i.e. the moment at which the Expulsion occurred, and explores the issue of why it happened when it did and – very importantly – the nature of the contemporary international situation.

Part Two follows the traces of what happened after the Expulsion, i.e. it looks at the Morisco diaspora throughout the Mediterranean region and considers the Expulsion from the viewpoint of contemporary Mediterranean societies. In general, this book shows to what extent the Morisco issue ceased to be a local, Spanish problem. As a result of our desire to place the issue within a wide and complex context, both parts of the book contain a chapter on the *judeoconvertos*. The first of these (Pulido) analyzes and considers the discussions that occurred in different organs of government, including the Council of State, about the possibility and convenience of also expelling Christians of Jewish origin, and the arguments that were used in favour of such a measure, which was of course never adopted. The last chapter of the book (Muchnik), almost by way of conclusion, compares the Morisco Expulsion and diaspora with that of the *judeoconvertos* and considers the former, the focus of our attention, within the framework and parameters used in the study of various other diasporas. This kind of comparison has very rarely been made, since studies of the *judeoconvertos* and of the Moriscos have been carried out within separate academic compartments and disciplines.³ But the two religious minorities were equally stigmatized by the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, both

3 The excellent book by James Amelang, *Historias paralelas. Judeoconvertos y moriscos en la España moderna* (Madrid: Akal), 2011 [English translation: *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University) 2013] had not yet appeared when the Spanish original of this introduction was written.

were subjected to Inquisitorial repression and the social practices of both groups were strongly moulded by clandestinity and the process of marginalization. Comparative analysis has yet to go any further than this, mainly because of an over-estimation of the differences between the two communities, which have tended to be depicted in very broad brushstrokes and have often been exaggerated (as Muchnik explains). These differences, taken together with the Hispanic sociopolitical context of the period, could explain both the non-existence of *judeoconverso* revolts and the fact that the Expulsion of the Moriscos went ahead whereas that of the *judeoconversos*, which was planned during the first half of the seventeenth century, never did. Above all, studies of the diaspora of the *judeoconversos* have blazed a trail and established a series of questions which we seek to address in the second part of the book with relation to the Moriscos (always assuming the term “diaspora” is appropriate in the case of the Moriscos). At all events, an important question remains concerning one huge difference between the two groups: that of the extent to which, for large groups of Moriscos who kept the faith of their elders, the diaspora was not felt as such, but was effectively a return to the *dār al-islam* [the territory of Islam], an end to exile rather than its beginning.

•••

There is much that is innovative in the various chapters of this book, and a reading of those chapters confirms that a number of different approaches coincide in establishing new outlines of events. We will attempt to summarise some of these coincidences in this introduction, which is, in fact, a sort of conclusion.

First, the events and their context. The first chapter of the book (Vincent) explains the various expulsion decrees that were published and the stages in which the Expulsion occurred. It discusses and establishes what is now known about the numbers of people expelled, as well as those who returned or for various reasons were able to evade expulsion. These events are placed, firstly, in an international context: 1609 saw two of the major events that marked the reign of Philip III: the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce, which opened up a much-needed, hope-filled parenthesis in the long conflict initiated by the Revolt of the Dutch Republic, and the Expulsion of the Moriscos. In a work that sets out to analyze this second process from the perspective of Mediterranean societies of the period, it is also necessary to place it in the context of the general peace policy which characterised the years 1598 to 1617, up until the start of the Thirty Years' War in Bohemia in 1618 and the later re-initiation of hostilities in the Netherlands and Germany after 1621–22. The signing of the truce agreement gave many leaders, and especially Lerma and

Philip III, the impulse they needed to adopt the measure of expelling the Moriscos, which had in one way or another been discussed since as early as 1580 (Feros). This reiterative and committed attempt to find peace in war conflicts, to reach stable agreements with other kings and republics by stressing the importance of politics over religion, and to reduce the war effort in an attempt to put the finances of the Monarchy on a sound footing and present a more conciliatory and protective image, certainly defines the reign of Philip III and the period of influence of his *privado* the Duke of Lerma. It is for that reason that historians have labelled the period that of a *Pax Hispanica*. At the same time, the Expulsion was also presented as a peace process, as the true culmination of the *Reconquista*. And thus came about the very effective mass expulsion of virtually all the members of a productive population that was socially and culturally varied and had lived in Spain for centuries, via the application of a brutal resolution which was made to occur in the same year as the signing of the Truce with the Netherlands, but which had been decided many years earlier.⁴ In fact, the idea had been slowly brewing for almost a century, since at least the time of the War of the Alpujarras. A decision was taken then as a way of showing the Monarchy's determination in defence of the Catholic faith and its efforts to restore it.

At the same time, and as is shown in the chapter by Miguel Ángel de Bunes, Spanish efforts to promote reconciliation and peace with European powers were decidedly not extended to the nearby Islamic world. Philip III's reign was full of interventions of one kind or another directed against that world's interests, including the sending of aid to the various minorities which had some chance of rebelling against Ottoman power. These actions were fuelled by the permanent dread that Istanbul would follow suit and act in support of Morisco revolts and acts of treason. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman empire, embroiled in its harshest wars against Iran and conflicts in Anatolia, left the sea devoid of its presence and freed up the Spanish galleys for the Expulsion. In addition, the Mediterranean situation, so different from what it had been during the reign of Philip II, was propitious. It was a Mediterranean in which the Turks were no longer pre-eminent, but where the English and Dutch were making ever more frequent incursions. To this was added the threatening proximity of Morocco, where Morisco emigration had increased piracy since the middle of the previous century and where the candidate for the Moroccan throne who was supported by Spain had just been defeated in a civil war by his brother, the much-feared Muley Zaydān.

4 See on the effectiveness and completeness of the process: Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los Moriscos de España (1609–1614)* (Valencia: Universitat), 2012.

This is, in brief, the international situation which is analyzed in the first chapters of this volume. Those chapters help to explain to a certain extent why the Expulsion was undertaken when it was, but do not explain why the decision was taken. To do this, it is necessary to analyze the verbal and visual rhetoric which legitimized the Expulsion and induced subjects of the Crown to take advantage of it, outside Spain and within it. This was a golden age of international diplomacy, in which Spanish ambassadors and agents stood out. The negotiations for peace and for its preservation required a huge effort on behalf of the extraordinary and permanent delegations, which used every available means to consolidate their positions and maintain their reputation. Conflicts did not only take place on the battlefield or in the seas of virtually any part of the world, they were above all challenges in which opinion and prestige were at stake. The issue of how the Expulsion of the Moriscos was justified and praised is examined in the chapter by Antonio Feros, who studies the creation of an opinion through texts composed in several genres. This opinion was the reflection of a mood, of emotions such as fear. They were chiefly domestic notions, expressed by and for Old Christian society. Stefania Pastore, for her part, looks at the militant activity in Rome of polemicists like Bleda, Escolano or Fonseca, who also carried out apologetic work in Spain itself.

As is shown by Feros and Pastore, but also Broggio, for the Expulsion to be possible the king and the members of his government needed the existence of an ideology that saw the Moriscos as incapable of integrating within Spanish society as Catholics and loyal subjects of the Spanish monarch. Without that ideology and without the existence of previous debates on the feasibility and legitimacy of the Expulsion, neither the specific expulsion measure nor its justification would have been possible. This was also the moment at which Spain took up as its own cause the defence of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which, as Broggio shows, was ideologically and politically connected with the Expulsion. Feros starts by analyzing the most significant expressions concerning the Moriscos and their situation as members of the Iberian community, for some ten to fifteen years before the Expulsion, and then analyzes the debates on the Moriscos and their expulsion in the period between 1605 and 1621. His intention is to identify changes in the concepts used, but above all to identify public representations of the Moriscos and their expulsion. Although the Moriscos and everything that related to them had been an object of attention in the literature of previous periods, references to them during the time of the Expulsion become more insistent. One of the outstanding themes now became the question of how to reflect in public opinion Philip III's view of the Expulsion, and that of his favourite and main minister the Duke of Lerma. The causes and consequences of the Expulsion

were discussed in royal institutions, but also in the genre of the novel (by Cervantes, for example), the theatre (by Lope de Vega, and in several of the plays performed during the fiestas which the Duke of Lerma organized in his home town of Lerma in 1617), royal entries (like that of Philip III in Lisbon in 1619), and many other cultural and textual manifestations. Of special significance in this period is the appearance of the first pictorial representations of the Expulsion, in this case the large-scale paintings on the Expulsion of the Moriscos from the kingdom of Valencia commissioned by Philip III in 1612 and carried out by Pere Oromig, Vicent Mestre, Jerónimo Espinosa and Francisco Peralta.

To sum up this point: the Expulsion of the Moriscos was fed by a particular interpretation of the *Reconquista* and was carried out in a context of confrontation with the Ottomans and Morocco, at the same time that the religious struggles in Northern Europe had created a favourable atmosphere for a view of Spain as the champion of Catholicism and religious unity. The Expulsion was in turn utilized by anti-Spanish propaganda, just as the work of the monk Bartolomé de las Casas on the *Destrucción de las Indias* had been, as a way of fuelling mistrust of the Hispanic Monarchy's policy of peace and agreements with Protestants.

Let us turn now to the religious issue, including the nature of the theological problems associated with the Expulsion. In the debates which took place before the Expulsion about its legitimacy and justice, a number of serious doctrinal issues arose, and these are laid out in the chapter by Rafael Benítez: to begin with, the Expulsion of the Moriscos would involve deporting Christians to Islamic lands where it was obvious that they would, voluntarily or otherwise, end up reneging on Christianity and embracing the Muslim faith. To make the issue more complex, one of the main arguments used to justify expulsion was that of the Moriscos' apostasy and the survival among them of Islamic belief. However, when the final decision was eventually taken in Valencia, where the expulsion process began, it was based on reasons of state and cited the imminent danger to the Catholic Monarchy of alleged Morisco conspiracies in alliance with the Moroccan sultan Muley Zaydān (covered in the chapter by García-Arenal). The Council of State's decision was thus legally justified by the crime of treason (*lesae maiestatis humanae*) rather than that of heresy-apostasy (*lesae maiestatis divinae*) (Benítez, Pastore). Top-level advisers had considered taking the second line, but rejected it on account of the legal impossibility of a general conviction covering all Moriscos. The Holy Office of the Inquisition, which would have had to assume the burden of proof, operated within a rigorous legal framework which required individual trials and was not applicable to an entire group of people. These same discussions and

arguments were later re-used in considerations of the possibility of expelling the *judeoconversos* (Pulido). Concerning these principles several issues are raised: firstly, the contradiction between the legal justification for the Expulsion (treason) and the reasoning which was later used to form public opinion and in dealings with the affected Moriscos themselves (apostasy) caused grave complications in the expulsion process. The Monarchy, having publicly insisted on the apostasy of most Moriscos, was forced to establish exceptions for those who could be deemed good Christians, thereby involving the church hierarchy (from parish priests to bishops) in the process and leading to the exercise of casuistry which, in the case of Castile, was to complicate the deportation process tremendously, as can be seen in several chapters of this book (Vincent, Tueller). Exceptions were reviewed in an increasingly strict way and the governing authorities who were requested to apply the measures adopted, such as the Count of Salazar, ended up going so far as to express their opposition to church interventions and making it very clear that they intended to expel all Moriscos, regardless of their religious behaviour. To this should be added the opposition of the Holy See in Rome to the idea of sending children to Islamic lands and the need to prevent this from occurring, either by retaining them or by forcing them to leave for Christian territories (Pastore). The debate on such children was one of the bitterest of all in the initial stages of the Expulsion, in both Valencia and Aragón, but it also affected the expulsion process in other areas (Broggio). The chapter by Benítez focuses, like others, on the difficulty of defining what and who a Morisco actually was, and this difficulty was to crop up continually both in debates and during the expulsion process. It clearly revealed the tensions to which we have alluded above between the desire for assimilation and the fear of infiltration, between the charge of treason and that of apostasy, and between religious belief and cleanliness of blood. This kind of tension allowed for no escape, nor for balanced approaches and solutions.

The issue of apostasy, i.e. of the Moriscos as insistent practitioners of the “faith of Muḥammad,” was not just the Monarchy’s main argument. It lay at the heart of debates between several religious orders, or between different factions within those orders, as Paolo Broggio shows. It mobilized the knowledge of different church members concerning what it meant to practise Islam, plus that of individuals with direct experience of Morisco communities. This covered a wide range of men, from the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas to the Dominican Jaime Bleda and including the highly influential Luis de Aliaga, also a Dominican and confessor to Philip III. The Expulsion thus emerges as the culmination of tensions between the Monarchy, the Inquisition and the episcopacy which characterised the history of early modern Spain (Pastore,

Broggio). The episcopacy was represented on this occasion by the figure of the archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, an ardent defender of the Expulsion. Pastore shows how the issue of Rome's approval of the expulsion decree, which was expected and discussed by the Spanish for so long, was closely related to efforts to bring about Ribera's beatification. In reality, and as Pastore shows, the blessing from Rome never arrived, or was never granted. Rome did not see the Expulsion as a continuation of the crusade nor as a Spanish national problem but from the perspective of a new international order within which the Arab Christians of the Middle East were a key element. But we can trace the echoes of the Expulsion in Rome at a time when discussions about how to confront heresy were particularly intense (Broggio, Pastore). The contributions of these two Italian historians, both of whom are familiar with ecclesiastical and theological sources, widen our view of the debate, which ranged from discussion of the validity of the enforced baptisms which had taken place during the reign of Charles V to the very definition of heresy and the possibility that it could be inherited. Again, these contributions stress that the Morisco problem in general and the Expulsion resolution in particular were issues that were far from being restricted to the Peninsular kingdoms. Part I of this book closes with the chapter by James Tueller on the Moriscos who stayed or returned, which suggestively complements the first chapter by Bernard Vincent by discussing the Moriscos who avoided being expelled or who came back after the process had concluded.



Important aspects of the Morisco diaspora are reflected in the following text by an Arab chronicler of the Maghreb who was alive at the time of the Expulsion. In Cairo in about 1038/1629, al-Maqqarī wrote the following words about the expulsion and exile of the Moriscos:

Thousands left for Fez and thousands of others for Tlemcen, via Oran, and masses of them for Tunis. As they made their way overland, they were captured by Bedouins and other people who do not fear God, in the lands of Tlemcen and Fez; they stripped them of their wealth and few were freed from these evils; by contrast, almost all of those who went to Tunis and the areas surrounding it arrived in good health. They built towns and villages in the uninhabited territories; they did the same in Tetouan, Salé and Mitidja in Algeria. Then the sultan of Morocco took some of them as armed soldiers. They also settled in Oran. Others took up the noble trade of warfare at sea and became very well-known in the

defence of Islam. They fortified the castle of Salé and built palaces, baths and houses which are still there. One group arrived in Istanbul, Egypt and Greater Syria, as well as other Muslim regions. This is how the Andalusis are [distributed] now.⁵

This account bears witness to the difficulties encountered by the Moriscos on arrival, and which followed the looting and other outrages they had suffered at the hands of the crews on the ships which transported them overseas. It also establishes a series of general traits which are elaborated upon in the following chapters in the book, especially in those by Krstić, García-Arenal, Villanueva and Missoum. At first, Morisco exile followed a similar pattern in all the countries which received them, i.e., mainly, the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia, territories then belonging to the Ottoman Empire, and Morocco, the only North African country to maintain its independence from Istanbul. The expelled Moriscos, like those who had preceded them since the second half of the fifteenth century, mainly settled in the coastal towns and cities (Rabat-Salé, Tetouan, Mostaghanem, Cherchell, Algiers, Béjaïa, Annaba [Bona], Bizerte, Tunis, Tripoli, etc.), where they took to corsair activity, fighting against Christians in the Mediterranean and Atlantic and constantly intercepting ships on the way back from the Indies with vessels which they were granted permission to sail by the political authorities. In Morocco and Algeria in particular, they were able to settle into structures already created by the emigration of Mudejars and Moriscos throughout the sixteenth century (García-Arenal, Missoum).

Corsair activity was a defensive resort for these countries, which had no navy and most of whose ports (Mazagan, Tangier, Ceuta, Melilla, Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, Oran, La Goleta [Halq al-Wadi]) were occupied by the Portuguese or Spanish. The Expulsion of the Moriscos coincided with the Spanish occupation of the Moroccan port of Larache in 1610. The inclusion of Moriscos in defensive structures and in the North African armies, especially in their artillery corps, was a common phenomenon. Moriscos, under the protection of the political authorities in these regions, also settled in the capitals and other towns and cities under their control, occupying posts close to the sultan, or the Ottoman beys, fulfilling administrative duties as translators, traders, artisans etc, and also holding agricultural property outside the cities. In general, they took part in the significantly cosmopolitan life of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Mediterranean ports, alongside other groups of Muslims and Jews, also of European origin. Most inhabitants of these towns and cities

5 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr), 1988.

were Arabic-speaking, but they were usually polyglot. Turkish, Berber and a melange of all the languages of the Mediterranean lands were spoken in such places because of the large number of traders and captives living in them. The Moriscos contributed to this multitude of languages, and Spanish became omnipresent in the towns and cities of the Maghreb, especially in Morocco. Under the control and protection of the political authorities, the Moriscos occupied farming land in the valleys and deltas of the Maghreb, in the areas surrounding the towns and cities.

Moriscos generally gathered and settled in their own communities, though protected by the authorities (especially in the Ottoman territories), where they served those authorities as economic instruments. Sometimes they found themselves on the margins of the host society, within which they constituted an alien body and their status as true Muslims was placed in doubt. It is worth asking to what extent it might ever have been possible for these communities, moulded by the experience of marginality and clandestinity during their lives in the Peninsula, to become truly integrated within the host society. The fact is, they did not. Many of them tried to return to Spain or seek refuge in the Spanish garrison towns like Ceuta, Melilla, Tangier or Oran, even when they knew that the price was to reduce themselves to slavery. Some tried to settle in other territories dependent on the Spanish Crown, such as Sicily, or to stay in France on their way to exile (El Alaoui). There are many known cases of Moriscos who died because they were good Christians and proclaimed their status as such, or who refused to be circumcised. The Moriscos often associated, both in the areas where they lived and in the professions they carried out, with other groups on the peripheries of society, such as the so-called “renegades” (European captives converted to Islam) and the Jews of Hispanic origin, with whom they shared a language and cultural characteristics. These three groups all took part in corsair activity: the first two as armed soldiers or in the supply of ships; the third in the ransoming of captives and in trade. However, the vast majority of Moriscos did what they had often done in Spain, working their irrigated vegetable plots, implanting the working techniques and the crops for which they had been known in their old homeland, or working as artisans in industries like the cloth and silk industry, the manufacturing of firearms or construction.

An examination of the kind of issues analyzed in studies of the *judeo-converso* diaspora will reveal that this phenomenon is not understood as a mere “dispersion,” but as the movement of a migrating population which maintained a link with its land of origin and the feeling of a common destiny. This is one reason why the role of the *judeoconvertos*, and especially that of the Marranos, in the Sephardic diaspora, has given rise to such a profusion of

studies. In Part Two of this book we look at issues which have been studied in depth in the case of the *judeoconverso* diaspora, but scarcely at all in that of the Moriscos. In the chapters by Bernabé Pons and Gil we see the familial and professional networks which linked the Spanish Morisco nuclei with the Morisco or “Andalusi” communities in exile, the circulation of individuals, goods and ideas (such as millenarianism) or the long-upheld efforts of religious polemic required by the religious re-education of the exiled Moriscos who were not sufficiently Islamised and were in need of a new process of confessionalisation (Wiegers). We also examine in a way that produces very innovative results as far as the Moriscos are concerned (extensive work has been carried out in this respect on the *judeoconvertos*) issues such as the consequences of Morisco emigration to North Africa for local socio-economic structures or the “political” role of the Morisco elite (Villanueva, Missoum). Other authors consider the role of Morisco pressure on certain aspects of foreign policy in the countries where they settled, as seen in the case of the treaties with the Dutch which were directly propitiated by Moriscos (García-Arenal, Krstić). Attention is also paid to the permanence of a culture and specific social practices (e.g. endogamy), the language and literature of exile or the process of assimilation and mimicry, all of which raise complex social and cultural issues. It is perhaps in the processes of insertion within the societies that received them where the greatest differences are to be found: the Moriscos were, in a proportion and to a degree which it is difficult to determine, Muslims, but another proportion was “re-Islamised” by the Expulsion. They became “New Muslims” in a process of confessionalisation that was not very different from that of the “New Jews” of Amsterdam or Livorno. The dissension and ambiguity which are the product of hybridization, and which had shown up very starkly while the Moriscos were still living in the Peninsula, also reared their heads in North Africa. At all events, within a century of the Expulsion, the Moriscos’ origins had been partially erased in most of the countries where they settled as they blended with the indigenous populations – except in the case of a number of important family lineages who proudly continued to bear the *nisba* “al-Andalusi.” A whole series of gastronomic, linguistic, artisanal and construction practices imported by them did, however, linger on in the countries which had accepted them (Villanueva, Missoum). Many Moriscos managed to return to Spain and erase all trace of their origins there, once they had ceased to be considered a problem during the reign of Philip IV (Tueller).

There is much that is original in the contributions presented here and it is not necessary to highlight every new idea in this introduction, which would be extended beyond a reasonable length. We would however like to point out

some of these features, which not only shed light on the Expulsion and the diaspora themselves, but also on the society which produced them and on the characteristics of the Morisco communities. For one thing, it will be seen that different adaptations and reactions to emigration reveal the very varied characteristics of the Morisco populations of the Iberian Peninsula. They show the tremendous differences that existed between different Morisco communities with regard to their knowledge of Islam, as well as other social, cultural and religious characteristics. Several studies included here (Bernabé-Gil, El Alaoui, García-Arenal) coincide in showing that in the years before the Expulsion there existed networks of Moriscos who were able to escort fellow-Moriscos out of the country in the best possible conditions, usually through France but also via some southern Spanish ports. It is shown in this volume that Morisco emigration prior to the Expulsion (throughout 1608 and the first half of 1609) increased considerably, particularly among the wealthiest Moriscos. These departures demonstrate the existence of a well-informed, enterprising Morisco elite, who had the entrepreneurial instinct and the wherewithal to remove a significant percentage of Moriscos from the country. This forces us to revise estimates of the total number of Moriscos expelled, a task rigorously performed in the contribution by Bernard Vincent. Most members of these networks were Granadan Moriscos who had already undergone one deportation process and had therefore suffered the experience of an expulsion: that which removed the Moriscos of the kingdom of Granada to Castile after the War of the Alpujarras in a kind of "general rehearsal" for both expelled and expellers. The significance of the War of the Alpujarras is fundamental in the long ponderation of the decision to expel the Moriscos, and awareness of the activities and belligerency of the Granadan contingency, even after they were deported to Castile, explains why the first impulse was to expel the Castilian Moriscos even before those of Valencia (Bernard Vincent). The importance of the Granadan Moriscos can be perceived in Tunisia, and above all in Morocco where, as a result of simple geographical proximity, numerous inhabitants of the old kingdom of Granada were to shelter. Several chapters (García-Arenal) show the intrepidity and bellicosity of the Granadan populations which settled in places like Tetouan and their determination, by means of journeys back into the Peninsula, to continue to help Moriscos depart before the Council of State made its final decision. The Moriscos of Morocco provide a good example of uprootedness, belligerency and a characteristic swinging between desire for revenge and desire to return to the Peninsula. Their attitudes show how persistent over time was the idea of reconquering, from the southern shore, the territory of the old kingdom of Granada. Such desires were also revealed in the pressure they exerted on Moroccan sultans to

undertake a conquest of Spain, or to negotiate for the surrender of a Spanish military stronghold in which they lived, such as Rabat-Salé until the mid-seventeenth century, in exchange for permission to return to Spain. They possessed a desire for independence and autonomy, a wish to continue living in their own communities even in the new lands, and this echoes events that had already taken place in the Peninsula in places such as Hornachos or those with a dense population of Granadan emigrants like Pastrana, or in the kingdom of Valencia, where Morisco communities had virtually been able to isolate themselves from Old Christian society and its authorities. These communities had the determined will to construct an Andalusí identity in their new homelands.

One particularly innovative contribution of this volume lies in the information it provides on the Moriscos who settled in Istanbul (Wiegers, Krstić). Here also one sees the belligerency, the uprootedness and the unrest which the presence of the expelled Moriscos brought to many places in the countries to which they were exiled. Of particular interest, in our opinion, is their desire to form, in Istanbul, a uniform place of their own in a Spanish rather than an Ottoman way, i.e. doing everything possible to cast others out of the city and cause bitter confrontation between the Christian and Jewish communities which lived in it. This was a process and a set of ambitions not very different from those of the Moriscos of Rabat-Salé (García-Arenal), who provide a good example of how the Morisco contribution was often a source of conflict and disturbance in the countries where they settled, i.e. on the Western and Eastern shores of a Mediterranean which was definitively starting to lose its leading role. Behind all these transfers of population and their interwoven elements of Islamic and Hispanic culture we are left, sometimes in the background and at others in the form of case studies, with hundreds of thousands of individual tragedies. For the Expulsion was a partly fortuitous event, but one which sealed the fate of all those who were involved. As is shown by Vincent and Tueller, it was a highly efficient measure, to such an extent that it seemed to bring an end to what had for more than a century been the so-called “Morisco problem.” Yet the history of crypto-Islam does not seem to have come to a complete end, and in the centuries that followed a number of stories arose in which Moriscos or underground currents of Islamic beliefs emerged. This is not the place to record such stories, but we will give one example. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Inquisition of Granada detected the existence of a group of crypto-Muslims who venerated the Lead Books, the fabrications in Arabic which had appeared in the late sixteenth century on the slopes of the Sacromonte of Granada. These books were a Morisco forgery, but were regarded by this group as genuine Islamic texts. Were these crypto-Muslims a group of Moriscos who

had somehow evaded the Expulsion? Were they converts to Islam? That is another story.⁶

6 See Mikel de Epalza and Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, “El Manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos de Granada* (un núcleo criptomusulmán del siglo XVIII),” *Fontes Rerum Balearium* 3 (1980): 235–247, esp. 240. For the Lead Books see M. García-Arenal and F.R. Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2010 [English translation: *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013.] and, as a first step towards a forthcoming critical edition, P.S. van Koningsveld and G.A. Wiegiers, “The Book of the Enormous Mysteries that James the Apostle Saw on the Sacred Mountain for the Great Gathering, Written at his Order by Cecilio, his Disciple – Lead Book Number 22 in the Sacromonte Archive, Granada, Arabic text and English translation with notes,” in *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudio del Sacro Monte. IV Centenario Fundacional (1610–2010)* (Granada: Fundación Euroarabe) 2011, 259–272.

PART 1

The Expulsion – Preparations, Debates, and Process



The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion

A Quantitative Study

Bernard Vincent

Introduction

When the Spanish Crown's Council of State began to debate the possibility of expelling the Moriscos from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón, no one proposed that the measure should apply to the whole minority population at once. Such a step would require enormous resources, on account of the large numbers involved – over 300,000 persons, perhaps 350,000 – and their dispersion throughout several of the Peninsular kingdoms. Therefore all parties agreed that the Expulsion should proceed in stages, as in fact happened beginning in 1609. The Patriarch Juan de Ribera, in February 1602, was in favour of starting with the Castilians, whom he considered more dangerous, and less economically useful, than the Valencians; he reiterated this position in September 1608. But other figures close to Philip III preferred to exile the Valencians first of all, since these were nearer than the rest to Barbary and thus better able to make contacts with North Africa. These debates and hesitations reveal the complexity of the Morisco question, which was founded, among other factors, on a very particular geography.¹

Let us recall the broad outlines of a very unequal distribution. The Moriscos were proportionally much more numerous in Aragón than in Castile. In the latter, which had a population of five to six million at the end of the sixteenth century, the Moriscos numbered 100,000 or a little more, i.e., barely 2% of the total. In Aragón there were close to 200,000 Moriscos living among fewer than a million Old Christians; therefore they constituted almost one-fifth of the Aragonese. And even within Aragonese territory their density differed, from very few in Catalonia (some 5000 souls in about 15 towns in the Ribera de Ebro region and around the city of Lérida) to the strong concentration along the Ebro River and its tributaries, where they made up 20% of the whole population. Above all, in the kingdom of Valencia Moriscos were almost one-third of

¹ Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones: la monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2001.

the inhabitants, even though they were notably absent from the populous city of Valencia itself.²

Differences

The geographic distribution of the Moriscos in Castile was in large part the consequence of the resettlement of Moriscos from Granada, which began in 1569 after the revolt that started in the Alpujarras Mountains and later extended to Moriscos from almost the entire kingdom of Granada. Between 80,000 and 90,000 persons were transplanted to a great number of cities and towns in Western Andalusia, Extremadura, New and Old Castile, and the kingdom of Murcia.³ Some of these places (the Campo de Calatrava's five towns, Murcia's Ricote Valley, cities like Ávila, Segovia, and Guadalajara, towns like Hornachos and Palma del Río) were already inhabited by *mudéjares antiguos* [former Mudejars], as they were called in contemporary documents: descendants of Muslims who had lived there since at least the late thirteenth century, and often much longer.

Therefore, in 1609, the society was very far from believing the saying that "todos son uno [they are all as one]", widely repeated in the literature, as José María Perceval has shown.⁴ The Moriscos' contemporaries, from the authorities on down, were perfectly aware of the differences among Aragonese, Valencian, and Granadan (or rather Granadan-Castilian) Moriscos and *mudéjares antiguos*. They could also distinguish, within those groups, between Moriscos from Huesca and from Teruel, from the irrigated orchards of Gandía and from the dry farms of Segorbe; between silk-weavers from Pastrana and peasants from the Cordoban countryside, between villagers from Hornachos in Extremadura and others from Villarrubia de los Ojos in La Mancha.

The most significant factor was not, in fact, the greater or lesser number of Moriscos to be found in a given town, city, or kingdom. We recall that in 1602, Patriarch Ribera insisted on the different degree of danger that each group represented: paradoxically, he considered the Moriscos of Castile more fearsome than those of Aragón. We will not analyze his complex arguments

2 Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN), 1959.

3 Bernard Vincent, "L'expulsion des morisques du royaume de Grenade et leur répartition en Castille (1569–1571)," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 6 (1970), 210–246.

4 José María Perceval, *Todos son uno. Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo. La imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses), 1997.

here, but simply note that he emphasised the danger represented by the Granadan-Castilian Moriscos, who were still suspected, forty years after the fact, of following their parents and grandparents in treachery – the Granadans still bore the stigma of the War of the Alpujarras of 1568–1570. But other influential figures were more wary of potential communication between Moriscos from Valencia and the North Africans and Ottomans – contact that, they felt, threatened the integrity of the Crown. In the end, all gave great weight to the possibility of conspiracy; this factor, together with sheer numbers, proved decisive in shaping the geography of the Expulsion.

Stages of the Expulsion

The decision to expel all the Moriscos was taken on 4 April 1609, but at first was applied to the Valencians, as the most numerous group and the one that lived closest to the coast of the Central Maghreb. While preparations for the transfer were being made its nature remained a well-kept secret. The decree was issued in Valencia on 22 September of that year, with Philip III declaring: “we have resolved that all Moriscos be removed from this realm and sent to Barbary.”⁵ This important phrase constitutes a sharp break with the policies and intents of the decrees of 1502 and 1525 which had been directed to the Mudejars of Castile and Aragón, respectively. In those, a choice was offered between exile and conversion; they further held that those who opted for exile would leave Spain via the Basque country, if they lived in Castile, or via La Coruña in Galicia, if they were from Aragón. That very long journey for residents of Granada in the first instance or Valencia in the second meant that both the cost and the difficulty of the journey were greatly increased: it was no easy matter to travel from either the Basque region or Galicia to North Africa. One can conclude from those orders that neither the Catholic Monarchs nor, later, Charles V intended to promote a massive exodus. But in 1609 Philip III had another objective: to banish virtually all the Moriscos (the decree lists the few possible exceptions) to North Africa in the swiftest way possible. By now no one cared about saving the souls of these newly converted apostates – they could go straight to Islamic lands. Italian galleys were summoned from Genoa, Naples, and Palermo to the ports of Los Alfaques in the Ebro Delta, Denia,

5 “He resuelto que se saquen todos los moriscos de ese reino, y que se echen en Berbería;” Text cited by François Martinez, *La permanence morisque en Espagne après 1609 (discours et réalités)* (Lille: Atelier National de Reproduction des Thèses), 1997, 497.

and Alicante;⁶ merchant ships gathered at El Grao, the port of Valencia. In principle, the Moriscos therefore had a relatively short journey to their points of embarkation: from Elche or Petrel to Alicante, from Gandía or Tabernas de Valldigna to Denia, from Alacer or Buñol to Valencia, from Borriol or Fanzara – the longest stretch – to Los Alfaques. The first convoy, bearing more than 5000 persons, left Denia on 2 October and arrived at Oran on 5 October. Some groups of exiles were attacked by tribes from the Oran region, causing alarm among those who had not yet taken ship; by late October two revolts had broken out which lasted about a month. The Viceroy of Valencia, the Marquis of Caracena, was able to announce on 19 December that the Expulsion had been accomplished: almost all the exiles had disembarked either on the Algerian coast of Oran, on Cape Falcon to the west of Oran and Mazalquivir (Mers al-Kabir), or near Arzeu to the east.⁷

All these stages of the Valencian Moriscos' exile were depicted in great detail by four artists, who in 1612–1613 painted seven pictures commissioned by the Marquis of Caracena at the behest of Philip III. Jerónimo Espinosa evoked the rebellion in the Sierra de Laguar; Pere Oromig the embarkation at El Grao in Valencia, and, with Francisco Peralta, the departures from Alicante and Vinaroz/Los Alfaques; and Vicent Mestre the revolt in Muela de Cortes, the departure from Denia and the arrival at Oran.

All the paintings are accompanied by legends that indicate how many souls embarked at each port in 1609; these figures reveal how the authorities sought to control each step of the Expulsion and to achieve their end of a total eradication of the Morisco problem. We do not know how the figures were arrived at, and therefore cannot accept them as accurate, but they do supply one more element toward assessing the details of the departures, if we compare them to the calculations made by Henri Lapeyre based on documents amassed by the Council of State.⁸

There is a notable difference between the two, on the order of 30%: the legends of the paintings always give figures that are higher, although not outlandishly so. Therefore they are worthy of our attention. We must assume that the results of Henri Lapeyre's research offer firmer guarantees. They agree with our information about the total population of the kingdom of Valencia at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and have been confirmed by later studies. Federico Udina and Ernest Berenguer were able to provide, from a

6 Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El puerto de Denia y el destierro morisco (1609–1610)* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València), 2009.

7 *La expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Valencia* (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja), 1997.

8 Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 62.

TABLE 1.1 *Embarkation Points*

Embarkation Points	Lapeyre	Paintings
Denia	47,144	60,600
Valencia	17,776	21,008
Moncofar	5690	8190
Los Alfaques	15,208	19,600
Alicante	30,204	45,800
Total	116,022	155,198

document not known to Lapeyre, a specific assessment of the embarkations at Denia (they propose a figure of 42,518 persons expelled, rather than the French historian's 47,144), and Manuel Lomas has made a recent synthesis of findings.⁹ Lapeyre himself, however, always acknowledged that his calculations could be slightly inaccurate.¹⁰

The second stage of the process affected, logically, the Moriscos of Andalusia, Murcia and Hornachos (in Extremadura). "Logically" because these areas included important communities such as that of Seville, with its 7500 individuals, and because many members lived fairly near the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts facing North Africa.¹¹ The case of Hornachos illustrates particularly well the concerns of the king and his counselors. Hornachos was a town whose population of some 4500 was almost exclusively Morisco and had the reputation of being impossible to subjugate.¹²

The decree was signed by Philip III on 9 December 1609, and proclaimed in Seville on 17 January 1610 and in Murcia the following day; it applied to all Moriscos with the exception of slaves. The document takes pains to stress the danger represented by men and women who were constantly conspiring. The

9 Federico Udina Martorell and Ernest Belenguer Cebrià, *La expulsión de los moriscos de Valencia y Cataluña según el comisario de embarque don Cristóbal Sedeño* (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma), 1980; Lomas Cortés, *El puerto de Denia*.

10 He gave a slightly higher figure, 117,464, in his conclusion to *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, 204.

11 Manuel F. Fernández Chávez and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios, moriscos en Sevilla* (Valencia: Universitat), 2009, 363–449.

12 Julio Fernández Nieva, *La Inquisición y los moriscos extremeños (1585–1610)* (Badajoz: Universidad de Extremadura), 1979. See also I. Testón Núñez, M.A. Hernández Bermejo and R. Sánchez Rubio, "Los moriscos de Extremadura desde la perspectiva historiográfica;" and François Martinez, "La permanencia de los moriscos en Extremadura," both in *Alborayque* 3 (2009), respectively 11–49 and 51–105.

Moriscos were given 30 days in which to depart. The exiles headed for the ports of Seville, Málaga or Cartagena, depending on the location of their homes. On 27 January, most of those from western Andalusia and Hornachos left Seville; those of Jaén, Granada and southern Córdoba left from Málaga; and those of Murcia, from Cartagena. We know that the Moriscos of the village of Priego (Córdoba) walked the 80 kilometres to Málaga in four days, with stops in Iznájar, Archidona and Casabermeja; the ones from Montilla took five days to walk the 100 kilometres to Málaga, stopping in Lucena, Benamejí, Antequera and an inn at Almenar.¹³ By the end of March the operation had been completed in Cartagena, and by the end of April in Seville and Málaga.

By Henri Lapeyre's count more than 18,000 persons embarked from Seville, about 11,000 from Málaga and about 6500 from Cartagena in less than three months. In contrast to the situation of the Valencian Moriscos, the new element for these departures was the lack of certainty as to the exiles' destination: the decree of 9 December 1609 was silent on the subject. It would have been natural to make a short crossing to the coasts of Morocco or the Central Maghreb, and in fact at least some of the 18,000 Moriscos from Seville arrived at Ceuta and Tangier. But great confusion was introduced into Andalusia by debates over the fate of children; these had taken place for the Valencians, but had not affected the actual routes taken. The official in charge of the operation, the Marquis of San Germán, was ordered to require Moriscos to go to Christian countries if they wished to take with them any children younger than seven. All the documents agree: Lapeyre established, based on a manuscript from the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, a list of 37 ships that carried almost 10,000 passengers from Seville to Marseille.¹⁴ We may suppose that, in spite of these instructions, there were numerous cases in which Moriscos paid the ships' captains to alter their courses and disembark on the North African coast. Nonetheless, Pierre Santoni has found documentary evidence that many ships from Seville, Málaga and Cartagena docked at Marseille during March and April of 1610.¹⁵

The Andalusian and Murcian Moriscos who had landed in France would soon encounter many of their brethren from Castile, who had crossed the Pyrenees between February and April of 1610. These came from Toledo, Ocaña, Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, Guadalajara, Pastrana, Segovia, Valladolid and other points of origin, and had been set in motion by the warrant of 28

13 BNE, ms. 9577.

14 Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 169–170.

15 Pierre Santoni, "Le passage des morisques en Provence (1610–1613)," *Provence Historique* 46–185 (1996), 333–383, esp. 337–338.

December 1609. This was not a decree of Expulsion like the earlier ones that applied to the Moriscos of Valencia, Andalusia, Murcia and Hornachos – the last of these dated from 9 December, only 19 days prior to the warrant that applied to Castile (specifically, according to its text, to Old and New Castile, Extremadura and La Mancha). We still do not fully understand why this unusual measure was taken, but we can mention two factors. First, if the Crown intended to expel all the Moriscos, it took its time in order to avoid complications and to adapt to all possible circumstances. Second, the 28 December warrant meant that the operations of the Moriscos' banishment could continue, yet they could be prevented from massing on the Mediterranean coasts – the motive was perhaps a fear of revolt, perhaps a lack of resources. Its pretext was the alarm felt by the Castilian Moriscos who, on learning the fate of their coreligionists in Valencia, had become convinced that their hour would come as well and had begun to sell their belongings in preparation for the journey. As Cervantes has the Morisco Ricote say in *Don Quixote*, Part II, Chapter 54: "I saw clearly, as did all our elders, that those proclamations were not mere threats, as some were saying, but real laws that would be put into effect at the appointed time."¹⁶

The text of the decree was a model of propagandistic structure, since it insisted on the monarch's benevolence in allowing the Moriscos to dispose of their personal property and livestock. In fact, what it set forth in 20 lines had already been expressed in three lines in the Expulsion edict of the Andalusians. There were two original provisions, one placed in an addendum at a later date and the other implicit. The first was the prohibition of traveling via Andalusia or the kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, Valencia or Aragón; because exiting to Portugal was unthinkable at that period when the two Crowns were united, the only remaining option was to leave for France. The second was the choice offered to these subjects between going into exile or remaining: "que ninguno viva en mis reinos contra su voluntad [let no one live in my realms against his will]". This warrant closely resembles those of the conversion/expulsion of the Mudejars issued in 1502 in Castile and 1525 in Aragón, even in its limitation to departures via the northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

Therefore a large number of Castilian Moriscos set off toward the Pyrenees. They were under observation along the way, particularly in Burgos where, according to the Count of Salazar who was in charge of the operation, nearly

16 "Bien vi y vieron todos nuestros ancianos que aquellos pregones no eran sólo amenazas, como algunos decían, sino verdaderas leyes que se había de poner en ejecución, a su determinado tiempo": Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: HarperCollins), 2003, 813.

17,000 persons were counted. The great majority of them, after entering France at Hendaye, crossed the south of the country to reach a port in Languedoc or Provence. The flow ceased in late April of 1610, when Philip III decided to close the French frontier through fear of collusion between Frenchmen and Moriscos.

The warrant was not entirely respected, however, by the authorities themselves. The closing of the frontier with France in April 1610 required an alternate solution for those Moriscos who planned to leave but were still in Castile; these were mostly from La Mancha and Extremadura. It was decided to return to the port of Cartagena, which was now free after the departure on 22 March of the last Moriscos from Murcia. Documentation of this phase is scarce, but the chronicler Francisco Casales, who is usually to be trusted, speaks of 15,189 embarkations between 26 April 1610 and 16 August 1611.¹⁷

This long period presents several problems because it is hard to distinguish voluntary exile – resulting from the order of 28 January 1610 – from the expulsions that resulted from the decree of 10 July of the same year. The latter ordered the exile from Old and New Castile, Extremadura and La Mancha of all the “granadinos, valencianos y aragoneses... así hombres, como mujeres y niños [Granadan, Valencian and Aragonese Moriscos... men, women and children]”. A few categories that we will return to later were explicitly exempted, but not the *mudéjares antiguos*, those who had lived in Castile since the Middle Ages. The situation of this group was ambiguous, whereas their Granadan neighbours – descendants of the exiles from the kingdom of Granada in 1569–1570 – were forced to leave, as well as Valencian and Aragonese refugees in Castile. Nonetheless, Jorge Gil Herrera’s study of unpublished documents make it possible to resolve many doubts.¹⁸ He has determined that of the 65,745,102 *maravedís* seized from Castilian Moriscos in Cartagena, 57,764,997, or nearly 88% of the total, had been possessed by those who arrived before the Expulsion decree of 10 July 1610. Therefore, few of them would have embarked after that date.

A month and a half earlier, on 29 May, the decrees expelling the Catalan and Aragonese Moriscos had been signed. The two documents had a broadly similar structure, but differed in a good many details. The Catalan decree required that the Moriscos take ship at Los Alfaques, near Tortosa, the same port from which the Moriscos from northern Valencia had embarked a few months before; but no port was named for the Aragonese group. The expulsion of the Catalan Moriscos began in June 1610: first those from the Lérida region together

17 Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 157.

18 The information is found in a still-unpublished article that will appear in the journal *Sharq al-Andalus*.

with Aragonese from Fraga and Mequinenza, and then those from the Tortosa area (Ascó, Benisanet and Miravet). In September, a third contingent also left from Los Alfaques. The number of Catalan Moriscos expelled must have approached 4000. A good number headed for Oran, but others were taken to Marseille and the Tuscan city of Livorno, and in fact we find Moriscos from Benisanet and Miravet in Provence in early 1611.¹⁹

The Aragonese from Caspe, Samper de Calanda, Híjar and Urrea de Híjar, more than 3000 in all, arrived at Los Alfaques at the end of June and embarked for Oran on 3 July. The last to set out for the port were the 3000 from Gea de Albarracín, who were at Los Alfaques by 26 or 27 July. The embarkations were concluded on 16 September. According to Manuel Lomas's calculations, 41,952 Moriscos from 75 points in Aragón and Catalonia left by this route. Almost all of them were conveyed in private ships, making it difficult to learn their exact destinations. In principle the majority should have arrived in the region of Oran, but we know of dockings at Marseille and Livorno, as we have mentioned, and also at Tunis and Tetouan.

While the embarkations at Los Alfaques were being organised, the Marquis of Aitona, Viceroy of Aragón, decided to expedite the expulsions by directing groups of Moriscos to France, having them pass through Jaca and cross the border at Somport. Moriscos from Aragón's border with Castile, between Tarazona and Borja, followed the same path in the second half of June 1610, but the Duke of La Force, Governor of Béarn, wishing to stem the Morisco tide, prevented them from entering; the columns were forced to turn back and go to Los Alfaques after all. After a difficult negotiation between the French and the Spaniards, some contingents were allowed to pass on condition of paying a toll. Almost 12,000 individuals crossed the frontier at Canfranc during the second half of August and the first days of September; by 4 September, all was concluded. Other groups of Aragonese Moriscos from the Calatayud area, from Brea in the north to Terres in the south – about 10,000 souls – took the long road through Navarre, crossing the passes at Vera or Burguete in order to enter France. Like the great majority of those who had gone before them they then tried to reach a port on the Mediterranean, usually Agde in Languedoc.²⁰

Between September 1609 and September 1610, that is in no more than a year, the Catholic monarchy had attained its objective: to exile the immense majority of the Moriscos through expulsion by sectors (Valencians; Andalusians, Murcians, and residents of Hornachos; Catalans and Aragonese) or by

19 Santoni, "Le passage," 373–376.

20 Manuel Lomas Cortés, *La expulsión de los moriscos del Reino de Aragón. Política y administración de una deportación (1609–1611)* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares), 2008.

pseudo-expulsion (Castilians). The infinite difficulties of applying a measure decided only on 4 April 1609 should not let us forget that after a single year of often chaotic operations, about 90% of the Moriscos no longer lived in Spain. Many recent studies have focused on the individuals or groups who managed to escape expulsion, those called *vueltos y quedados* [returnees and remainers] in the documents. But in spite of the interest of these individual cases, the reality of a massive exile is unquestionable.

Henri Lapeyre sums up this reality with the following table:²¹

TABLE 1.2 *Expelled Moriscos before 1611*

	116,000 Valencian Moriscos
	30,000 Andalusians
	6000 Murcians
	17,000 Castilians (via France)
	10,000–15,000 Castilians (via Cartagena)
	64,000 Catalans and Aragonese
Total	243,000–248,000 persons

Lapeyre titles his last chapter “Culmination,” or rather “Accomplishment,” viz. of the Expulsion in the Castilian kingdom (1611–1614).²² In my opinion, based on his own study we can mark the moment of accomplishment as September 1610, counting from the putting into effect of the Castilians’ Expulsion decree of 10 July of that year. There is an enormous difference between the 243,000 expelled in that one year and the (at most) 29,000 exiled in the following four years.

If the figure of 243,000 expelled in a year attests to the efficacy of the methods used, it highlights even more a determination to eradicate the Morisco population in the face of all possible obstacles. But it is not so easy to explain the small size of the second number, 29,000. Was it the result of an administration worn out by so many efforts and complications? Or of the ability of the Moriscos and their protectors to oppose the authorities’ plans? Or even of the limited number of Moriscos who were left after the summer of 1610? There was further legislation adopted between 1611 and 1614, particularly three orders to expel Moriscos who had remained or had returned: these were issued on 22

21 Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 175. “L’achèvement de l’expulsion dans le royaume de Castille (1611–1614).”

22 *Ibid.*, 173–200.

March 1610, 19 September 1612 and 16 October 1613, while decrees directed to the Moriscos of the Ricote Valley were promulgated on 8 October 1611 and 9 October 1613. All these show that the goal was to let no one remain in Spain without official consent. But these groups of Moriscos were smaller all the time, generally made up of very assimilated individuals who did not pose any threat and who often enjoyed the protection of influential parties (bishops, landed gentry, city councils or fellow citizens).

The geography of the lengthy final phase has particular features. From the summer of 1610 onward, the expulsion affected scattered towns in the kingdom of Castile. The inhabitants of La Algaba, near Seville, left from Sanlúcar de Barrameda in September 1611 and arrived in Marseille on 8 October. From two towns in Extremadura, the Moriscos of Magacela embarked at Málaga and those of Benquerencia at Cartagena in the summer of 1611. From the areas of Segovia, Toledo and the Campo de Calatrava, many *mudéjares antiguos* were among those who crossed to France in the course of 1611. But insistence by the Council of State had begun to lose its force: the decree of 8 October 1611, designed to expel the *mudéjares antiguos* of the kingdom of Murcia via Cartagena, had hardly any effect. The permitted exceptions (for slaves, and for Moriscos who lived among Old Christians) and support from local authorities made it easy to find a way to remain. After a lengthy study of the situation and an internal debate, the Council of State issued a new Expulsion decree two years later on 19 October 1613, as a result of which thousands of *mudéjares antiguos* from the Ricote Valley and other Murcian towns departed from Cartagena in December 1613 and January 1614. The Council of State then determined that as of 20 February, the Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain was at an end.²³

Morisco Geography after the Expulsion from Spain

The next question to consider is that of the final destination of all these exiles, but before answering it we must recall how many unexpected turns their journeys took. Insufficient attention has been paid to the Moriscos' itineraries after they embarked at a Spanish port or crossed the French frontier. Their exile was an odyssey full of surprises, misfortunes and challenges. Many arrived late at their destinations, because some had left planning to return; others followed a route different from that of their families, whom they hoped to rejoin; a

23 Govert Westerveld, *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Ana Félix y el morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote en 'Don Quixote II' del año 1615 (capítulos 54, 55, 63, 64 y 65)* (Blanca: Academia de Estudios Humanísticos), 2007.

number were set ashore in unwanted locations; more fled from attacks by natives of their landing places; and many died.

An important and still little-studied aspect was the passage of groups of exiles through Christian countries, France and Italy. We have seen how many Moriscos crossed the frontier through the Pyrenees and how many ships set sail for Marseille or Livorno, though we cannot know which ones actually arrived there. Therefore it is very difficult to make estimates, but recent studies of the Moriscos' arrival in France makes it possible to advance some well-founded proposals.

Over thirty years ago, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and I guessed at a number of more than 30,000 Moriscos who had entered France.²⁴ Today this estimate seems to me to be extremely low; it should be revised in light of the figures given by Manuel Lomas in his book about the expulsions from Aragón²⁵ and his PhD thesis²⁶ about Moriscos who took the overland route. His numbers confirm, in general, those established by Henri Lapeyre and those gathered by Pierre Santoni regarding movement through the ports of Marseille and Toulon. Santoni affirms that considering the large number of Moriscos who passed through Languedoc before reaching Provence, the latter province must have received 50,000 or 60,000 of them. I consider this number valid because some arrived at Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, La Ciotat, Cassis, Toulon, etc., after many days of traveling on foot, while others came by sea from Seville, Málaga, Motril, Cartagena, Valencia and Los Alfaques or even from Agde, a port in Languedoc. The many Provençal documents are rich in references to the exiles' place of origin: Andújar, Baeza, La Algaba, Seville, the Campo de Montiel, Villanueva de los Infantes, Mallen, Cuarte, Benisanet, Miravet – in short, from Andalusia and La Mancha, Aragón and Catalonia. These details about Granadans (first exiled to Castile) and Aragonese underscore the breadth of Morisco settlement in Spain. Even the kingdom of Valencia is registered in a document from Marseille, with a single reference to a ship that came from its capital city in October 1610. And if we accept Pierre Santoni's figure of 50,000 to 60,000 Moriscos who arrived in Provence, we should remember that not all of those who entered France made their way to that region. Many others chose Agde, the port in Languedoc from which they would try to board a ship to North Africa; some went to other parts of France, especially the southwest, where

24 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1978, 228.

25 Lomas Cortés, *La expulsión*.

26 *El proceso de expulsión de los Moriscos de España (1609–1614)* (Valencia: Universitat), 2012.

they were welcomed by Moriscos who had settled there even before the Expulsion decree. These were not many, probably only a few thousand, because France undertook its own expulsion measures on both a national level (on 15 April 1610) and a regional one (in Provence on 3 December).

Italy's case is fairly similar to that of France, but little is known about how many individuals were affected. Traces are found in the documents of dockings at Livorno, as we have noted, and also at Genoa and at the small port of Civitavecchia near Rome. It is possible that small groups of Moriscos remained in Italy, but the great majority, just as in France, would have planned to undertake a further voyage.²⁷

The passage of tens of thousands of Moriscos through France and Italy had great repercussions on the definitive geography of their exile. In principle their final destinations should have depended on two factors: proximity – not only geographic but also in culture and religion, represented by Islam for the vast majority – and *atractividad* [attraction] – how they would be welcomed, both by the local rulers and by any relatives already established in the area. On this basis it would be logical to head for the Algerian or Moroccan regions, and we have seen that the first wave of exiles, the Valencians, disembarked near Oran. From there many went on to settle in the area between Tlemcen and Mostaghanem, but others tried to go farther east, toward Algiers, while a number headed toward Morocco. On the same principle the Andalusian and Extremaduran Moriscos preferred nearby Morocco with its ports at Tangier, Ceuta and Alhoceima. They tended to settle either in Tetouan, where many Muslims from al-Andalus were already living, or in Rabat-Salé where the Moriscos – especially those from Hornachos – were becoming famous for their activity as corsairs and their ability to preserve their autonomy over a period of decades.

The accidents of the Expulsion opened up other options, particularly in Tunis. The violent assaults suffered by Moriscos around Oran were widely noticed, and inspired others to find alternatives. The roundabout routes through France and Italy were expensive. From ports like Agde and especially from Marseille, Toulon and Livorno, the distance to Tunis was even shorter. Doubts remained about the final destination, among other reasons because Algiers was the most important and cosmopolitan city of the entire Maghreb, and especially because it had received many Moriscos throughout the sixteenth century. Algiers was the longed-for ideal, if we are to believe, for example, a letter from the Licenciada Molina, a Morisco from Trujillo, dated 25 July 1611: according to

27 Abdeljelil Temimi, "Le passage des Morisques à Marseille, Livorne et Istanbul d'après de nouveaux documents italiens," in *Métiers, vie religieuse et problématiques d'histoire morisque* (Zaghuan: CEROMDI), 1989, 303–316.

him, his coreligionist neighbours had gone to Algiers “donde están los más de Extremadura, Mancha y Aragón [where most of those from Extremadura, La Mancha and Aragón are to be found]”.²⁸ He and his companions had embarked at Cartagena, probably in April 1610, and had landed at Marseille, but the problems they encountered in Provence led them to continue on to Livorno and from there to Algiers. Other large contingents settled in that city – home to the Barbarroja brothers – and in its environs, from Blida to El Kolea.

In contrast to Algiers, Tetouan and Fez, Tunis did not harbour a large Morisco community before the Expulsion. But recent studies, particularly those by Luis Bernabé Pons, have highlighted how many wealthy Moriscos from Granada exiled themselves voluntarily: convinced that their *nación* would inevitably be expelled, they preferred to take the initiative so as to organise their new lives as well as possible.²⁹ Two of them, for instance, were the original leaders or *ṣayḥs* of the Andalusis in Tunis, Luis Zapata and Mustafá de Cárdenas. It is likely that both of them had passed through France and there met other Moriscos exiled to Toulouse or Marseille, like El Chapiz from Granada and the famous Aragonese Alonso López, the *procurador* [representative] of the Moriscos in France. Zapata and Cárdenas were probably drawn to Tunis by ‘Uṭmān Dey, who realised the economic benefit that his regency could reap from Morisco settlement. Thus a current was established that swelled to huge proportions in the following years. The local French consulate documented a good number of Moriscos who were engaged in trade in Tunis. These were divided into two principal groups: on the one hand northerners or Aragonese, and on the other those of Granadan origin who had arrived from many cities in Castile: Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Toledo, Salamanca, Valladolid, Murcia, Úbeda, Cazorla and Granada. There were very few Valencians.

We can trace the broad outlines of Morisco geography subsequent to the Expulsion from Spain. The Maghreb as a whole was the greatest receiving area. How many Moriscos eventually settled along the southern coast of the Mediterranean? The paucity of information makes it risky to offer firm numbers, but I believe that routes and destinations can be reconstructed on the basis of the names of exiles whose origin is known. Those given here are a mere sample, since an actual count is impossible; we must rely on the available data as interpreted by common sense. Mikel de Epalza’s estimates were of some

28 Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre), 1992, 222–223.

29 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “La nación en lugar seguro, los moriscos hacia Túnez,” in *Cartas de La Goleta 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional Los Moriscos y Túnez* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 107–118.

80,000 who settled in Morocco; 116,000 who landed in the vicinity of Algiers between October and December 1609, plus others who came later; and another 80,000 in Tunis.³⁰ The total comes to well over 256,000. If we consider the thousands who decided to go to Eastern Mediterranean ports, especially to Istanbul where the Ottoman Sultan protected them, and the thousands more who sought new lives in France and Italy, we arrive at figures greater than Epalza's, although he himself believed that he had underestimated their numbers.

Mikel de Epalza's calculations have the virtue of being consistent; they are adapted to estimates of departures from Spain which are based on solid research. I assume that the figure of 116,000 for Algeria corresponds to the 116,000 Valencian Moriscos who were expelled, according to Lapeyre's calculations. These estimates also agree with our knowledge of the different stages of the Expulsion and their intended destinations. In this regard we should note that the latest findings about the passage of waves of Moriscos through France and the later crossing of most of them to Tunis tend to confirm the possibility that the latter regency received about 80,000. The equal number assigned to Morocco also seems plausible, although we cannot verify it at present. The least secure figure is the one for Algeria – Epalza's 116,000 seems inflated to me. Like all the others, it rests on three debatable premises: that no one died during the crossings (this holds true for all the other destinations as well); that all the Moriscos from Valencia landed on the Algerian coast; and that once disembarked, all of them stayed in Algeria. We cannot ignore the possibility that at least some of them ended up sooner or later in Morocco. In the opposite case, we would need to add to those Valencian Moriscos others from Aragón or Granada-Castile who were expelled in 1610 or 1611.

I would like to offer two tentative conclusions based on these speculations. First, that Epalza's estimates are too high. To accept them we would have to revise upward the number of Moriscos living in Spain on the eve of the Expulsion as well as the number of those expelled: for example, for the Valencian Moriscos we would have to credit not Lapeyre's figures but those offered by the paintings made in 1612–1613, and nothing justifies doing so. Second, that the Moriscos were fairly evenly distributed among the three Maghrebi lands of Morocco, Tunis and Algeria, with a somewhat larger presence in the last of these; it will be essential to confirm that situation through future research.

30 Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después*, 146, 218 and 263.

The Moriscos' Permanent Exile or Their Return

The question of whether the Moriscos remained in exile or returned to Spain is an equally difficult one. We have already seen how the status of the *vuelos y quedados* was of profound concern to the monarchy: three royal decrees of 1611, 1612 and 1613 attest to the fact. Several historians have studied the issue closely in recent years. For Trevor J. Dadson, the example of Villarrubia de los Ojos, one of the five Campo de Calatrava towns, was a model that can be extended to many Morisco areas of Spain.³¹ But it is based on a very low figure: some 600 *mudéjares antiguos* who, according to him, either never left home or managed to return. We are on firm ground in disagreeing with the author, for whom all of those individuals avoided being expelled. But even if we admitted that the whole population of Villarrubia de los Ojos and all the *mudéjares antiguos* of La Mancha either remained or returned, that would add up to 4000 or 5000 persons – and we recall that their number in 1502 was estimated at only around 2000.

In the kingdom of Murcia the *mudéjares antiguos* were among the largest groups of their kind in Spain: according to a report by the Dominican Juan de Pereda, in 1612 they numbered 8351.³² Most of them were expelled in 1614 but some escaped and a good number returned, although we are unable to provide exact figures. In any case, it is risky to generalise on the basis of the two main centers for those remaining and those returned: the five towns of the Campo de Calatrava, and the Ricote Valley in the kingdom of Murcia.

The *mudéjares antiguos* of Extremadura, at least those from their three principal towns of Hornachos, Benquerencia and Magacela, were expelled and we find no trace of returnees. And in Ávila, the city that housed the largest urban concentration of Moriscos in Old Castile – around 400 families or 1600 individuals, between *mudéjares antiguos* and more recent arrivals from Granada – only about 25 families, of which 13 were of *mudéjares antiguos*, managed to stay.³³

31 Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV–XVIII), Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert), 2007. See also by the same author “El regreso de los moriscos,” in *Cartas de La Goleta* 2, 83–106.

32 Juan González Castaño, “El informe de fray Juan de Pereda sobre los mudéjares murcianos en vísperas de la expulsión, año 1612,” *Áreas* 14 (1992), 215–235. In the same issue see also Luis Lisón Hernández, “Mito y realidad de la expulsión de los mudéjares murcianos del valle de Ricote,” 141–170.

33 Serafin de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila* (Salamanca: Universidad), 1991, 391.

Within Aragón the term *mudéjares antiguos* was not in use, but the Catalan Moriscos (who did not enjoy the privileges granted to *mudéjares antiguos* in Castile) resembled in many ways – at least in 1610 – the *mudéjares antiguos* from the Campo de Calatrava and the Ricote Valley. They lived chiefly in 13 towns of the Ribera de Ebro region of Tortosa. The majority of them were considered good Christians who deserved not to be expelled; such was the opinion of the bishop of Tortosa, Pedro Manrique. We can accept that about half of the 800 Morisco residents of this region avoided the Expulsion, most of them with official permission, a few clandestinely; to them may be added a number of returnees that is difficult to establish. We find that some natives of Ascó, Benisanet and Miravet – the three local towns most affected by the Expulsion – were in Provence in early 1611, but back in their home towns or others in the area by 1612 or 1613.³⁴

I believe that the Campo de Calatrava, the Ricote Valley and other towns in Murcia, and Ribera de Ebro were the three areas where exemptions from the Expulsion were granted on a large scale. I may be leaving out an occasional town, for example Alcántara and Valencia de Alcántara, which had fewer than 1000 Moriscos between them. But it would be surprising if a group of any size had escaped the notice of both the authorities in 1609–1614 – so determined to leave nothing to chance – and the historians who have devoted so much time since the 1950s to studying the Moriscos. We should remember that the three geographical areas highlighted here were clearly identified by Henri Lapeyre in his *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* in 1959, and also by Domínguez Ortiz and myself in our *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, published in 1978 (with a final chapter on “the Morisco presence in Spain after the Expulsion”). To repeat: we are speaking of 4000 to 5000 *mudéjares antiguos* in La Mancha, aside from the Campo de Calatrava nucleus; about 8000 in the kingdom of Murcia; and between 3000 and 3500 Moriscos in Ribera de Ebro. The total in 1610 would have been 15,000 or 16,000 Moriscos, of whom a large percentage remained or returned.

A relatively high number of Valencian Moriscos, Aragonese, Granadans, children, slaves, spouses of Old Christians and other persons who were held to be good Christians would have enjoyed the same outcome. But let us understand the concept of a “relatively high number”: members of these categories lived everywhere, probably much more often in Castile than in Aragón. At the last minute there was a wave of mixed marriages and deliberate enslavements

34 Pau Ferrer Naranjo, “Los moriscos de la Ribera del Ebro. Las encuestas informativas (1610–1615),” in *L'expulsió dels moriscos, conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 42–53.

intended to avoid exile. Various strategies proved to work: there was also a growing number of lawsuits by Moriscos who claimed to belong to one of the exempted categories. But even though this movement was widespread geographically and certainly demands our attention, it affected only a small slice of the Morisco world. Several studies have established that mixed marriages were few. In Aragón and Catalonia, slavery was limited; but in Andalusia many efforts were made to allow slaves to remain, and Moriscos were clearly doing everything possible to avoid abandoning their young children. In the absence of precise figures, we are obliged to use our common sense. Similarly, the number of returnees – like that of those who remained clandestinely – could not be very large. Moriscos were occasionally helped by Old Christians, but they were also in danger of being denounced at any moment – this is precisely the subject of the dialogue between Sancho and Ricote in *Don Quixote*. The *quedados* could not have totalled more than a few tens of thousands; to the maximum number of 15,000 from La Mancha, Murcia and Ribera de Ebro we might add just a few scattered individuals. And the *vueltos* must have been only a few thousand. All in all, both groups would have numbered between 10% and 15% of the whole Morisco population that had been present in Spain at the dawn of the seventeenth century. This proportion is not negligible, and it should inspire more research into how these persons eventually assimilated. But their presence should not hide the fact that by the end of a lengthy process, the monarchy had achieved its goal of putting an end to the Morisco problem (as many contemporaries expressed it) through the Expulsion – something it had been unable to do in a century through its former policy of evangelisation.

The Expulsion of the Moriscos in the Context of Philip III's Mediterranean Policy

Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra

Providing a definition of Mediterranean policy during the reign of Philip III will not explain the Expulsion of the Moriscos from 1609 to 1614, any more than it might be explained by an analysis of the economic situation or the various domestic measures taken between 1599 and 1621. However, the fate of the Morisco minority can certainly be better understood if some description is made of the evolution of such policy and the changes which took place in it during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In highlighting these issues we must, clearly, stress the personalities of Philip III and the Duke of Lerma and the ways in which they exercised power. Many of the measures adopted were passed by the Council of State and other government organs of the Monarchy, but it is not easy to determine who had ultimate responsibility for some of the decisions that were made, and such a task is beyond the scope and aims of the present chapter.¹ Even a global analysis of the situation on the southern flank of Philip III's possessions would take me far beyond the restraints laid down for this essay. What I will nonetheless try to do in the pages that follow is to look a little more closely at foreign policy during a reign which we know in a fragmentary fashion and which can be interpreted from varied and differing points of view. This is a field which can produce very different results, depending on the aim and even the geographical area of interest of each individual researcher.

The extensive research literature on the Moriscos has tended to describe this group from the perspectives of social and religious history and, above all, from that of local history, thereby ignoring the international context of the early years of Philip III's reign.² Only a handful of articles, most of them written

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- 1 One possible model for this type of analysis, though applied exclusively to the final decades of the Morisco presence in Valencia, is Rafael Benítez Sanchez-Blanco's study, *Heroicas decisiones: la monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2001.
 - 2 The Morisco issue was studied in great depth in the twentieth century, but Philip III's reign has not received the same attention as that given to the Morisco minority. The Mediterranean suffered particular neglect, as a result of the general notion that Philip III's reign was a period

several decades ago, have attempted to relate the tragedy of the Moriscos to the general confrontation between the Habsburg dynasty and that of the descendants of Osman. In these studies, a deterioration in the lives of the New Christians descended from Moors in the Peninsula is seen as linked to the struggle between empires in the Mediterranean. The dangerousness of the Turk is one of the most frequently repeated arguments in such analyses of the events of 1609, despite the fact that from 1604 onwards the Western Mediterranean showed a clear lack of any interest in Istanbul.³ The death of the great sailors who made up the splendid Ottoman navy during the period of Süleyman the Magnificent, the appearance of domestic revolts and the dangers associated with the existence of new enemies on the borders of Istanbul's territories led the Sublime Porte to lose much of its interest in events in Western Europe. At the same time that this shift in the Ottoman Empire's policy occurred, the European enemies of the Hispanic Monarchy latched onto the Grand Turk as a possible ally in attempts to destabilise Spain's hegemonic power among the Christian nations. The embassies sent by the English and Dutch, in addition to the traditional Eastern policy of the French,⁴ sought not only to open up markets for their traders, but also to bring military isolation to Philip III's Spain. This policy was not to achieve many positive results for the negotiators, as can be seen particularly easily after the death of the Kapudan (admiral-in-chief) Paça Cigala.⁵ Most European states attributed a similar importance to the Ottoman Empire at this time, whether as enemies or allies,

presided over by a generation of pacifists throughout most of Europe. This notion was based on the fact that there were in this reign no campaigns like those in Tunisia during the reign of Charles V or like the Battle of Lepanto during that of Philip II. Antonio Feros, *El Duque de Lerma: realeza y privanza en la España de Felipe III* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2002; Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: the failure of grand strategy* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press), 2000; Bernardo José García García, *La Pax Hispanica: Política exterior del Duque de Lerma* (Leuven: University), 1996.

- 3 Miguel Ángel de Bunes and Evrim Türkçelik, "The Mediterranean Confrontation between the Ottoman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy during the transition from 16th to 17th Century," in *The Ottoman Empire and Europe: Political Interactions and Cultural Translations (16th–19th centuries)* (Paris: Fondation Caloste Gulbenkian) [in press].
- 4 Ernest Charriere, *Extrait des négociations de la France dans le Levant. Introduction à la Seconde période ou politique de la France pendant les guerres civiles et religieuses* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale), 1853.
- 5 The Sublime Porte showed a palpable lack of interest in the various plans put to it by enemies of the Monarchy and malcontents within its territories. To give just one example, the sultan and his admiral Cigala ignored the request for assistance from leaders of some of the seditious movements that occurred in Naples in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Emilio Sola, *La conjura de Campanella* (Madrid: Turpin), 2007.

whereas the Ottoman sultans concentrated their efforts on holding their possessions and forgot the great foreign adventures in support of other nations which had been carried out in the period of Süleyman the Magnificent.⁶

Recent years have seen an increased belief in the idea that the truce agreement signed with the Netherlands in 1609 may in some sense have led to the promulgation of the expulsion decrees, i.e. as a way of silencing possible criticism within Spain of the Monarchy's new international position.⁷ The Morisco minority was now a domestic peril which could be used by Philip III's adversaries. It became an important element in disputes between France and Spain over the control of the Pyrenean border in the years before the first decades of the seventeenth century,⁸ in alliances (real or invented) with the Ottoman Empire⁹ and in the corsair actions carried out by Moriscos before the expulsion edicts of 1609. Corsairs of Morisco origin began to make attacks on the Canary Islands and in the Strait of Gibraltar in the early seventeenth century,¹⁰ sailing from Salé and Larache, and these activities unleashed the suspicions of the Christian authorities.

Although the truth of many of these claims, which constitute very suggestive theses, cannot be denied, the biggest problem with such interpretations is that they analyze the Morisco issue solely from the viewpoint of European history, ignoring all the other events which occurred in the Mediterranean during this period. To isolate the problem of the confrontation with Muslims, within

6 The most obvious example of the policy of collaboration between the Ottoman Empire and potential enemies of the Hispanic Monarchy is the alliance between François I and Suleiman the Magnificent in 1535. See Özlem Kumrular, *El duelo entre Carlos V y Solimán el Magnífico (1520–1535)* (Istanbul: Isis), 2003.

7 The recent peace treaties signed with France, England and the United Provinces had plunged the collective conscience into a feeling that the old ideals of the sixteenth century had been cast aside. The loss of *reputación* brought about by such truces and peace agreements, an obsessive idea during the reign of Philip III, led to the development of the idea of “una victoria histórica contra el infiel, la principal gloria su reinado, como al parecer opinaba de ella Felipe III” [an historic victory against the infidel, the chief glory of the reign, as Philip III seems to have regarded it]. See Juan E. Gelabert, “1609: Cuestiones de reputación,” in *Cartas de La Goleta, 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional “Los Moriscos y Túnez,”* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 39–52.

8 Joan Reglá, “La cuestión morisca y la coyuntura internacional en tiempos de Felipe II,” *Estudios de Historia Moderna* 3 (1953), 217–234.

9 Chakib Benafri, “La rebelión de los moriscos de Granada y la posición de la Regencia de Argel (1569–1570),” *Congreso Internacional Los Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría* (Granada), 2009. In the same conference, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, “El Imperio Otomano y el mundo morisco.”

10 Nabil Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d’Ahmad al-Mansur* (Paris: PUF), 2009, 286–291.

the framework of which the resolution taken against the Moriscos must be seen, is to give a false version of the events which took place during these decades. The Expulsion was a domestic political resolution which clearly sought to have an effect outside Spain, within the context of the Monarchy's actions on the southern flank of its possessions; it also coincided with a change of mentality among many of the Christian authorities in the region.

Leaving aside the general issue of trying to establish the nature of the geopolitical situation in 1609, what remains clear is that the lack of a broader foreign framework in most studies of the Moriscos is a consequence of considering the Mediterranean during the reign of Philip III as in a similar situation to that described by Fernand Braudel for the reign of Philip II.¹¹ Braudel's lack of coverage of the years after the signing of the treaty with the Sublime Porte, and even of the last two decades of Philip II's reign, have deprived us of an international context within which to consider a measure which it is difficult to explain i.e. the expulsion of an important number of Christian individuals of Muslim origin. This gap has too often been filled by resorting to the claim, first expressed in the expulsion decrees and aired by most early seventeenth-century apologists of the expulsion, that the Moriscos were the Sublime Porte's fifth columnists in the West.¹² The plausibility of this claim, at least in a general sense, explains why it has been repeated so often in records from before and after the promulgation of the decrees, since it constituted a perfect way of silencing any kind of criticism expressed in defence of the communities of Valencia and Andalusia.¹³

11 Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica), 1976.

12 This idea was first formulated in Joan Reglá, *Estudios sobre moriscos* (Barcelona: Ariel), 1974. Studies of the Ottoman sultans' concern and welcome for the thousands of deported New Christians in Algeria, Tunisia and Anatolia have also fomented the idea of a union between Moriscos and Ottomans. See Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman et le problème morisque* (Zaghouan: Ceromdi), 1989; Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 74-1 (1968), 1-25; Chakib Benafri, "Endülüs'te Son Müslüman Kalıntısı Morisko'ların Cezayé Goçu Ve Osmanlı Yardımı" (Ankara: Hacettepe University), 1989; Mehmet Özdemir, "Ottoman Aids to Andalusian Muslims," in *The Turks* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications), 2002, III: 207-221.

13 The Patriarch Ribera used this argument for many years before the question of the extirpation of the Morisco minority was considered, in the belief that the kingdom of Valencia was seriously threatened by contacts between these crypto-Muslims and sailors dependent on the Sublime Porte. See AHN, lib. 913, 11575, records relating to the complicated proceedings brought against Galcerán de Borja by the Supreme Court of the Inquisition for his role as the cause of a crime of sodomy when he was the governor of the double garrison fortress of Oran-Mazalquivir.

However, if we look more closely at the records for African affairs in these same years, the whole notion becomes highly debatable. Although the importance to Spanish politicians of possible alliances between the Ottomans and the Moriscos cannot be denied, it is also the case that New Christians of Moorish origin were regarded as a hazard in themselves, without the need to consider their possible collaboration with the Ocaik janissaries. In the abundant records of the day, the Moriscos are seen as individuals representing a danger for Spanish pretensions on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar, since they were equipped with greater technical and military capacity than their co-religionists in the Maghreb. This is especially obvious in the wealth of correspondence generated by the effort to conquer or occupy the town of Larache in the years leading up to the expulsion. In several of the letters from spies and merchants who made their way to the fortified town for reconnoitring purposes, the Moriscos are described as the only inhabitants who might be able to put up effective military resistance in the hypothetical event of the arrival of a Spanish navy:

I have again seen by chance what Your Excellency asks in your letter of the 7th and [as to the] first [point] whether these soldiers have been paid I say no, they have not been paid for more than two years and if it is the case that there is a force of 300 soldiers and as many inhabitants I say that they [the soldiers] plus inhabitants gives one result, for every inhabitant is a soldier. But if it is the case that they are Moors and Andalusians mixed together then half of them must be Andalusians, by which should be understood their descendants and they are as cowardly as the other Moors, for if I am to take as an Andalusian the Morisco soldier who has fled from Spain there must be no more than 10 inhabitants.¹⁴

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Moriscos actively intervened in the tensions of international politics, requesting support from the Maghrebi and Ottoman authorities to alleviate the difficult situations in which they found themselves. They also played a more passive role as instruments used by enemies of the Monarchy to generate tension within the territories directly

14 *Carta en cifra de Juanetín Mortara para el duque de Medina Sidonia, a 19 de agosto de 1606*, AGS, Estado, Leg. 203: "He buuelto aver de Bagar lo que V. Ex. Pregunta en esta suya de 7 y primero si son pagados estos soldados digo que no y ha mas de dos años que no se les dio paga y por lo que es si a fuerza de los 300 soldados ay otros vezinos Digo que hellos y vecinos esto da una cosa Pues todo vezino es soldado y por lo que es si son moros y Andaluzes mezclados y la mitad seran andaluzes, entienda V. Ex. por Andaluzes descendientes dellos y son tan acovardados como los otros moros, que si tomo Por andaluz el soldado huydo de España morisco destos no avra arriva de 10 Vezinos."

controlled from Madrid. That is to say, they had the same functions for Spanish leaders as other Eastern and Western collectives, as can be seen in the work on Greece by J.M. Floristán,¹⁵ and as in the policy of the viceroys of Naples and Sicily in the Adriatic or the repeated embassies which were sent to the far-off Shah, the *Sofí de Persia*. The Moriscos' dangerousness increased when the Sublime Porte acquired territories in the Maghreb which were close to the coasts of the Peninsula. These conquests were inspired by the aim of equipping themselves with military bases from which to carry out systematic corsair activities against Christian interests, a situation which the Spanish had sought to avoid since the reign of Charles V by expelling Moriscos from coastal towns and localities.¹⁶ This same policy was extended by the Christian authorities when they sought a piece of land from which the knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem could continue to carry out corsair activity against Muslims, giving them the islands of Malta and Gozo, in addition to Tripoli in Barbary, to wage the same sort of warfare as the future Berber regencies.¹⁷

If we examine the human make-up of the Maghrebi coastal towns and cities inhabited by both corsairs and merchants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the importance of the Andalusi community is clearly seen,¹⁸ and this made them the closest allies of the Ottomans when they occupied Algiers and other fortified Algerian towns.¹⁹ However, their importance for the Ottoman world was only to be fundamental until about 1580, during the years

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- 15 José Manuel Floristán Imízcoz, *Fuentes para la política oriental de los Austrias: la documentación griega del Archivo de Simancas, 1571–1621*, (León: Universidad) 1988.
- 16 Juan Francisco Pardo Molero, *La defensa del imperio: Carlos V, Valencia y el Mediterráneo* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V), 2001.
- 17 Nicolás Vatin, *Rhodes et l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), 2000; Anne Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté: (1530–1670)* (Rome: École Française de Rome), 2006.
- 18 This is especially significant if we consider the human geography described by Leon Africanus, *Descripción general del Africa y de las cosas peregrinas que allí hay* (Barcelona: Lunwerg), 1995. The general situation is confirmed by Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Primera parte de la descripción general de Affrica, con todos los sucessos de guerras que auido entre los infieles y el pueblo christiano* [Granada: Rene Rabut, 1573], facsimile edition of the first volume in Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos del Patronato Diego Saavedra Fajardo – CSIC, 1953.
- 19 Some authors have described the first years of Ottoman government in the central Maghreb as the period of the Ottoman-Andalusi corsair republic, in reference to the years of government in Algeria by Ḥayr al-Din Barbaroja, a man who was kept in power by janissaries sent from Istanbul and the collaboration of Andalusis and Moriscos. See Emilio Sola, *Un Mediterráneo de piratas: corsarios, renegados y cautivos* (Madrid: Tecnos), 1988.

in which expeditions were constantly organized to rescue Moriscos from the pressure to which they were submitted by the Old Christian authorities.²⁰ After this period, they simply became diluted in the human network of these Algerian populations. In Morocco, the Moriscos were to become extremely significant in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries because of their role in corsair activity, as is shown by the number of individuals with such a background who were captured on Moroccan ships during these years.

In the first years of the seventeenth century, corsair activity was one of the most complex problems with which the Monarchy was faced, since it was not only Ottoman and Moroccan sailors who attacked Spanish ships and coasts. A large number of sailors from different countries and with different flags and religious beliefs took up such activity. As a consequence of the disappearance of the great Mediterranean navies, which were drastically reduced after the Battle of Lepanto,²¹ the Mediterranean became an area dominated by such sailors. Several of the European ambassadors who witnessed Philip III's accession in 1599 recorded how hazardous it was to sail into Spanish ports on account of the general insecurity in the waters around them.²² The life of the Mediterranean was no longer exclusively controlled by the nations and men who peopled its shores. It was a multinational space. The notion of a "turn to the north" in its history perfectly encapsulates the situation: these waters were now occupied by traders, corsairs and soldiers from the Atlantic ports and northern Europe. The life of the Mediterranean world was much more complicated than in the age of Philip II because of the existence of new powers anxious to control it in order to trade, make war and extend the struggle for hegemony on the European continent. From this perspective, the internationalization of the Mediterranean generated tremendous problems for the Monarchy, and this is an aspect which has been neglected by geopolitical studies of the period. The Sublime Porte of Istanbul, a political space which until the reign of Philip II was only frequented by French and Venetian *bailos* (ambassadors), as well as a number of imperial ambassadors, was now witness to the appointment of new English and Dutch consuls, plus those from other Protestant powers seeking to widen their commercial circles and gain new allies. Peace with France, to give just one example, placed Spanish traders in

20 Pardo Molero, *La defensa del imperio*.

21 For the reduction in the size of Christian navies in the reigns of Philip II and Philip III, see Miguel Á. de Bunes Ibarra, "La defensa de la cristiandad; las armadas en el Mediterráneo en la Edad Moderna," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, Anejos V (2006), 77–99.

22 Simón Contarini, *Estado de la monarquía española a principios del siglo XVII: (manuscritos del siglo XVII)* (Málaga: Algazara), 2001.

these waters in a difficult situation because Marseille traders, like those of Livorno, started going to Mallorca, Barcelona or Valencia to buy products (salt, oil, wine, cloth, etc) which were cheaper than in their ports of origin. These products were then taken to corsair towns and cities, with deeply negative consequences for the economy of the eastern states of the Monarchy.²³ In theory, Philip III, like his father, limited the ability of Spanish traders to deal with Muslims, but Hispanic products became widely spread in the Maghreb, taken there by Marseillais, Flemish, Breton and English traders. The declining importance of the *marinas de España*, as the navies under the direct command of the monarch were known, coincided with an increase in the number of French, Savoyan, Flemish and Medici warships, and this constituted a radical change from the situation in the sixteenth century.

Philip III, the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the other men responsible for the maritime policy of the Monarchy tried to develop different policies to bring an end to the problem of the corsairs, ranging from the construction of walls along the coast to the creation of specific navy fleets to defend certain areas.²⁴ Such deliberations presuppose that the Moriscos were not the only source of information for such sailors, for there were many more corsair ships in these waters than those of the Ottomans, Berbers and Saadians. None of the great admirals or *Capitanes Generales* were excessively concerned by the influence of this community of informers, supposing that the accusations about their spying activities were completely true, for such was the Mediterranean environment at this time.²⁵ The ports, prisons, *bagnios* for

23 "Mi última que a V. Ex. Tengo scripto fue en 19 del corriente por la via de Maçagan y dije la causa porque no tengo despachado el navio que de Cádiz me bino a Çafi que es por los muchos navios corsarios de flamencos que a aquel puerto an acudido de 2 meses, que no an faltado de dos Ingleses trayendo carabelas cargadas de açucar del brasil y muchos navios cargados de Trigo, holandeses y yngleses, y como hallan a bender todas estas presas alli en Çafi no deja destar el puerto ocupado con ellos," *Copia de carta de Juan Castellano de Herrera para el duque de Medina Sidonia a 22 de junio 1606*, AGS, Estado, Leg. 203.

24 Bernardo José García García, "La Guarda del Estrecho durante el reinado de Felipe III," in *Actas del II Congreso Internacional El Estrecho de Gibraltar (Ceuta, 1990)* (Madrid: UNED, 1995, IV: 247–258.

25 The effects of the Expulsion of the Moriscos did not greatly concern Philip III in 1609, since it was thought that such an action could not alter the existing balance of powers: "... que para hazer menos ruydo conviene que la infanteria este embarcada a titulo de la expulsión y la artilleria y lo demas tambien se podra embarcar en los navios con color de que esten mejor armadas y proveidas y no se a de forçar a los moriscos que se vayan a Berbería (los que por dezir que son cristianos no quisieren yr) pero a se les de desengañar que no an de quedar en España y que assi se podran yr a otras tierras de Christianos como

captives, port markets²⁶ and military garrisons were places where information continually flowed, to say nothing of the existence of a large number of double agents who sold their news to the highest bidder. Philip III's own government sought the assistance of such individuals, including the Andalusis, to obtain information on the movements of the adversary, just as it mistrusted the Orthodox Greeks, all of whom were thought to be double agents.²⁷ In order to cast doubt on the information allegedly provided by the Moriscos, Philip III dedicated an enormous effort after 1612 to preparing a "secret expedition," making all sorts of preparations for 30,000 men to conquer the city of Algiers, but news of this expedition never reached the north of Africa.²⁸ Neither did news reach Spain of the alliance between France and the Netherlands to prepare a joint expedition with the aim of taking the city of Algiers during the same years that Philip III was preparing his chimerical enterprise, for faced with the impossibility of carrying it out, he ended up using the million ducats budgeted for it on Spanish intervention in the Thirty Years' War. However, contemporary records continue to contain references to the Moriscos as the best informants of the Monarchy's enemies, even when this does not reflect the truth of events. Throughout the sixteenth century, systems of espionage, including those of the Spanish, had been perfected to such a degree that the importance of the Moriscos was reduced. More news was carried by the traders who sailed the Mediterranean than by the Moriscos, and these traders were also responsible for making sure that the *avisos de levante* [reports on Eastern affairs] reached the Spanish authorities.²⁹ On the other hand, most of the letters of congratulation sent to Philip III by his viceroys and governors, which were especially numerous after the occupation of Larache (1610), speak of how

no sea a ninguno de nuestros Reynos." AGS, Estado, Inglaterra, Leg. 2849, *Carta de Felipe III al marqués de San Germán, 28 de noviembre de 1609.*

- 26 In this respect the correspondence of the viceroy of Mallorca is highly significant. The viceroy wrote that he was in the habit of interviewing the owners of all ships arriving at the port of Mallorca in order to obtain recent news on events in Algeria, AGS, Estado, Legs. 204–206.
- 27 *Carta del rey al duque de Feria, 11-I-1608, Orden para que no pueda pasar a España ningún griego sin credenciales de Sicilia o Nápoles.* AGS, Estado, Sicilia, Leg. 1163.
- 28 For the various reports and preparations concerning the "jornada secreta" see AGS, Estado, Expediciones a Levante, Legs. 1950–1952.
- 29 The best early seventeenth century Spanish informant on events in Algiers, S. Colom, was to employ French skippers and sailors from Marseille to ensure the arrival of his lengthy letters, in which he wrote of the Berber uprising in the Kabylie region, the number of captives and goods which had entered the port, and the internal problems of the corsair town. AGS, Estado, Legs. 200–206.

the expulsion had brought security to the interior of the realm, safeguarding the Monarchy from possible attack. Such congratulations make more reference to domestic uprisings than to the danger represented by the Moriscos on the coastline.³⁰

Since the final years of Philip II's reign, the Mediterranean had no longer been the exclusive domain of the Berbers, Ottomans, Spaniards, Venetians and Genoese, who were joined by the French, Flemish, Dutch, Bretons, English and sailors of many other nations not significantly present in its ports in previous periods. The best-known figure in Algerian corsair activity during this period was not a native Turk, and was not even one of the Calabrian or Venetian renegades who played such a prominent role in the history of these waters over several decades of the sixteenth century, but a Dutch renegade by the name of Simon Danser.³¹ In 1608, a few months before the first expulsion decree, the most important and widely feared Ottoman sailor, Salah Reis, was recalled by the Sublime Porte, which instructed him to leave Algiers and return to Istanbul. He thereby disappeared from the Western Mediterranean context as a result of the sultan's need for greater maritime support in the war against Rudolph II in East Hungary. Algerian corsair activity almost ceased altogether during these years, since those whose names had boosted its reputation in the sixteenth century disappeared to take up posts as ship's captains and started to act in a completely professional and anonymous manner. At the same time, corsair activity was an unpleasant and painful reality but was accepted by all sailors at that time.³²

30 The Expulsion was seen by those in power as a means of bringing an end to a domestic peril, and the long-awaited occupation of Larache was delayed until the titanic task of putting paid to the Morisco community had been concluded: "No puede por agora salir de Cartagena la Armada del Mar Oceano por que la gente de ella es menester para la expulsión de los moriscos del Reyno de Murcia...En ninguna manera conviene que se hable en lo de Alarache hasta que la expulsión esteé hecha, si lo que a esta se de mucha priesa, guardando la orden del Vando que se os embía, sin exçeder del en nada, dando a entender que todo lo que se prepara es a este fin, y Muley Xequé podra yr quando la expulsión este muy adelante y no antes..." AGS, Estado, Inglaterra, Leg. 2849, *Carta de Felipe III al marques de San Germán, 28 de noviembre de 1609.*

31 The actions of this corsair generated real fear in the minds of Spaniards and Italians in this period. In addition to providing the Algerians with the knowledge they needed to sail the waters of the Atlantic, his daring led him to make attacks on targets of great contemporary significance. One example was his capture of the son of the Duke of Escalona, Viceroy of Sicily. AGS, Estado, Sicilia, Leg. 1163, n° 228, *Petición del duque de Escalona para rescatar a su hijo que está en Estambul, 1-VI-1609.*

32 "La Carta de V. S^a a la Vinutta del sr. Consolo chi fu a bon Portu havemo riceutta Insieme la fruta et Valencia he piaçutto mandarme di che la ringano Molto, et le havemo accettato con la bona Volunta che se dignata mandarmela...Ancora se mandano liberi li frati et altri

The *avisos de levante* of the early years of Philip III's reign never refer to the Morisco problem in a clear and obvious manner; such references only appear during the Expulsion and in the years that followed it.³³ Not even the Viceroy of Italy were concerned by such issues, as the Duke of Lemos made clear when he congratulated Philip III on the expulsion decrees and the capture of Larache: "These events and the consequence of them I will give to understand wherever there is need to do so, so that when Your Majesty raises his hand to give punishment, he is armed to do so, and with benign disposition to forgive those who acknowledge that they have erred and mend their ways."³⁴ According to such an interpretation, the resolution was more important because of the resulting gain in *reputación* in the international context than because of its consequences for the pacification of the Mediterranean. A viceroy who had to deal with a sea full of dangers liable to destabilise the lands which he governed, and where a certain discontent among some of those governed was starting to be detected, nevertheless showed no sign of using the justifications commonly deployed to explain the Expulsion to inhabitants of the Peninsula.

The Expulsion of the Moriscos was associated by contemporaries with the capture of Larache,³⁵ a point which has too often been overlooked by later historians. This association was made in different ways. The first was to follow

xptiani che se avio rescatati et siabe sicuro che de qua in anti non se dara piu fastidii ne disturbo alcuno si a limosna o altri che Vollono Il trafico e comercio sia libero e franco" AGS, Estado, Leg. 198. *Copia de una carta del Baxa de Argel (Soliman Bassa) al Virrey de Mallorca (Fernando Canoguera)*, 10-V-1604.

- 33 For example, one Honorato Brosquet was accused by the knights of Malta of giving the sultan the plans of the fortifications of Malta and Gozo, when he had in fact travelled to Spain to assist the Moriscos in the uprisings which took place in eastern Spain. The Sublime Porte had entrusted the mission to the Venetians, who employed Brosquet for the task. AGS, Estado, Leg. 1164, 8-I-1610.
- 34 31-I-1611, *Felicitación al Rey del duque de Lemos por la expulsión de los moriscos y conquista de Larache*, AGS, Estado, 1106: "Estos sucesos y la consecuencia dellos daré a entender donde huviere necesidad de que se advierta que quando V.M. alça la mano del castigo, queda armado para poderle dar, y con benigna disposición de perdonar a los que conociesen sus yerros y se enmendaren."
- 35 Juan Luis de Rojas, *Relaciones de algunos sucesos postreros de Bebería. Salida de los Moriscos de España y entrega de Alarache* (Lisbon: Jorge Rodríguez), 1613, and Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Prodicion y destierro de los moriscos de Castilla y Presa en Berbería de la famosa fuerça de Alarache por el cathólico y amado Filipo deste nombre, tercero rey y monarca de España* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assiayn), 1614. Nevertheless, it is highly curious that the first people to link the importance of these two undertakings were the colony of Italians settled in Portugal, who raised an ephemeral architectural arch to commemorate Philip III's first, and last, landing in Lisbon.

certain apologists for the deportation of the Moriscos and claim that the taking of Larache was a divine reward for a good step taken by the Crown. The whole issue can also be analyzed from the point of view of policy towards the Moroccan sultans, since it was an action Philip II had himself wanted to undertake, and was applauded as one of the greatest successes in attempts to restore a certain *status quo* to the situation in the Strait of Gibraltar.³⁶ This second view requires acceptance of a bilateral analysis between the Monarchy and the only nearby Muslim territory that was not dependent on the Sublime Porte. But in addition to these two ways of approaching the problem, there exists a third which relates directly to the situation in the Mediterranean in the early seventeenth century. Larache, La Mamora and other coastal enclaves in the Maghreb were fortified garrison towns which many European countries had designs upon, as well as having been important to the initial plans for territorial expansion of the sailors dependent on Istanbul in the early sixteenth century. Many nations had shown an interest in having such garrison towns in North Africa: the English and the Dutch³⁷ in the specific case of these two towns, France in certain towns close to Algiers and Tunis, or Genoa, which had plans to govern in the island of Tabarka. In addition, the corsairs of all these countries needed places to dock and take on supplies, as occurred in Salé when it was inhabited by Moriscos expelled from Hornachos and Andalusia. All of this is relatively well known, but to this list we should add the names of some Catholic rulers who entertained notions of turning their states into maritime powers at this time. Such was the case of the Duke of Florence, a prince who needed to control ports so that the merchants of Ancona could increase their trading in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Philip III's haste to take Larache after suffering a couple of failures which had dented his reputation, can be explained in various ways: as a means of concluding a very complicated series of negotiations with some of the pretenders to the Moroccan throne after the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, as a way of acquiring a position of strength in Morocco, of preventing corsair attacks from African bases (especially those on

36 Tomás García Figueras and Carlos Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Larache: datos para su historia en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, CSIC), 1973; María Dolores López Enamorado, *Larache a través de los textos: un viaje por la literatura y la historia* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes), 2004; Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, and Rachid el Hour, *Cartas marruecas: documentos de Marruecos en archivos españoles (siglos XVI–XVII)* (Madrid: CSIC), 2002.

37 “Según los conciertos a de quedar para el sheriff de Marruecos y el uso del puerto a los holandeses y sus amigos, que agora queda en poder de Mulisbec, Rey de Fez, enemigo del de Marruecos, y así la dilación puede ser dañosa al servicio de V. Md.” AGS, Estado, Leg. 207, *Carta de Antonio Sherley para asegurar el Estrecho de Gibraltar*.

the Indies fleet and the Canary Islands) or of intervening in the political affairs of the Sa'di dynasty. But we must add to this list the fact that he was trying to prevent Medici progress in the region. Even Rudolph II at one point considered the idea of turning his nation into a Mediterranean power as a way of alleviating tensions with the Ottoman Empire, and this is what led him to send the Englishman Anthony Sherley to Morocco in 1605 in an attempt to negotiate certain agreements with the sultan.³⁸ What is clear, as has already been mentioned, is that the Expulsion of the Moriscos and the capture of Larache were actions which ought to be jointly studied as part of the reign of Philip III, and not in relation to events and intentions in the reign of his father, Philip II. Such studies will confirm that the decision to expel the Moriscos was part of Philip III's Mediterranean policy and not that of his father.

The Mediterranean of the years of the Expulsion of the Moriscos was not only occupied by ships flying under different flags. There were many other rulers with an interest in making themselves points of reference for their respective religious beliefs. The Duke of Florence, an unconditional ally of the Catholic Monarchy, managed to create a navy fleet of several galley ships which attacked Ottoman interests in the Levant and gave rise to a military order whose aim was to carry the fight to the infidel. The conquest of an amount of Balkan territory, or direct confrontation with the Ottomans, was one of the latent ideals of the ruling princes of Christian Europe. Apart from the actions of the Christian knights who settled on the island of Malta and those of the traditional powers which had acted in this area (the Papacy, Genoa etc), new dignitaries such as the Medici of Florence appeared and started to pursue an active policy in the Western Mediterranean.³⁹ The renewed importance of the military orders in the Italian principates of this period needs to be studied because of the strictly domestic effects on each of these territories,⁴⁰ but it is

38 The ultimate aim of this strange journey is unknown, although from the news sent by spies and the Dutch ambassador in Morocco we learn that "No-one knows what he has come to do here; opinions vary. I suppose that it is in order to try to excite this king against the Great Lord, something in which in my opinion he will have no success," highlighted by Franz Babinger, *Sherleiana. Sir Anthony Sherley's persische botschaftsreise (1599–1601) II. Sir Anthony Sherley's marokkanische sendung (1605/06)*, (Berlin: Gerdruckt in der Reichsdruckerei), 1932, 43. Miguel Ángel de Bunes, "Antonio Sherley, un aventurero al servicio de Felipe III," in *Peso Político de todo el mundo* (Madrid: Polifemo), 2010.

39 Giuseppe G. Guarnieri, *I Cavalieri di Santo Stefano nella storia Della Marina italiana (1562–1859)* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi) 1960.

40 "Lasciato decadere dunque nel primo Seicento il piano di Emanuele Filiberto di usare l'Ordine per costruire una rete di onori europeo saldamente in mani sabaude e in grado di rivalegiare con quella spagnola e con l'Ordine di Malta, nasceva un sistema che

also a demonstration of the significance acquired by the struggle against the infidel in the collective mentality of the period, or at least in the minds of some of the ruling princes who sought to carry it out. The king's appointment of Philibert of Savoy as Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Castile and León, a surprising move given the tender age of the person granted the distinction, was part of the ideological atmosphere of the time, to which Philip III and Lerma were clearly not immune, obsessed as they were with keeping up the fight against the Sublime Porte. In the early seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire started to forget its process of expansion towards the West because of the need to deal with the continuous offensive of the Safavids in Persia, domestic uprisings, and an economic crisis which damaged its previously active military policy.⁴¹ The Christian ruling princes, who were familiar with these circumstances, launched themselves into a frenzied race to undertake a maritime war, defined by some of them as a crusade, which had all the features of systematic corsair activity and sought to take advantage of Turkish weakness at sea.

The Duke of Savoy, for instance, was eager to show his contemporaries the level of his commitment to confrontation with the Turk.⁴² Participation in a just and necessary war brought a gain to the reputation of those involved, and this was a very important concept in early seventeenth century political theory.⁴³ It also brought new territories and possible titles to those princes

andava, comunque, ben al di là dei confini dello Stato, estendendosi a diverse realtà italiane. Fra il 1600 e il 1612 (prima, cioè, che la rottura con la Spagna in seguito alla prima guerra per la successione del Monferrato segnasse una nuova più tesa fase della politica estera sabauda, che non mancò d'averne ripercussioni sull'Ordine mauriziano) l'ascrizione di nuovi cavalieri ritornò a livelli che potevano competere con gli anni di Emanuele Filiberto." Andrea Merlotti, "Le ambizioni del duca di Savoia. La dimensione europea degli ordini cavallereschi sabaudi fra Cinque e Seicento," in *Guerra y sociedad en la monarquía hispánica: política, estrategia y cultura en la Europa Moderna (1500-170)* (Madrid: Laberinto – Fundación Mapfre – CSIC), 2006, II: 661–690.

41 D. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988), 52–77; H. Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 283–337; D. Quataert, "Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes towards the Notion of 'Decline,'" *History Compass* 1 (2004), 1–9.

42 "Avido di gloria e di dominio, volge macchine grandi e pensieri più vasti della sua sorte... Non ha pensiero più intimo che allargare i confini del suo stato. Zelantissimo della religione cattolica e perpetuo nemico degli eretici..." *Relazione di Bernardino Campello*, from P. Brezzi, *La diplomazia pontificia* (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale), 1942, 106.

43 Such ideas were defended by the tutor of the Savoyan princes in Philip III's Spain, Giovanni Botero, *Della Ragion di Stato*, Venice, 1619.

who achieved success. In 1607, Carlo Emanuele I, after the return of the *infantes* to Turin, suggested to Philip III actions in Macedonia or the Negroponte,⁴⁴ and proposed Philibert as the leader of the navy fleet to carry out these actions. It is clear that possible obtention of the title of Maltese prior was one of the reasons for undertaking such an enterprise, although the Savoyan was also probably looking to gain a royal crown.⁴⁵

As occurred in all the Spanish viceroyalties in Italy, and even within the seat of Philip III's government, the arrival of adventurers, refugees, informants and official embassies from different parts of the Balkans were frequent events throughout these years. Such *avisos de levante*, although sometimes delivered by emissaries and religious figures who, bringing letters written in Greek or in the other languages of the region which are now held in Spanish archives, generated real and chimerical plans to undertake the conquest of these territories by assisting possible uprisings against decrepit Ottoman power. The Duke of Lerma himself is a perfect product of this political current,⁴⁶ as a man who collected maps and printed *relaciones* on uprisings in the Balkan states and was eager to promote an active policy in the Eastern Mediterranean which never quite came off because of the endemic financial problems throughout the period that he was royal favourite.⁴⁷ In this same vein must be understood Carlo Emanuele's designs on Eastern territories, which given the complex policy he established to consolidate his position in Italy in the search for French and Spanish complicity during his mandate, were put to one side and became nothing more than attractive plans and the mobilisations of men on paper which never materialised as real actions. Any action in the Eastern Mediterranean required the participation of Venice or Spain, as well as the ships of Malta, Genoa, Tuscany and the Papacy (the contemporary Italian powers according to Spanish records of the

44 E. Rigmon, "Carlo Emanuele I e la Macedonia," *Nuova Antologia* (1904), 468–483.

45 A specific study of Carlo Emanuele I and Philip III's interest in the Macedonia venture was carried out by A. Tamborra, *Gli Stati italiani, l'Europa e il problema turco dopo Lepanto* (Florence: L.S. Olschki), 1961, 21–50.

46 Miguel Ángel. Bunes Ibarra, "Felipe III y la defensa del Mediterráneo. La conquista de Argel," in *Guerra y sociedad en la monarquía hispánica: política, estrategia y cultura en la Europa Moderna (1500–1700)* (Madrid: Laberinto – Fundación Mapfre – CSIC), 2006, I: 921–946.

47 It is very surprising that among the personal papers of the Duke of Lerma held at the Archivo del Monasterio de Loyola there should be so much material referring to Balkan issues, and this seems to show the importance attributed by Lerma to actions in this part of the Mediterranean. There are also a very great number of letters from the Sherley brothers outlining actions which should be undertaken against the Ottoman empire.

period). The information received by the ruling princes should be contrasted with the news possessed by the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the person who was best informed about such issues because of the widespread espionage system he ran throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the continuous informing missions carried out by his fleets.⁴⁸ Moreover, from the Spanish point of view, news on the Levant was then centralised in the viceroalties of Naples and Sicily,⁴⁹ territories with fleets of their own with which they saw themselves able to perform some of the missions they were planning.

None of these actions was comparable to the expulsion of a considerable contingent of individuals of Muslim origin, as occurred in the Iberian Peninsula, but they were part of the same impulse, of a spirit that was spreading throughout Catholic Europe. In most governments of the day, play was made of two antagonistic concepts: on the one hand, the profound decadence of the Ottoman Empire and on the other, fear of the plans for conquest of the Western Mediterranean being prepared in the Sublime Porte. Both sentiments can be traced in Spanish records, as well as in those of Rome and Venice, and those records continue to show the same ambivalence throughout the early years of the seventeenth century. What was to change completely was the type of action carried out by each of the states. Whereas the Italian princes restored or re-invented knightly orders and manufactured galley fleets, Venice sought not to bow to the wishes of Istanbul,⁵⁰ and the Spanish government tried to settle on a defensive policy in its possessions to preserve the coasts from attacks, at the same time that it encouraged foreign uprisings and undertook actions of conquest in the Eastern and Western territories. The final result of this process is the general spread of corsair activity in the Mediterranean, a situation which disturbed the sultan in the same way that the rise of Algiers obsessed the advisers of Philip III. Istanbul resumed commercial trading with

48 J. Salvá, *La Orden de Malta y las acciones navales españolas contra turcos y berberiscos en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Instituto Histórico de Marina), 1944.

49 Miguel Ángel Bunes Ibarra, "Avisos de Levante: la red de espionaje español en el Imperio Otomano desde el sur de Italia en el tránsito del siglo XVI al XVII," in *Ambassadeurs, apprentis espions et maîtres comploteurs: les systèmes de renseignement en Espagne à l'époque moderne* (Paris: PUPS), 2010.

50 In the years that followed the expulsion of the Moriscos the Venetian *bailo* (ambassador) in Istanbul happened to be Simón Contarini, who succeeded his brother Francisco, occupant of the post in the early years of Philip III's government. The information which has come down to us from Contarini is not limited to the strict interests of the Venetian Republic, since his letters include more assiduous references to Western themes than those of other men who occupied the post during the period.

its traditional allies, France⁵¹ and Venice, and signed new agreements with the new maritime powers, the Netherlands and England, in an attempt to bring about continuous attacks by European ships on Spain's interests in the archipelago.

Spanish policy in the Mediterranean during Philip III's reign had certain peculiarities which have not been made clear by recent historians. Although this reign has been defined as a clear instance of early seventeenth century political peacemaking, it was nonetheless highly aggressive in its military actions against Muslims. In addition to the expulsion of the Moriscos, an action justified at the time as a means of achieving domestic security, and the capture of Larache and La Mamora, undertakings which sought to ensure tranquillity abroad by preventing corsairs from settling in these towns or allowing them to be controlled by other nations, Philip III embarked on very aggressive military actions against the other corsair towns of the Maghreb. Firstly, he tried to arrive at a pact with the Safavid sultan as a way of wearing down the political adversary of his rival empire, thereby preventing him from developing an active policy in the Mediterranean or being able to respond to some of the actions ordered against Muslim interests in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. This was a possibility that had been open since the time of Charles V, but was in fact only taken into consideration when Philip II's son came to power. Throughout the entire period of Philip III's reign it is difficult to find a year in which missions to attack or sack corsair enclaves were not undertaken, whether as simple *razzias* or fully-fledged expeditions organised with the aim of ending Ottoman domination. Records for the period contain continual references to the fact that the Sultan was preparing huge navy fleets to conquer Naples or Sicily, making it necessary to undertake actions in any one of his territories which might stop him from fulfilling his plans in the Mediterranean. Tremendous fear was generated at court concerning decisions that might be made in Istanbul, so that spies were continually being sent to discover the number of ships being armed in the dockyards of Istanbul, or the ships and crews at the Ottomans' disposal.

Fear about the sultan's movements reached new levels of intensity when news arrived of English and Dutch intentions to persuade the Sublime Porte to carry out significant actions against the King of Spain. In the *avisos de levante*

51 "Che dalli Venetiani, et Inglesii i si poi, li Spagnoli, Portughesi, Catalani, Ragusei, Genovesi, Anconitani, et generalmente tutte le altra nationi che hano possino liberamente venire de traficare per li luoghi del nostro Imperio sotto la rotettione et bandiera chi esse Imperio da Francia. La qual Bandiera siano obligati di portare peri l loro salvoconducto," *Tratado de libre comercio del Sultán con Francia firmado en 1604*, BNE, ms. 10306, fol. 28r.

there is great insistence on the idea that the sultan's navies would be able to count on the assistance of ships from northern Europe in plans to attack Naples and other territories under Philip III's control. The only hope for those in charge of designing the guidelines of Mediterranean policy was that they knew of the difficulties the Sublime Porte was undergoing; they also had a deep disdain for most of the Ottoman admirals who were appointed during this period. Letters arriving from Istanbul insisted that corruption had become an integral part of appointment processes, so that the men who were best prepared for such posts were not being chosen.⁵² Such letters also expressed the belief that most of the Kapudan *pashas* appointed during this period were quite inefficient.⁵³ News reached Madrid and the Italian viceroalties that the English *bailo* was telling lies about the Spaniards and that his Dutch counterpart had offered fifty galleons to the Sultan to reinforce his Mediterranean fleet if he attacked Spanish interests.⁵⁴ Fear also grew when it was learnt that the English were willing to sell galleys and other warships to the various Sa'di sultans, though for exorbitant sums of money, leading the Spaniards to the conclusion that the sultan on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar was growing ever more dangerous. The situation was complicated even further by the growing enmity which existed between Spain and Venice, which fuelled the panic when it was believed that Venetian ships would allow the Ottomans free rein, and even provide them with information on the forces and manpower at the Monarchy's disposal. At the same time that this fear existed, and was intensified on account of the audacity of some of the corsair attacks, at court it was generally thought that the Sublime Porte had entered upon a period of recession and exhaustion, making it less necessary to be concerned about Ottoman movements. Among the advisers of the monarch and his *privado* there were two clearly defined sectors: those who thought that action in the Mediterranean was essential to the Monarchy's policy, and those who scorned action in its waters on account of costs and the uncertainty of the results it produced, and who insisted on achieving a stronger position in Europe. The Duke of Lerma backed action in the Mediterranean during his period in office, and in this he was supported by a number of royal confessors and by the religious and pious

52 Elizabeth Zachariadou, ed., *The Kapudan Pasha: his office and his domain*, (Crete: University), 2002.

53 "El nuevo almirante es un visir de su consejo, Amet, Baxa del Cairo, hombre rico, muy soberbio y sin ninguna experiencia en el mar," AGS, Estado, Leg. 1165, 28-IV-1612.

54 The "avisos de Argel" also often include references to the fact that the captains of the ships of French merchants always told the governors of Algiers that the king of Spain was preparing ships to conquer that city, and invented a great number of lies concerning future plans to capture the corsair base, AGS, Estado, Leg. 206.

sentiments of the queen, all of which helps to explain the importance of actions against Muslims.

Faced with such a situation, the Spanish reacted by extending their defensive policy in the Mediterranean.⁵⁵ This policy involved attacking Berber and Maghrebi corsair towns and cities,⁵⁶ as well as halting Spanish corsair activity in the East in order not to offend the Sublime Porte. However, the orders sent from Madrid and Valladolid were not obeyed by the viceroys, especially Lemos and Osuna, who set up a wide-ranging corsair system to attack Turks and Venetians. The Duke of Osuna founded his own fleet in Naples to carry out corsair actions against Negroponte and the Archipelago, with Octavio de Aragón at the head of a fleet of “round ships.” Neapolitan money was even used to finance some of the Uskok piracy which destabilised shipping in the Adriatic, generating insecurity throughout the area controlled by Venice and the Sublime Porte. During the years of the expulsion of the Moriscos, and given that most of the Monarchy’s galleys were occupied transferring the Moriscos to the region close to Oran,⁵⁷ Anthony Sherley was permitted to build a fleet of 20 round ships to attack Ottoman interests in the Levant with the aim of preventing the sultan’s ships from coming to help the deportees. Like all the missions ever undertaken by Sherley, this one failed, although this did not prevent him from boasting some years later that if it had not been for his efforts it would not have been possible to move such a large number of Moriscos to the Maghreb.⁵⁸ On the one hand the Spanish attempted, in other words, not to infuriate the adversary in order to prevent a violent reaction against Philip III’s interests, and this explains the reiterated requests to stop Christian corsair activity; at the same time they made efforts to foment uprisings in Greece and Albania, establish contacts with the Persian Safavids, finance Uskok pirates and create fleets with which to attack the areas of the sea directly controlled by Istanbul. The Sublime Porte received news that Spain and other Catholic states were preparing to recover Cyprus and Syria, or that many other plots were

55 One excellent witness of this policy was Miguel de Cervantes, who writes of Spanish reinforcements on the coasts of Naples and Sicily in the first part of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

56 BNE, ms. 11.000, f. 54v, “Copia da carta do gran Turco escrita últimamente asua Magestade sobre a confirmação da Tregua.”

57 The manner in which the Expulsion of the Moriscos was carried out by the fleets of Philip III has been studied in Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los Moriscos de España (1609–1614)* (Valencia: Universitat), 2012. The same author had already established some of the practical aspects of the Expulsion in studies like the one entitled *La expulsión de los moriscos del Reino de Aragón: política y administración de una deportación (1609–1611)* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares), 2008.

58 AGS, Estado, Leg. 207, nº 4.

being hatched to damage the Sultan's direct interests. To the list of real and sensible plans can be added schemes to conquer the city of Istanbul or to assassinate the Ottoman sovereign and missions in Serbia or Montenegro, as well as the aspirations of some pontiffs to recover the ideals of the Crusades which had prevailed in the 1570s under the influence of the prophetic messianism of Pius V.

Although we now tend to disregard it, express fear of the actions that might be undertaken by the Grand Turk must have had its bearing on the passing of the Expulsion decrees, with the Patriarch Ribera one of the clearest exponents of such emotions. To this process of collective psychosis were added, in the first years of Philip III's government, the consequences of the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The Duke of Medina Sidonia wrote a great number of letters pointing out that Muley Zaydān was an uncontrollable element who was flirting dangerously with French interests and this made the Duke's *Capitanía General* vitally important in defence of the Monarchy's southern flank.⁵⁹ Madrid's loss of control over Morocco⁶⁰ generated tremendous unease and caused the Moriscos to be eyed with wariness because of the fear of imbalance in the Strait of Gibraltar. This imbalance was made worse by the large number of crypto-Muslims still living in the Peninsula who could make a decisive negative contribution.

The only good news in this area, especially after the repeated failed attacks on Algiers, Bona, Qarqanah and other garrison towns in the Maghreb, were the alliances with the governors of the kingdoms of Cuco and Lesbes, states in the current region of Kabylia. Within the general picture which we have drawn, the alliance with Cuco was part of the same strategy practised with the rebels of Mayna or the Persian sultan, or the deals made with some of the pretenders to the Moroccan sultanate. Allies were sought out, independently of the religious beliefs which they professed, who might destabilise the adversary, and such figures were sent large sums of money, military assessors, arms and personal gifts to cement stable and trustworthy relations. The alliance with Cuco achieved its desired aims and during the early seventeenth century the activity of some of the best Algerian corsairs was reduced because of their need to

59 For the complex situation in Morocco in the early seventeenth century, the following study is compulsory reading: Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, and Rachid el Hour, *Cartas marruecas. Documentos de Marruecos en Archivos Españoles (Siglos XVI–XVII)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) 2002. See for a general study of the expulsion Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre), 1992.

60 Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press), 1978.

transport men and victuals to the battlefield, as well as to be on the lookout for the arrival of Spanish ships sailing out of Mallorca.

During Philip III's reign there was a gradual revision of the records generated by the Spanish presence in the towns and cities of North Africa. Both the king and his favourite – and some historians also mention here the pious inspiration of the queen – wished to go down in history as the men who had managed to emulate Charles V and expel the Ottomans from the bay of Carthage. The idea existed that victory over Islam represented the most memorable mission a Catholic sovereign could undertake, and this is why such enormous amounts of money were spent on maintaining a continuously open front in the fight against the different Islamic states. The repeated use of tapestries designed by J. Vermeyen showing the conquest of Tunis, which came to represent the Hispanic Monarchy when they were taken to London on Philip II's marriage to Mary Tudor, showed the identification of the Spanish royal house with a taming of the Muslim powers, and in particular the Sublime Porte. The idea of *reputación* lies behind most of these actions, but not so much in relation to the role played in Europe as with respect to past monarchs remembered for their conquests and victories in the lands and waters of the Mediterranean. This is a search for *reputación* through emulation of memorable actions against Muslims, such as those carried out by Ferdinand the Catholic King, Cisneros, Charles V and Philip II, and it explains many of the expeditions financed by Philip III and the Duke of Lerma, part of a yearning for a seal of prestige and honour which can in fact be perfectly applied to the expulsion of what was left of Spanish Islam. The new monarch dared to do what his predecessors had failed to achieve, and this also led him to try dauntlessly to bring off the conquest of the city of Algiers, an aspiration which lingered from the first day of his reign to the last,⁶¹ or to spend years negotiating on any possible pretext for concession of the garrison town of Larache.

Although the role of the Papacy cannot be described as decisive in the Expulsion of the Moriscos, it is certainly instructive to consider the ideas held in Rome concerning the Muslim peril. The various pontiffs of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries continued to preach the idea of the need for the unity of Catholics in the face of external enemies, and the Ottomans were seen

61 The conquest of Algiers was assumed to be a feasible undertaking, but provoked interesting debates on what to do with the city once it had been captured. Several members of the Council of State were in favour of destroying it and not wasting men on its defence. The new monarch did not want to repeat the experiences of La Goleta in 1574 or the loss of some other captured sites, especially when he was so concerned about his image within and beyond his dominions. AGS, Estado, Leg. 2634.

by them as the representation of evil in the Mediterranean. The Pope, as an Italian potentate, was always in agreement with planned offensives in the Mediterranean and handed over his fleet of galley ships for the different missions undertaken to attack the Archipelago and to conquer North African towns. His relations with the knights of St. John of Jerusalem of Malta and other military orders which re-emerged in this period clearly show how he was drawn to the messianic ideal of fighting Muslims to bring together and fulfil the missions of all Catholic princes. Popes even allowed a rise in the number of galleons which sailed out into the Mediterranean, illustrating once more that governors of the early seventeenth century were firmly bent on waging warfare against the infidel, as represented by the Ottoman Empire and its vassals the Algerian and Tunisian corsairs.

In the confrontation with corsairs there was also a clearly economic component, less appreciable on the Spanish side than in that of others involved in the life of the Mediterranean. During the reign of Philip III it is perfectly possible to see that the actions of the so-called *navegantes con patente* or corsairs had a direct effect on trading activity in the sea, and this was true of states as well as private individuals. The insecurity of sailing and commercial traffic in an area where there was no hegemonic power was not accepted by any of those who intervened in Mediterranean trade, and this explains the reaction against the strength of the Maghrebi states. It would be necessary to wait until the second half of the century for the commercial powers, especially France and the Netherlands, to react against the proliferation of corsair activity, but these years saw the start of a process which clearly shows how the traditional rhythms of life in this area had been ruptured. To some extent, the success of Algiers and Tunis, which after 1609 were joined by Salé, was to ruin the traditional way of life of those who lived around the rim of the Mediterranean, as they became the towns and cities which sheltered the *navegantes con patente*. The great difference to be seen between the Monarchy and other Christian countries around it lies in its reaction to this rise in corsair activity. Whereas northern European countries tried to negotiate commercial agreements to safeguard ships sailing under their flags, the Catholic King considered the possibility of an openly declared war on these sailors because of their status as infidels. The value of victory over these followers of Islam who were in addition subjects of the Sublime Porte, was more important than the expenditures it required.

The international position of Spain during the reign of Philip III was, as I have tried to show, a relatively complex and contradictory one. Although there were no great military contests, except for the attempts to disembark in Ireland, what we are faced with is a period of armed peace which can hardly even be

deemed that when it comes to relations with Muslims in the Mediterranean region. Calm on the northern fronts meant the release of resources and men to carry out a determined action in the south and east. The king did not openly involve himself in promoting a direct struggle, except in the attacks on Algiers and the occupation of Larache and La Mamora, but he did provide arms, money and men to keep these conflicts alive, with the aim of debilitating his various adversaries. This reign should perhaps be defined, then, as one of peace with Christians and aggression against Muslims. The Moriscos were expelled for continuing to practise religious beliefs considered pernicious, which also implied that they were traitors, and this legitimised the drastic decision to wipe them out altogether. From this perspective, the end of the Morisco world has the same logic as many of the actions undertaken on the southern borders of the dominions of the Monarchy, a political entity which saw itself as under siege from a large number of adversaries it needed to repel. With Christians it was possible to reach consensus and agreement, as is shown by the truces and ceasefires signed in the first ten years of the reign, but with Muslim authorities another type of relation was established, based on completely different principles. To some extent, Philip III's behaviour followed a similar pattern to that of his father and grandfather, who continually insisted in public that European concerns prevented them from devoting their full attention to resolving the issue of the Muslim threat to their states. The pacification of the fronts in Europe allowed the monarch to tackle this issue in a decisive manner by opting for the total expulsion of the Moriscos. Though surprising, the Expulsion must be seen in the context of an atmosphere and a mentality which had spread throughout several parts of Europe, even if it remains impossible to explain the one final reason which led to the imposition of such a measure.

Rhetorics of the Expulsion

Antonio Feros

Introduction

In Part II, Chapter 54 of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes places in the mouth of the Morisco Ricote the famous words in praise of Philip III's decision to expel the Moriscos: "it seems to me it was divine inspiration that moved His Majesty to put into effect so noble a resolution."¹ The phrase is well known and has been much quoted and analyzed, but it merits repetition here because Cervantes summarised, in just a few words spoken by a Morisco (though a fictitious one), the principal arguments used to justify expelling more than 300,000 Moriscos from the Iberian Peninsula between 1609 and 1614. The present chapter will study this and many other manifestations and perceptions, both positive and negative, of the decision made by Philip III in 1609 to begin the Expulsion with the Moriscos of Valencia. The plural form "rhetorics" in our title points to our intention to analyze not only one, but many discourses of the Expulsion, from the perspective of various genres and texts.

In recent times there has been a great deal of speculation about the motive for the Expulsion of the Moriscos. Most historians now insist that the key to understanding the decision lies in a convergence of political events. In April 1609 Spain had signed a twelve-year treaty with the Dutch Republic; the Spanish Crown, to counterbalance this unpopular measure, decided to expel its Morisco population. Although this viewpoint has become dominant in the last few years, it is certainly not new, and leading historians like Fernand Braudel and John H. Elliott pointed out this coincidence of events.² Philip III's contemporaries were aware of the link between the Dutch treaty and the Moriscos' Expulsion, and perhaps the clearest proof lies in the words of the Duke of Lerma, one of the principal actors in the affair. In 1617, faced once again with a situation very similar to that of 1609 – the signing of an unpopular

1 "Que me parece que fué inspiración divina la que movió a Su Majestad a poner en efecto tan gallarda resolución." Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: HarperCollins), 2003, 813.

2 Fernand Braudel, "Conflits et refus de civilisation: espagnols et morisques au XVI siècle," *Annales esc* (1947), 397–410; John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Arnold), 1963, Chap. 8.

peace accord, this time the Treaty of Asti with Savoy – Lerma suggested that in order to avoid criticism of the monarchy it would be prudent to attack the Venetians, one of Spain's traditional enemies in Italy. That move, he claimed, would create an atmosphere of patriotic zeal that would make people forget what many saw as a clear retreat on the international front: “and just as the activity surrounding the Expulsion of the Moriscos affected [opinion of] the treaty with Holland, to strike a blow now against the Venetians – and we all know what sort they are – would channel prevailing passions in the right direction. And if we come to an agreement with Savoy, it would be good to continue to stir up internal troubles in France.”³

Nevertheless it would be wrong to believe that because the Expulsion's immediate cause was a confluence of political events, the action was divorced from the debates about the so-called *cuestión morisca* [Morisco question] that had been going on since the reign of Philip II. The signing of the peace treaty gave many leaders of the time, especially Lerma and Philip III, the necessary push toward adopting such a drastic measure. But for the Expulsion to be possible, the regime needed an ideology that would paint the Moriscos as incapable of integrating into Spanish society as loyal and Catholic subjects of the Crown. Neither the Expulsion itself nor its justification could have occurred in the absence of that ideology, and of earlier debates about the feasibility and justice of the action. Therefore it is essential to understand the rhetorics of expulsion, not only from the viewpoint of 1609 and the years that followed, but also by moving back in time and analyzing the largest possible range of sources and literary genres.

I would like to make a series of general points before taking up the study of these texts. First, it is essential to realize that Spanish society in the early seventeenth century was not monolithic, nor did it speak with a single voice. There were different views of the “Morisco problem” and of the Moriscos in general. Some people favored expulsion and even more violent measures; others, in contrast, believed that to expel baptized persons was not only counterproductive, but also forbidden by Church law and Christian morality. Some thought that the Moriscos, by their very nature, were immune to change and

3 “Y como lo fue en lo de la tregua de Holanda la ocupación de la expulsión de los moriscos, podría ser agora buena salida de los humores presentes dar su pago a Venecianos que son los que se sabe, y en el caso de tomarse acuerdo con Saboya tiene por conveniente que se continuen las inquietudes de Francia”: the Duke of Lerma's vote in the Council of State meeting of April 8, 1617: BNE, ms. 5570, “Copias de los pareceres que el Sr. Duque de Lerma ha dado en las consultas que se han hecho a Su Majd. desde el 22 de junio de 1613,” fols. 164r–v. On this topic see Antonio Feros, *El duque de Lerma: realeza y privanza en la España de Felipe III* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2002, Chap. 9.

therefore could never be made into Christians or Spaniards; others could envision the Moriscos' full integration into Catholic society, seeing their ways as simply products of a different cultural tradition. If they had been shaped by their past experiences, they had also suffered neglect by the authorities and rejection by the great mass of Spaniards. In this view the Moriscos continued to be Moriscos because society had isolated them, thus reinforcing their particular identity; they clung to it because society had forced them to do so, not because they were unable to change.

This diversity of opinion disappeared once Philip III ordered the Expulsion. What had formerly been a vigorous debate, carried out for the most part within societal institutions, hardened after 1609 into a single point of view that was proclaimed in all types of printed texts written by a great variety of authors. Official discourse and "public opinion" merged into one, and affected all the literary genres of the seventeenth century.

Before analyzing the various stages of the literature about the Moriscos, we should touch on several terms that have been much repeated in discussions of their expulsion: "racism," "state racism," "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing." None of these terms appears in the present essay. It is not that we think that the decision to expel the Peninsula's Morisco population was not a despicable and opportunistic policy, or that it was not based on the vilest prejudices – prejudices that, if they were expressed in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, would have to be called racist. We decline to employ the terms because we do not believe that they explain in any way the reasoning, the behaviors or the ideologies that prevailed during the Expulsion.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, racist or racialist theories did not exist – not even theories that argued for the existence of different races with their own distinct, natural or permanent characteristics. What did exist was a rhetoric of difference – based, for the most part, on matters of religion and origin – but because there were no racialist theories, the decision to expel the Moriscos cannot be seen as the result of "state racism."⁴ Likewise the Expulsion should not be viewed through the lens of "ethnic cleansing," again for two reasons: first because that concept did not exist at the time, and second because its tone in our own day is overloaded with racist connotations. One could say that ethnic cleansing might be invoked only if it were understood from the perspective of the Expulsion period. Concepts like "ethnic" and "ethnicity" had a religious meaning in the Early Modern era: that is how Sebastián de Covarrubias defined them in his famous Spanish dictionary of 1611, where

4 On these issues see Antonio Feros, "Reflexiones atlánticas: identidades étnicas y nacionales en el mundo hispano moderno," *Cultura Escrita y Sociedad* 2 (2006), 85–115.

we find “étnicos: vale lo mismo que gentiles y paganos [it means the same as gentiles and pagans]”. This definition would hold true until the end of the nineteenth century, when “ethnic” began to be associated with race and nation.⁵ In this sense the Morisco Expulsion could in fact be seen as an ethnic cleansing, in other words as a religious one.

Although we refrain from using these expressions, we do understand that one factor that permitted the Moriscos to be expelled was the Christian majority’s essentialist characterisation of them. For many in the dominant society, as we shall see, the Moriscos were a people whose character had not changed for generations, and many believed that it could never change. The strongest impression was that the Moriscos, in spite of having been born in Spain and having been baptized as Catholics, remained incapable of feeling themselves part of the Hispano-Christian community. Their faith, their convictions, their hearts and their loyalties were pledged to Islam; no matter what measures were taken in regard to them, in the end they would always choose to defend the Qur’ān and the Islamic polity, even when that led them to betray their neighbours and the local authorities. The most widespread manifestation of this essentialism was the famous proverb so often deployed to justify the Expulsion and all the other measures that marginalised the Moriscos: “de padre moro, moro [from a Moorish father, a Moorish son]” or “de moro, siempre moro [once a Moor, always a Moor]”.⁶

Here I will make an internal approach to the texts that I analyze: I am interested in the ideas that were expressed in manuscript and printed texts, rather than in the interests that their authors served or claimed to serve. I do not even care to learn why they were written. Clearly the political context of, say, 1640

5 Feros, “Reflexiones atlánticas,” 97.

6 The persistence of these attitudes can be seen in the many debates that still go on today about the supposed impossibility of a Muslim’s changing his loyalties or feeling love for countries that are not those of his ancestors, in spite of having been born in the West. As these pages are written the debate has gained new prominence in the U.S. after Nidal Malik Hasan, of Palestinian origin but born in America, murdered 13 people at the Fort Hood military base. There is a campaign that calls on the government to bar Muslims from serving in the U.S. military, on the grounds that they are America’s “natural enemies.” On the essentialist characterization of Muslims in this debate see Frank Rich, “The Missing Link From Killeen to Kabul,” *New York Times*, November 14, 2009. See also Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe. Immigration, Islam and the West* (New York: Doubleday), 2009, which also reduces Muslims to their essence, but from a liberal perspective; and Mercedes García-Arenal’s intelligent essay on the persistence of essentialist arguments, “Ríos y caminos moriscos. El Islam tardío español,” *Revista de Libros* 134 (2008), 10–15.

was different from that of 1609, so that the referents or justifications of the Expulsion at those two dates would be based on different assumptions or intentions. But I wish to demonstrate that justifications for the Expulsion did remain uniform over a long period of time: no one, at least in public, questioned a measure that even to Ricote had seemed to come from “divine inspiration.”

A Diverse Nation

As a general rule the Moriscos, especially from the mid-sixteenth century onward, and even though they were subjects of the Spanish Crown like the other residents of the Peninsula, were treated legally and socially like citizens with only limited rights. No one summarised their situation and its consequences better than the humanist Pedro de Valencia in his famous treatise on the Spanish Moriscos, *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*, written at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Valencia began by recalling that “in their natural makeup, and therefore in their thoughts, condition and spirit, [the Moriscos] are like the rest of Spain’s inhabitants; for nearly nine hundred years they have been born and raised here, and that is obvious in their resemblance to or identity with the other residents.” Because they are as Spanish as the rest, “we should expect them to feel impatience and anger at the offense done to them in taking away their lands and not treating them with the same honour and esteem with which we treat other citizens and natives. In their present situation they do not consider themselves citizens; they are not included in official or honorary public posts, they are thought of as inferior, they are spoken of with insults, and they are kept out of churches and religious brotherhoods and other types of congregations.” Valencia goes on to say that all Moriscos who are treated this way “are unhappy, feel themselves offended, and despise the citizens and the present state of the Republic; they wish that it could be destroyed so that all could be turned upside down, making the masters into servants and the servants into masters.” For Valencia this reality could not last forever, and the solution to the Morisco problem could mean only one of two choices: to expel them, “or to make them into friends and citizens who would be dissolved among the rest” – that is, to assimilate them by wiping out every sign of identity that distinguished the Moriscos as a nation.⁷

7 “En cuanto a la complexión natural, y por el consiguiente en cuanto al ingenio, condición y brío [los moriscos] son españoles como los demás que habitan en España, pues ha casi novecientos años que nacen y se crían en ella y se echa de ver en la semejanza o uniformidad

In other words, for many contemporaries the Moriscos formed not a distinct *raza* [race] in the modern sense of the term, but rather a different *nación* [nation] or *linaje* [lineage] – and one that was not only different but had a foreign origin. The Moriscos, viewed as direct descendants of the Arab invaders who had occupied the Peninsula early in the eighth century, were generally considered a separate people with their own cultural values, possessed of traits (language, religion, cultural practices) that marked them off from the other inhabitants of the Peninsula, other “Spaniards.”

When we analyze works of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it is hard to find any references to the Moriscos as one of the peoples who, through mixtures and assimilations, had contributed to forming the Spanish lineage or nation. In the intense and complex debates about the origins of Spaniards, most authors concluded that not all the peoples who had lived in Iberia over the centuries – whether natives or invaders – had helped to form the demographic or spiritual makeup of the Spanish nation. The important role that certain groups, like the Romans and above all the Arabs, had played in Spain’s political and cultural history was recognised – but not their role in its demographic history. We know, for example, that many sixteenth century writers insisted that under Arab occupation the Christians had isolated themselves from the invaders and refused to mix with them, and that as the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula formed they had penalised sexual relations between the two communities. Many defenders of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* [purity of blood] believed them necessary to protect the purity of a nation that had formed without any admixture of any “mala raza de moro y judío [bad race of Moor and Jew]”.⁸

de los talles con los demás moradores de ellos”; “es de entender que llevarán con impaciencia y coraje el agravio que juzgan se les hace en privarlos de su tierra y en no tratarlos con igualdad de honra y estimación con los demás ciudadanos y naturales. Porque ellos, en la forma que ahora están, no se tienen por ciudadanos, no participando de las honras y oficios públicos y siendo tenidos en reputación tan inferior, notados con infamia y apartados en las iglesias y cofradías, y en otras congregaciones y lugares”; “se hallan con disgusto y se tienen por agraviados y aborrecen a los ciudadanos y al estado presente de la República, y desean que se pierda y trastorne para que se vuelva lo de abajo arriba, y se hagan los señores siervos y los siervos señores”; “o hecho amigos y ciudadanos, que se confundieran con los demás”: Pedro de Valencia, “Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España” [1606], in *Obras completas, Vol. 4, Escritos sociales. 2, Escritos políticos* (León: Universidad), 1999, 81–82. Valencia’s treatise had remained in manuscript until this modern edition was published.

8 Among many studies of this subject, see for example Fernando Wulff, *Las esencias patrias. Historiografía e historia antigua en la construcción de la identidad española (siglos XVI–XX)* (Barcelona: Crítica) 2003, Chap. 1; Martín F. Ríos Saloma, “De la restauración a la reconquista:

A few authors did acknowledge that the Moriscos' ancestors had been one of the elements that had helped to form the "Spanish nation." One was Miguel de Luna in his history of the last Visigothic king and the Arab invasion, *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo* [True History of King Rodrigo],⁹ while Fray Agustín de Salucio, in his attack on the purity-of-blood statutes, pointed to the constant mixing of peoples that had gone on since the start of the Arab conquest.¹⁰ These two were among those who saw the Spanish nation as the product of a mixture of all the Iberian peoples, whatever their origin. Pedro de Valencia also, as we have just seen, thought that there was a commonality of physical and mental traits, and probably of blood, between Moriscos and Old Christians; and we know that one of the objectives of those who falsified the so-called Lead Books of Granada was to prove that there had been Arabs among the founding peoples of Hispania, making the Moriscos into one of the genetic components of the Iberian family.¹¹

Not coincidentally, one of the central assumptions of the historiographic renewal that took place after 1500 was a vision of the "Spanish nation," from the first human settlement of the Peninsula up to the sixteenth century, as a people constantly in search of genetic and cultural purity. This was especially true in works that dealt with the Arabs and their place in Spanish history, and perhaps no one expressed it better than the poet Argote de Molina. In a poem in homage to the work *Antigüedades de las ciudades castellanas* [Antiquities of the Cities of Castile] by the royal chronicler Ambrosio de Morales, published in

la construcción de un mito nacional (una revisión historiográfica, siglo XVI–XIX)," *En la España Medieval* 28 (2005), 379–414; and David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: University), 1996.

- 9 Miguel de Luna, *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo* [Granada: René Rabut, 1592] (Granada: Universidad), 2001. This work, originally published in two parts, was a best-seller, especially after the second part appeared: it was reprinted in Granada (1600), Zaragoza (1606), Valencia (1646), and Madrid (1654, 1676), and inspired Lope de Vega to write *El último godo*. It was translated into English in 1687 and 1693, into French in 1671, 1699, 1702, 1708 and 1721, and also into Italian and other languages.
- 10 Fray Agustín de Salucio, *Discurso sobre los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* [1600?], (Cieza, Murcia: A. Pérez y Gómez), 1975, fols. 3r–5r.
- 11 The Lead Books of Granada have fascinated students of Early Modern Spain, and interest in them has accelerated in recent years. It would be impossible to cite all the important works on the subject, but see as representative examples Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal (eds.), *Los Plomos del Sacromonte: invención y tesoro* (Valencia: Universitat), 2006, and above all Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden-Boston: Brill), 2013, Spanish original *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2010.

1575, the poet wrote that the historians' task should be to free Spain from the influence and dominance of all its invaders, but especially of the Muslims:

Raise, noble Spain
 Your crown-encircled brow,
 and rejoice at your rebirth [...]
 Cast off your Moorish garb
 and captive's sorrow,
 for you have triumphed at last.¹²

And it is clear that in the histories of Spain published during the sixteenth century, even in the famous one by Mariana, the "Moors" would be presented as invaders of Spain, not its builders, and their descendants the Moriscos as a "problem," not one of the branches of the Spanish nation.

History, but also religion – if the Moriscos were the Other in the genetic sense, they were even more so in the religious sense. It is revealing that Spain produced a significant literature of anti-Qur'anic and anti-Muslim polemic, which from at least the mid-sixteenth century formed an essential part of the debates over the Morisco question.¹³ Scholars of this literature have already described its general characteristics and the way that it was used in confronting the problem of the Moriscos' catechisation. But these anti-Qur'anic polemics also helped to develop the idea of two entirely separate nations, one Christian and the other – the one engendered by the Arab kingdoms and later by their Morisco inheritors – Muslim. Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa was one

12 "Levanta noble España/ tu coronada frente/ y alégrate de verte renacida/ [...] Deja el ropaje Mauro/ y el cautivo quebranto/ pues ya eres señora triunfante": "Elogio de Gonzalo de Argote y Molina a la historia, y a las antigüedades de España," Ambrosio de Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcalá de Henares: Iuan Iñiguez de Lequerica) 1575.

13 On these issues see Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "La evolución de la polémica anti-islámica en los teólogos españoles del primer Renacimiento," in *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica* (Turnhout: Brepols) 1994, 399–418; Jeremy Lawrance, "Europe and the Turks in Spanish Literature of the Renaissance and Early Modern Period," in *Culture and Society in Habsburg Spain* (London: Tamesis), 2001, 17–33; and Francisco Pons Fuster, "Estudio preliminar," in *Antialcorano. Diálogos cristianos (Conversión y evangelización de Moriscos)* (Alicante: Universidad), 2000, 7–63. The topic is attracting the attention of a growing number of scholars from other countries: two examples are Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Quran in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2007, and Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 2008.

of the few historians who sought to integrate the history of Arab rule into the history of Spain. In Volume IV of his *Compendio historial de las crónicas y universal historia de todos los reinos de España* [Historical Compendium of the Chronicles and Universal History of all the Kingdoms of Spain], he sets out to relate the histories of the kingdoms of Aragón, Portugal, Córdoba and Granada;¹⁴ but on reaching the latter two he turns his central theme into a critical narrative about Muḥammad and his doctrines, considering them to be totally false. The humanist Pedro Mexía, whose *Silva de varia lección* [A Miscellany of Several Lessons] was one of the most popular works in Europe in the fifteen-hundreds, had adopted the same point of view: to explain the origin of the Turks, their expansion, their power and their principal traits, he began with a chapter titled “Of what lineage and what land was Mohammed, and at what moment he founded his cursed sect, which, for men’s sins, is so wide-spread throughout the world.”¹⁵

For Christians, the explanation for the Moriscos’ behaviour lay in the fact that they were a “nation” alien to the Hispanic family, showing fundamental religious, political and cultural differences. For a good proportion of society the Moriscos, who at various times in the early sixteenth century had been forced into Catholicism and into abandoning many of their most important cultural traits (dress, language, ceremonies, etc.), were neither good Catholics, nor loyal subjects of the king, nor genuine Spaniards. At the time, some Christians sensed that perhaps part of the responsibility for the separation of the two communities could be laid at the door of Christian society, the Church and the Crown; but many more placed the principal blame on the Moriscos, who insisted on remaining true to their religion, their identity and their political loyalties to foreign powers like the Ottoman Empire or the princedoms of North Africa.

Few writers summarised the situation better than Ignacio de las Casas, a Jesuit of Morisco origin, in his treatise *De los moriscos de España*, penned at the beginning of the sixteenth century just before the Expulsion order was given:¹⁶

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- 14 Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, *Los cuarenta libros del compendio historial de las crónicas y universal historia de todos los reinos de España*, 4 vols. (Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas), 1628. It appears that Garibay wrote his compendium between 1556 and 1566, and that Plantin published it in Antwerp between 1570 and 1572.
- 15 “De qué linaje y de qué tierra fue Mahoma, y en qué tiempo comenzó su malvada secta, que, por pecados de los hombres, tan extendida está por el mundo”: Pedro Mexía, *Silva de varia lección* [1540] (Madrid: Cátedra), 1989, I:1, Chap. 13, 276 ff.
- 16 BL, Add. 10,238: *De los Moriscos de España*, por el padre Ignacio de las Casas, 1605–1607; references in the text. De las Casas’s treatise has been published by Youssef El Alaoui,

“The common people, nobles, gentlemen, judges, lords, princes and the King himself believe, and say and feel, that they are all Moors, and more observant of their sect than those who profess it freely in other lands” (13v); they do not behave like Christians, do not take part in their ceremonies and rites, and do not mix with them (14r-v); therefore the Christians have developed a hatred of them “so deep that they do not even want to see them, and since that is not possible they take their revenge by insulting them, calling them ‘dog of a Moor’, and visiting on them every grave and frequent outrage that they can get away with” (15r).¹⁷

The First Debates about the Expulsion

We know that during the sixteenth century there was no epistemological change in the treatment of the Morisco question, but an event did occur that caused a radical transformation in the terms of the discussion: we refer to the so-called Alpujarras Revolt or Second Granadan War (1568–1570). This conflict introduced into the debate about the Morisco problem a chance to seek definitive solutions as alternatives to assimilation.

The revolt in the Alpujarras Mountains and its consequence, the war in Granada, was Spain’s most important internal conflict between, on the one hand, the conquest of Granada in 1492 and the rebellions of the *Comuneros* and *Germanías* in the 1520s, and on the other the great crisis of the mid-seventeenth century, the revolts of Portugal and Catalonia. Every report and narrative about this war indicates that it was marked by extreme violence on both

Jésuites, morisques et indiens (Paris: Honoré Champion), 2006, Annexe A: “Información acerca de los moriscos de España.”

17 “El vulgo, nobles, caballeros, justicias, señores, príncipes y el mismo Rey están muy persuadidos y lo dicen y sienten así que todos son moros y mas observantes de su secta que los que están allende el mar libremente en ella.”(13v) No hacen nada como los cristianos, no participan de las ceremonias y creencias, y no se mezclan con los cristianos.(14r-v) Por todo ello los cristianos les han cogido un odio “tan intrínseco que no los querrían ver y ya que de otra suerte no pueden ejecutarlo con ellos, se vengan tratándolos mal de palabra, llamándolos perros, y moros, y de obra con hacerles todos los agravios que a su salvo pueden, que son muchos y muy graves”(15r). The historian Mercedes García-Arenal, having studied Inquisition documents, reminds us that the problem was not merely that the Christians hated the Moriscos and tried to marginalise them, but also that the Moriscos clearly were trying to create their own identity as a distinct community: Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos. Los procesos del tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 1978, 84.

sides – and perceived as such by both, even though it might not have been worse than other conflicts of the Early Modern period. Philip II's army was accused of civilian massacres, burning of villages, pillage, robbery and rapes, while the Morisco rebels were likewise charged with indiscriminate murders of Christians, destruction of estates, burning of churches and assassinations of priests and other ecclesiastics.

Beyond these circumstances, the revolt alarmed the Spanish authorities for two reasons. First, because it seemed that the Moriscos were determined to do everything to preserve intact their communities, their customs, their ceremonies and, in short, their distinct identity. Second, the authorities believed that the Moriscos were doing more than merely fighting to maintain their identity within the Hispanic community: they were really conspiring against the King of Spain, through real or imagined alliances with North African princes or the Grand Turk – not only in pursuit of Granada's independence but above all to restore Islamic rule in the Peninsula.

Without a doubt, this view of the Moriscos of Granada helps to explain two of the outcomes of the Granadan War. The first was the decision to deport Granada's Moriscos and disperse them throughout the kingdom of Castile. The second was that members of the king's inner political circle began to question, for the first time explicitly, the feasibility of assimilating the Moriscos; hope of their religious and social integration was not abandoned, but it did appear seriously compromised. This shift in attitude crystallised in 1582, when an official body first recommended to the monarch that he adopt radical measures against the Moriscos. The proposal came from a special *Junta*, created by Philip II during his residence in Portugal, composed of some of his closest counselors: the Duke of Alba, Juan de Idiáquez, Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce and the royal confessor, Diego de Chaves.¹⁸ The *Junta's* members suggested to the king that, because the Moriscos of Valencia might rebel just as those of Granada had done, they should be expelled to Barbary – all except baptized children. Conscious that the Valencian nobles would object to the measure, the *Junta* recommended that the nobles be granted the exiled Moriscos' property and estates as a way of convincing them that the king's action was just.¹⁹

18 AGS, Estado, leg. 212: "Consulta de la Junta de Lisboa sobre los Moriscos," Lisbon, 19 September 1582, 6v–7v. The report was published by Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión. Estudio histórico-crítico*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Francisco Vives y Mora), 1901, I: 300–301.

19 Two important studies of this period and of the beginning of the debate about expulsion are Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1978, Chap. 8, and Rafael Benítez

At about the same time, in the early 1580s, writers began to insist – whether from a theological or a political perspective – that it was impossible for peoples of different religions to live together in the same country. No one represented this approach to minorities within a community better than the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Botero, who in his treatise on the reason of state reminded the king that nothing made men more opposed and hostile than religion.²⁰ Most empires declined because of confrontations between their subjects, so the prince must do everything possible to avoid them. From the Christian point of view a monarch, to avoid destruction of his monarchy by “unbelievers,” had to convert them through a serious process of religious and civil education (fols. 91v–92v). But those unbelievers, especially “Mohammedans,” could be difficult to convert, so the monarch should make every effort to control them by various means: depriving them of any source of unity and spiritual strength; barring them from holding public office; treating them as slaves; and “feminizing” their sons, so as to turn them into powerless and hollow subjects incapable of resistance or rebellion (fols. 94r–95v). But if these methods should fail and the unbelievers should continue to reject conversion and integration into Christian society, then the only course was to scatter or expel them (fol. 102r-v). The Spaniard Benito Arias Montano expressed very similar views on the policies to be followed against the rebels in the Netherlands: “because in the end nothing can make them surrender except respect, distrust or fear – not gentleness or fair treatment or any other praiseworthy and desirable means by which men are normally persuaded.”²¹

Behind all this analysis and advice – and no one doubted that Botero’s “general” principles were formulated for the particular case of Spain – was the

Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones: la monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2001, Part IV. Manuel Danvila y Collado, over a century ago, pointed to the importance of Philip II’s reign for understanding Philip III’s decisions: “therefore the reign of Philip II, in relation to the Moriscos, served as the framework for preparing the catastrophe, and was the period when the basic principles of the Expulsion were formed, though it was not carried out until 1609”: Manuel Danvila y Collado, *La expulsión de los moriscos* [Madrid, 1889] (Valencia: Universitat), 2007, 148.

20 Giovanni Botero, *Los diez libros de la razón de estado* [1593], trans. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (Madrid: Luys Sanchez), 1613; see references in the text. Botero’s book was originally translated into Spanish by order of Philip II in 1589.

21 “Porque ninguna cosa los rinde al fin sino el respeto, recelo o temor, no la blandura o el tratarlos por vía de nobleza ni otros medios loables y deseables con que los hombres se suelen mover”: Arias Montano to Zayas, 5 February 1571, cited in José Luis Sánchez Lora, “El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano,” in *Anatomía del humanismo. Benito Arias Montano, 1598–1998. Homenaje al profesor Melquiades Andrés Martín* (Huelva: Universidad), 1998, 155–156. I thank Mercedes García-Arenal for reminding me of Arias Montano’s observations and especially for introducing me to the work of Sánchez Lora.

notion that while the Morisco problem was one of religion and integration, it was also a matter of state, and therefore the debate should take into account the long-term situation of a minority that in the eyes of many was seeking to destabilise the kingdom.²² In other words, especially since the revolt of the Granadan Moriscos, many inhabitants of the Peninsula and especially the monarchy considered the “stain” of the Moriscos as not only religious but also political, and thus the discussion of what to do in the long term became no longer exclusively ecclesiastical but increasingly political.

It is not entirely clear why Philip II did not accept or act upon the proposals of his nearest advisors. But from 1582 onward, in official discussions of the Moriscos, the majority opinion held that expelling them – or even enslaving or executing most of them – was the only possible solution. And this happened, we insist, even though many individuals still argued that for Christians the only path must be to seek the Moriscos’ conversion and integration, not their annihilation. Martín González de Cellorigo, Pedro de Valencia, Ignacio de las Casas and many others proposed a redoubling of efforts to assimilate the Moriscos, to include them in society and to try to make them into sincere Christians. All agreed that the key was to wipe away, by any peaceful means possible, their distinctive Morisco identity. For Cellorigo, people resisted their assimilation because of “el despegamiento que con ellos hasta aquí se ha tenido [the detachment we have felt from them up to now]”, and the solution must be to introduce serious measures of social, cultural and religious integration.²³ Las Casas, for his part, asked churchmen to stop behaving like *inhumanos políticos* who favored expelling the Moriscos. He recalled that idolatry, unlike original sin, was not inherited, and that the Moriscos, having been baptized, were children of the Church and could not be abandoned; they should be watched over, educated, exhorted and rewarded like other Christians, but never exiled or killed. Nothing could justify the punishment of an entire population just because a few of its members had committed crimes – one of the arguments used to justify the Expulsion in 1609.²⁴ For Pedro de Valencia the Church existed to welcome sinners, not to destroy them; he criticised as cruel,

22 For Botero’s important role in forming the political ideas of the expulsion generation see Xavier Gil Pujol, “Las fuerzas del rey. La generación que leyó a Botero,” in *Le forze del principe. Recursos, instrumentos y límites en la práctica del poder soberano en los territorios de la Monarquía Hispánica* (Murcia: Universidad), 2004, 969–1022.

23 Martín González de Cellorigo, “Memorial sobre los Moriscos,” in *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración a la República de España, y estados de ella, y del desempeño universal de estos Reynos* (Valladolid: Iuan de Bostillo), 1600, fols. 6 r–v.

24 BL, Add. 10,238, “De los Moriscos de España, por el padre Ignacio de las Casas,” 1605–1607, fols. 32r–v, 33v.

tyrannical and inhumane every one of the methods for controlling the Moriscos that had been proposed in the preceding decades.²⁵

But from 1598 onward the voices of those who pleaded for humane treatment of the Moriscos – for using *medios blandos* [soft methods], in the parlance of the day – grew ever fainter in the institutional debate about the Morisco question. In February 1599 – a crucial moment in Philip III's reign, when policies toward England, France and especially the Netherlands were being formed – the Council of State proposed extremely repressive measures. It discussed a combination of actions that included sending to prison, or to the galleys, all Moriscos between the ages of 15 and 60, and expelling all those older than 60, while reeducating all their children. Many people shared and expressed these opinions in the early years of Philip III's reign²⁶ – the Moriscos were internal enemies and ought to be treated as such. That was the advice of one of the most interesting political thinkers of the day, Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, who wrote in his *Discurso político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado* [Political Address to King Philip III at the Outset of his Reign], composed between 1598 and 1600:

The Moors and their princes in Fez and Morocco live very close to us, and are also our enemies in religion..., and [Spain] is full of Moriscos who are as devoted and attached to them now, in my opinion, as when they professed their wicked faith in public. And though it may seem that they are living quietly now, it could always happen, since they are discontented and of an opposing sect, that they will return to it and take advantage of any opportunity to do so. After all they are obedient when there is peace, but disloyal and much to be feared in case of a civil war or foreign rebellion; that is when an oppressed people, no matter who they are and why, will raise their heads and show their contrary spirit.²⁷

25 Valencia, "Tratado," 96 ff.

26 AGSS, Estado, leg. 212, fols. 25v–26v; opinions of the Council of State, 30 January and 2 February 1599.

27 "Los Moros y sus príncipes de Fez y Marruecos están muy cerca de nosotros; enemigos también por la religión [...], y [España] esta llena de Moriscos tan devotos y aficionados suyos, a mi juicio, como cuando profesaban su mala ley públicamente. Y aunque de presente parezca que viven sosegados, siempre, como descontentos y de contraria secta, han de procurar volver a ella y procurar valerse de cualquier ocasión que haya para ello. Y en fin, obedientes mientras hubiera paz, desleales y muy para ser temidos si hay guerras civiles o revueltas extranjeras, que es cuando los oprimidos, como quiera que sean y lo estén, levantan cabezas y muestran su mal ánimo." Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, *Discurso político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado* [1598?], (Barcelona: Anthropolos), 1990, 50.

The year 1600 also saw the publication of Luis del Mármol Carvajal's important and influential *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* [History of the Revolt and Punishment of the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada], considered the best history of the War of the Alpujarras for its minute descriptions of battles and conflicts. But more significant than the battle narratives was its vision of the Moriscos, whom it presented as determined rebels and apostates in every single generation since 1492. At the beginning of Volume II, for example, Mármol Carvajal reminded his readers that although the Moriscos had been officially Christian since the early sixteenth century, they had really never ceased to be "Moors." Their duplicity in religion, their desire for revenge and their dreams of being lords of Granada once again explained not only the revolt, but also the character that it assumed from the beginning:

It provokes real sorrow to think, and even more to write, of the abominations and evils committed by the Moriscos and bandits of the Alpujarras and other regions of the Kingdom of Granada. First of all they assumed the name and sect of Mohammed, declaring themselves Moors and strangers to the holy Catholic faith which for so many years they, their fathers and their grandfathers had followed [...]. At the same time, respecting nothing human or divine, as enemies of all religion and charity, full of cruel anger and diabolical rage, they robbed, burned and destroyed churches, shattered venerable images, tore down altars, and humiliated, tortured and killed many priests.²⁸

Defenses of the Expulsion grew even more frequent after 1603, although the debates took place for the most part within the institutions of the Church and the Crown. Juan de Idiáquez and the Count of Miranda, for example, proposed expelling the Moriscos at a *Junta* held in January 1603. The Duke of Lerma, who

28 "Congoja pone verdaderamente pensar, cuanto más que escribir, las abominaciones y maldades con que hicieron este levantamiento los moriscos y monfís de la Alpujarra y de los otros lugares del reino de Granada. Lo primero que hicieron fue apellidar el nombre y seta de Mahoma, declarando ser moros ajenos de la santa fe católica, que tantos años profesaban ellos y sus padres y abuelos [...]. Y a un mismo tiempo, sin respetar a cosa divina ni humana, como enemigos de toda religión y caridad, llenos de rabia cruel y diabólica ira, robaron, quemaron y destruyeron las iglesias, despedazaron las venerables imágenes, deshicieron los altares, y vejaron, torturaron y mataron a muchos sacerdotes": Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada* [1600] (Málaga: Arguval), 1991, 63 ff., 95.

also took part, expressed grave doubts about whether that action was desirable or convenient, arguing that the Moriscos were baptized Christians and should therefore not be treated like infidels. When the king responded by ordering that provisional measures for the Expulsion be taken, it was clear that that option was beginning to be seen as a viable one.²⁹ The Archbishop of Valencia, the Patriarch Ribera, also insisted that the Expulsion was necessary: in two *memoriales* [reports] to the king he painted a picture of the Morisco community as the natural enemy of Christendom. In view of that, Ribera argued, the monarch should feel justified and authorised in doing anything and using any means (violent or not) to resolve the problem. Ribera went to the extreme of defending not only the Expulsion but even the murder of the Moriscos, presenting these measures as a sort of “divine violence” on the model of Moses in the Book of Exodus: Moses ordered and participated in the deaths of Jews who had promoted the worship of false gods, and of other groups who were occupying parts of the Promised Land.³⁰

Another proponent of an extreme policy toward the Moriscos was Fray Jaime Bleda, also a Valencian cleric and one with strong ties to Ribera. In a *memorial* addressed to Philip III and his favourite, the Duke of Lerma, he reminded them that in return for taking Granada back from the Muslims in 1492 the Catholic Monarchs had received the divine gift of the New World, whereas in return for the Spanish Crown’s inability to solve the Morisco problem, God had punished it with innumerable crises and defeats. Therefore he asked God to persuade the king to send the Moriscos into exile, just as He had led the Catholic Monarchs to expel 400,000 Jews in 1492; that act had not caused the Spanish kingdoms any loss, and had led to a strengthened and newly resplendent monarchy.³¹ But it remained difficult to defend such opinions in public: in 1601 Fray Bleda failed to obtain permission to publish his most important treatise in defense of the Expulsion, *Defensio Fidei in causa neophytorum sive Morischorum Regni Valentiae totiusque Hispaniae* [Defense of the Faith in the Matter of the New Christians or Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia and of all Spain]; it eventually appeared in Spanish translation in 1610.³²

29 AGS, Estado, leg. 208/n.f., opinion of the Junta de Gobierno (Governing Council), 3 January 1603.

30 AGS, Estado, leg. 212, fols. 31–41: *memoriales* of Fray Ribera to the Council of State, 1601–1602.

31 AGS, Estado, leg. 212, *memorial* by Fray Bleda, 10 April 1605, fols. 43v–44r.

32 Jaime Bleda, *Defensio Fidei in causa neophytorum sive Morischorum Regni Valentiae totiusque Hispaniae* (Valencia: Ioannen Chrysostomum Garriz), 1610.

Justifying the Decision to Expel

From the moment of the first Expulsion decree, the one directed to the Valencian Moriscos and signed by the Viceroy on 22 September 1609, the debates lost their wide-ranging character and rhetorical positions grew more homogeneous. Whatever immediate cause may have led Philip III to approve the Expulsion, the latter became something greater than a mere response to a particular political circumstance. Expulsion was now seen (and was justified, as we shall see) as a fundamental step in the sacred history of Spain, as the crowning event of Spain's unification after the Arab conquest, and as of an importance equal to the taking of Granada in 1492. I do not mean to suggest that there were no complaints or criticisms raised against the Expulsion – there were many, but most were of a local character, negotiated through internal channels of the various institutions.³³ Once the order had been issued its defense became dominant, almost exclusive – not only within institutional and official circles but also in the public square. The printing press made possible a massive pro-Expulsion literature that covered all genres – official documents, novels and plays – to which were added paintings and even royal progresses. Some texts referred to criticisms of the Expulsion, but in most cases only to stress the justice, sacredness and reasonableness of the measure. It was said that no one could criticise it except the Moriscos themselves or their allies, men who must be either blind or gullible. The Expulsion was now to be affirmed and lauded, not questioned – hence the proliferation of texts that not only justified it but hailed it as a “great victory” for Christendom.

Before examining the texts that justify the Expulsion or refer to it directly or indirectly, we should begin with the official Expulsion decrees themselves. These set the tone for later publications about the event, although those publications went beyond the decrees in both their language and their themes. The decrees, as official documents, had to be clear and succinct. They did not propose to deal with every issue related to the Expulsion, or to enter into its causes; rather they sought to reassure Spaniards that, thanks to the king's

33 Many writers have gathered evidence of complaints against the Expulsion, and of the efforts, especially in Castile, by local authorities and elites to keep their own Moriscos from being expelled; see the chapter by James B. Tueller in the present volume. Among recent contributions to the topic are Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric versus Local Reality: Propaganda and the Expulsion of the Moriscos,” in *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain* (London: Tamesis), 2006, 1–25, and especially his *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV–XVIII): historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert), 2007.

initiative, the nation and its subjects would live in safety. We should recall that all the decrees were printed and widely distributed.

In all the decrees, Philip III took advantage of ideas that members of his Council of State had offered him. Each decree stresses that the final measure had been adopted because every earlier one had failed: integration, conversion, and efforts to make the Moriscos into normal residents of the Peninsula had had no permanent effect. For many years “I have sought the conversion of the Moriscos of this kingdom [Valencia] and of that of Castile; they have been granted Edicts of Grace, and we have striven to instruct them in our holy Faith; and all this with little result, for it is clear that not one of them has converted, but that they have grown in obstinacy.”³⁴ In effect, in spite of the king’s attempts to promote “soft methods” to integrate the Moriscos – the reason for his having created a *Junta* in 1608 – those of Valencia and Castile continued “in their harmful purpose. And I have learned from trustworthy and true sources that, persisting in their apostasy and perdition, they have caused and still cause, through their ambassadors and other means, harm and perturbation in our kingdoms.”³⁵ The sense of danger from the Moriscos, and their disobedience, is even clearer in the order to expel those of Andalusia:

Inasmuch as the reason of a proper and Christian government requires that in good conscience we expel from kingdoms and republics those things that cause disturbance and harm to good subjects, and danger to the State, above all when there is offense and disservice to the Lord Our God; experience having shown that all these inconveniences have been caused by the residence of New Christian Moriscos in the kingdoms of Granada and Murcia and Andalusia; and the further actions of those who took part in the revolt in the said kingdom of Granada, whose purpose was to kill with atrocious deaths and martyrdoms all the priests and Old Christians that they could, of those who lived among them, calling on the Grand Turk to come to their aid and assistance. And having removed them from that Kingdom in order that, repenting of their fault, they

34 “He procurado la conversión de los Moriscos de este Reyno y del de Castilla, y los Edictos de Gracia que se les concedieron y las diligencias que se han hecho para instruirlos en nuestra Santa Fe, y lo poco que todo ello ha aprovechado, pues se ha visto que ninguno se ha convertido, antes ha crecido su obstinación”: “Bando de la expulsión de los Moriscos del Reyno de Valencia,” in Bleda, *Defensio Fidei*, 597.

35 “[Seguían] adelante con su dañado intento. Y he entendido por avisos ciertos y verdaderos, que continuando su apostasía y prodición, han procurado y procuran por medio de sus embajadores y por otros caminos, el daño y perturbación de nuestros Reynos”: Bleda, *Defensio Fidei*, 580.

might live freely as Christians, and having given just and appropriate orders and precepts for them to follow, not only have they not kept and obeyed the obligations of our holy Faith, but they have always treated it with aversion, disdain and offending the Lord Our God, as we see from the great number of them who have been punished by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Moreover they have committed many robberies and murders among Old Christians, and not content with that they have tried to conspire against my royal Crown and these Kingdoms, seeking the aid and help of the Grand Turk, sending and receiving emissaries for this purpose.³⁶

In case some of the king's subjects might advocate expelling only those who had genuinely failed in service to God and the Crown, Philip III laid out the basic principles that justified his decision to expel them all without exception. First it was necessary to emphasise that there was no difference among the Moriscos of different regions, as was stated in the Expulsion decree for those of Castile:

We know that all the Moriscos who have already been expelled, like those who remain in Spain, have been and still are of one mind and one will against serving God and Me and seeking the good of these Kingdoms; they have not profited from the efforts that have been made for many

36 "Por quanto la razón de bueno y christiano gobierno obliga en conciencia a expeler de los Reynos y repúblicas las cosas que causan escándalo y daño a los buenos súbditos y peligro al Estado, y sobre todo ofensa y deservicio a Dios nuestro señor, habiendo la experiencia mostrado que todos estos inconvenientes ha causado la residencia de los Christianos nuevos moriscos en los Reynos de Granada y Murcia y Andalucía, porque demás de ser y proceder de los que concurrieron en el levantamiento del dicho Reyno de Granada cuyo principio fue matar con atroces muertes y martirios a todos los sacerdotes y Christianos viejos que pudieron de los que entre ellos vivían, llamando al Turco que viniese en su favor y ayuda. Y habiéndose sacado de dicho Reyno con fin de arrepentirlos de su delito viviesen Christiana y libremente, dándoles justas y convenientes órdenes y preceptos de lo que debían de hacer, no sólo no los han guardado y cumplido con las obligaciones de nuestra santa Fe, pero mostrando siempre aversión a ella, en grande menosprecio y ofensa de Dios nuestro señor, como se ha visto por la multitud de ellos que se han castigado por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición. Demás de lo cual han cometido muchos robos y muertes contra los Christianos viejos, y no contentos con esto, han tratado de conspirar contra mi Corona Real y estos Reynos, procurando el socorro y ayuda del Turco, yendo y viniendo personas enviadas por ellos a este efecto": "Orden de Juan de Mendoza, marqués de San Germán," Seville, 12 January 1610. This printed document is contained in BNE, ms. 11773, quotations on fols. 623r–v.

years to convert them, nor from the example of the native Old Christians of these Kingdoms who live here with such great faith and loyalty.³⁷

This was why all the Moriscos should be made to pay, and not merely those who had been found guilty; all of them were potential traitors by their very nature:

Just as, if some College or University were to commit a serious and detestable crime, it would be right to dissolve and eliminate that College or University, punishing the younger [members] because of the older, and some because of others; those who pervert the good and honest life of republics and of their cities and towns should be expelled from their nations so that they may not contaminate the rest.³⁸

The texts on the Morisco Expulsion that appeared between 1610 and 1618 all insist on these same ideas, either directly or indirectly. In all of them, the central element is the assertion that the Expulsion is just. This view was so strongly held that for most contemporaries, the Expulsion became the event that would mark the very nature of Philip III's reign and provide the monarch with the halo of kingship that he had not earned until then. None of these texts is especially original in the sense of offering new arguments or ideas. The important tasks that they perform are, first, to unify the traditions, discourses and interpretations that had been applied to the Morisco issue up to that time; and second, to facilitate the massive circulation of those justifications and arguments.

37 "Sabemos que todos los Moriscos ya expulsados como los demás en España, han sido y son todos de una misma opinión y voluntad contra el servicio de Dios y mío, y bien de estos Reynos, sin haber aprovechado de las mismas diligencias que por largo discurso de años se han hecho para su conversión, ni el ejemplo de los Christianos viejos, naturales de estos Reynos, que con tanta Christianidad y lealtad viven en ellos": "Bando de la expulsión de los Moriscos de Castilla la Vieja y Nueva, La Mancha y Extremadura," in Bleda, *Defensio Fidei*, 607.

38 "Como quiera que algún grave delito y detestable crimen se comete por algún Colegio o Universidad, es razón que el tal Colegio o Universidad sea disuelto y aniquilado, y los menores por los mayores, y los unos por los otros sean punidos; y aquellos que pervierten el bueno y honesto vivir de las repúblicas y de sus ciudades y villas, sean echados de los pueblos, porque su contagio no se pegue a los otros": Bleda, *Defensio Fidei*, 608–609. The language is similar to that of the decree that expelled the Jews in 1492: "Provisión de los Reyes Católicos ordenando que los judíos salgan de sus reinos," 31 March 1492, in Luis Suárez Fernández, ed., *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos* (Valladolid: CSIC-Patronato Menéndez Pelayo), 1964, 391–395.

Almost all of them are written as a sort of synthesis of all the previous literature: texts about Turks, the Prophet Muḥammad, Moriscos, the truth of Christianity and the importance of maintaining religious unity in order to preserve the kingdom. Little or nothing in them is original, both because they copied from each other and because they all emerged from the same tradition. We can observe this continuity of discourse in the fact that Jaime Bleda's 1610 version of his *Defensio Fidei* is just like the one that he had written in 1601, and that their content is repeated in his other work, *Crónica de los moros de España* (1618).

One of the most significant texts is not one of the famous treatises on the Expulsion (though it also appeared in 1610, just months after the first wave of the process began). This was the Spanish edition of the letters of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592), the Imperial Ambassador to the Ottoman court between 1554 and 1562.³⁹ The Spanish translation was the work of a certain Esteban López de Reta, who dedicated it to *nuestra madre Hespaña* at the moment when she was “cleansing” her house and sweeping away the “infectious poison” of the Moriscos; the translator wished simply to aid in this endeavour. López de Reta, like others, compares this expulsion to that of the Jews in 1492, but points out at the same time that the Jews, “gente miserable y desvalida [a vile and destitute race]”, were exiled because of their religion and not, like the Moriscos, because they were conspiring with the monarchy's external enemies.

The central theme of most texts on the Expulsion presented it as a divine act of which Philip III and the Duke of Lerma were the instruments. For the Portuguese friar Damián Fonseca, Philip III, thanks to his decision to expel the Moriscos, could be compared to the great liberators of the Chosen People: Moses, Joshua, Saul, David and Solomon. These, like the Spanish king, had not only saved God's people from their enemies but had insulated and protected them from any contact with other religions, following the orders of a God who demanded that He alone be worshipped.⁴⁰ Guadalajara y Xavier, in his *Memorable expulsión*, foretold that God would reward Philip III for his act, as he had rewarded others – or had punished those who did not fulfil their obligations. God punishes not only those princes who turn heretic or accept heretics, but also those who show weakness in repressing them – like Philip II, who, for

39 Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *Embaxada y viages de Constantinopla y Amasea*, trans. Esteban López de Reta (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen), 1610.

40 Damián Fonseca, *Iusta expulsión de los moriscos de España* (Rome: Giacomo Mascardi), 1612, 169–174.

not having allowed Mary Tudor “to pronounce the death sentence on the bastard Elizabeth, lost his Armada in 1588.”⁴¹

Prophecies and conjunctions of planets also served to prove that this act was part of the divine plan. In dedicating his book to “the Most Serene Princes of Spain,” Guadalajara y Xavier wrote that the event was only a part of, but the key to, the great prophecy that announced “the triumphant conquest of Jerusalem and freeing of the Holy Sepulchre, with great victories over the Mohammedans that will cast down their crescent Moons and put the Holy Cross in their place.” (fol. 5r-v)⁴² Praise of Philip III and a measure ordered by God, but also the central element in the definitive restoration of Spain. Jaime Bleda, for example, in his *Defensio Fidei*, asserted that with the Expulsion “this kingdom is now free of the infinite spiritual and material harm that Christians have suffered for nine hundred years...in the company of Moors.” Therefore he asks that it be commemorated as “a festival in all of Spain, and that this happy event be celebrated every year on the same day, just as each first Sunday in October we celebrate the feast of the Rosary and the naval victory [the Battle of Lepanto] that was won on that day thanks to the intercession of Our Lady of the Rosary.”⁴³

Most of these texts also follow the anti-Islamic and anti-Ottoman rhetoric that had developed in earlier decades in Spain and elsewhere in Europe. All Mohammedans, no matter where they lived, even if they disguised themselves and lived among Christians, were the Christians’ worst enemies; this criticism extended to the Moriscos and their religious beliefs. Aznar Cardona, for instance, dedicates the entire first volume of his *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles* to attacks on Muḥammad and the Mohammedans, who persisted in their mistaken faith: “This is even more true in those who follow the sect of Mohammed, for among all those who profess false religions, they are the ones who cling to theirs with the greatest obstinacy; and the only reason

41 “[Que] ejecutara sentencia de muerte en la bastarda Isabel, perdió su armada en 1588”: Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión y iustissimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolas de Assyain), 1613, fol. 22v.

42 “La conquista y triunfo de Ierusalem, y libertad del santo Sepulcro, con notables victorias de los mahometanos, dando por tierra sus menguantes Lunas, poniendo en su lugar la Cruz santísima.” On prophecy and the expulsion of the Moriscos see Grace Magnier, “Millenarian prophecy and the mythification of Philip III at the time of the expulsion of the moriscos,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002), 187–209.

43 “Queda este reyno libre de los infinitos daños espirituales y materiales que han padecido los christianos novecientos años... en compañía de los Moros;” “fiesta en toda España, y celebrar cada año en ella este felicísimo suceso, como en el primer Domingo de Octubre celebramos la fiesta del Rosario y la victoria Naval que en aquel día se alcanzó por la intercesión de nuestra señora del Rosario.” Bleda, *Defensio Fidei*, 595, 596.

they give is, 'my father was a Moor, I am a Moor'. This is why so few Moors convert: as they say themselves, 'a good Christian never came from a good Moor.'" This stubbornness in defending their false religion, and their contempt for God's law – like that of the Jews – explained why both peoples had been "exiled, trampled, hated, insulted, cursed and despised by all the nations of the world."⁴⁴

A fundamental factor in justifying the Expulsion was the notion that the Moriscos were political enemies to the king of Spain and servants of Muslim princes. All the texts recall the many times the Moriscos had rebelled, and their alliances with the Turks, the pirates and princes of North Africa, the king of France, and "heretical" European rulers. This fact would explain why the expulsions had begun with the Moriscos of Valencia, "because they are the most dangerous, most numerous, closest to the coast, most rebellious; and they live together in neighbourhoods, villages and towns, giving rise to greater danger of movement and rebellion, as they have recently shown."⁴⁵

The Expulsion was also discussed in other genres, although without the intensity and depth that characterise the texts just described. In the other types the Expulsion is mentioned only briefly, usually in the context of congratulating Philip III and Lerma for its accomplishment. There is less concern for the motives that gave rise to it or for the Morisco behaviours that might have provoked it.

We see this trend in one particular genre, the *literatura de cordel*, cheap printed sheets and chapbooks intended for a popular audience. The principal scholar of the genre, María Cruz García de Enterría, points out that when these works mention the Moriscos they do so from the most extreme anti-Morisco point of view, combined with praise of the sovereign for having ordered the Expulsion. The subject hardly comes up before the decrees, but beginning in 1610 many poetry sheets appear that enumerate the Moriscos' crimes and their tendency to revolt and conspire, thus justifying the Expulsion. Still, their main purpose is to sing the praises of Philip III and the improvement in Spain's

44 "Tiene aun esta razón mas fuerza en los que siguen la secta de Mahoma, pues entre todos los que profesan falsas religiones, ellos son los que con mayor obstinación abrazan la suya, no admitiendo mas razón que, mi padre moro, yo moro. Por esta causa son tan pocos los moros que se convierten, que como ellos dicen nunca de buen moro buen cristiano;" "desterrados, hollados, odiados, afrentados, vituperados, y menospreciados de todas las naciones del mundo." Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos españoles y suma de las excellencias christianas de nuestro Rey Don Felipe el Catholico Tercero: diuidida en dos partes* (Huesca: Pedro Cabarte), 1612, fols. 173r, 176v–177r.

45 "Por ser el más peligroso, más gente junta, mayor numero, más cerca de la marina, más rebeldes, y congregados en aljamas, lugares y poblaciones, de que se seguía el mayor peligro de movimiento y rebelión, como a la postre lo mostraron." Bleda, *Defensio Fidei*, 583.

fortunes as a result of his action. García de Enterría quotes one text – reminding us that this type proliferated from 1610–1611 onward – that emphasises this glorification of the Spanish royal house in general, and Philip III in particular:

Our unconquered King Philip,
 grandson of the great Charles the Fifth
 whose famous deeds
 will resound for centuries;
 son of the wisest father,
 the most upright and most Christian
 who has ever ruled this land
 since the earliest of our kings. [...]

 To attain his goal,
 the most just and acclaimed
 in Christendom,
 with such Christian judgement [...]

 the king expelled them from Spain
 as traitorous enemies.
 At first many of them rejoiced
 believing that in exchange for payment
 their crimes would be forgiven.
 But our Catholic King
 who understands the case
 would not for any interest
 suffer an offense against Christ.⁴⁶

In literature prior to 1618, it is perhaps in the works of Miguel de Cervantes where the Moriscos and their exile have the greatest presence. The author referred to the topic on at least three occasions after 1609, and an analysis of his writings can reveal the contradictions that existed in the society of his time. The first work in which Cervantes mentions the Moriscos is one of his Exemplary Novels, *El coloquio de los perros* [The Dialogue of the Dogs],

46 “El invicto Rey Felipe/ nieto del gran Carlos Quinto,/ cuyas hazañas famosas/ durarán eternos siglos./ Hijo del padre más sabio/ mas reto y más christiano/ que ha governado este reyno/ desde el Rey que es mas antiguo/[...] Para conseguir el caso/ tan justo y bien recibido/ de toda la Christiandad./ pues es tan christiano arbitrio/[...] El Rey los echa de España/ por traydores enemigos./ Al principio muchos de ellos/ estaban en regozijo/ pensando que por dinero/ perdonaran sus delitos./ Mas el Católico Rey/ que tiene el caso sabido/ por ningún interés quiere/ sufrir ofensas de Christo”: María Cruz García de Enterría, *Sociedad y poesía de cordel en el Barroco* (Madrid: Taurus), 1973, 226.

published in 1613: here he presents the most negative possible view of those whom he calls *morisca canalla* [Morisco riff-raff]. He renders the Moriscos as stingy, thieving, bad Christians (or not Christians at all), and persons who are constantly procreating, so much so that soon they will outnumber the Christians. The narrator hopes and expects that measures are being taken to stop them, believing that “our republic has very wise guardians who, aware that Spain is breeding and shelters in its bosom as many vipers as there are Moriscos, will find, with God’s help, a sure, prompt and effective solution for so great an evil,” an undoubted reference to the Expulsion.⁴⁷

The second work is Part II, Chapter 54 of *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, in which Cervantes tells the tale of the Morisco Ricote and his family. This well-known episode has given many scholars reason to argue that Cervantes was a critic of the Expulsion; some even see Cervantes here as a representative of the popular opinion of his time, dominated by skepticism about the motives for the event. We could argue about this subject for the rest of our lives, but what interests us here is that in Cervantes’s novel it is Ricote himself, a Morisco, who defends the Expulsion: the king was moved, he affirms, to

put into effect so noble a resolution, not because all of us were guilty, for some were firm and true Christians, though these were so few they could not oppose those who were not, but because it is not a good idea to nurture a snake in your bosom or shelter enemies in your house.

In short, it was just and reasonable for us to be chastised with the punishment of exile: lenient and mild, according to some, but for us it was the most terrible one we could have received.⁴⁸

The history of the Castilian Moriscos, represented by Ricote and his family, aroused Sancho Panza’s pity. But the story of those of Valencia related in Cervantes’s last work, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* [The Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda], published in 1616, comes closer to the ideology that

47 “Celadores prudentísimos tienen nuestra republica que, considerando que España cría y tiene en su seno tantas víboras como moriscos, ayudados de Dios hallaran a tanto daño cierta, presta y segura salida.” Miguel de Cervantes, *Exemplary Novels*, trans. John Jones and John Macklin (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 1992, IV: 143 and 145.

48 “Poner en efecto tan gallarda resolución, no porque todos fuésemos culpados, que algunos había cristianos firmes y verdaderos, pero eran tan pocos, que no se podían oponer a los que no lo eran, y no era bien criar la sierpe en el seno, teniendo los enemigos dentro de casa. Finalmente, con justa razón fuimos castigados con la pena de destierro, blanda y suave al parecer de algunos, pero al nuestro la mas terrible que se nos podía dar:” Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 813.

justified the Expulsion. Here, for example, Cervantes cites the words of a wise Morisco who claims that his ancestors, especially his grandfather, were experts in prophecy, and that he was told years before that under the Hapsburg dynasty a king would banish the Moriscos from the country, much like the person who takes “la serpiente que le está royendo las entrañas [the serpent that is gnawing at his bowels]” and hurls it away from him.⁴⁹ *Persiles and Sigismunda* is essential because it shares the view that most Moriscos are false Christians, plotters, allies of pirates and Turks, and loathers of Christians; living wholly apart from them, they are prepared to betray them, murder them, or capture them and sell them as slaves. And once again this wise Morisco, one of the few Christians among his people, begs for a final solution to the Morisco peril (one that, at the date of publication, was supposedly accomplished):

Oh, noble youth! Oh, invincible king! Trample down, break through, and push aside every obstacle and leave us a pure Spain, cleaned and cleared of this evil caste of mine that so darkens and defames it! Oh counselor as wise as you are distinguished, a new Atlas supporting the weight of this monarchy, through your wise counsel help to bring about more easily this necessary migration! Let the seas be filled with your galleys loaded with the useless weight of the descendants of Hagar; may these briars, brambles and other weeds hindering the growth of Christian fertility and abundance be flung to the opposite shore!⁵⁰

During Philip III’s reign, a series of paintings presented the Moriscos’ Expulsion as a great military victory and a triumph for Catholic Spain; such was the intent of the pictures that the king commissioned from several Valencian artists in 1612.⁵¹ A close examination of these images reveals how they exalt the

49 Miguel de Cervantes, *The Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda*, trans. Celia Richmond Weller and Clark A. Colahan (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press) 1989, 256.

50 “¡Ea, mancebo generoso! ¡Ea, rey invencible! ¡Atropella, rompe, desbarata todo género de inconvenientes y déjanos a España tersa, limpia y desembarazada desta mi mala casta, que tanto la asombra y menoscaba! ¡Ea, consejero tan prudente como ilustre, nuevo Atlante del peso de esta Monarquía, ayuda y facilita con tus consejos a esta necesaria trasmigración; llénense estos mares de tus galeras cargadas del inútil peso de la generación agarena; vayan arrojadas a las contrarias riberas las zarzas, las malezas y las otras yerbas que estorban el crecimiento de la fertilidad y abundancia cristiana!” *Ibid.*, 258.

51 The best study is still Jesús Villalmanzano Cameno, ed., *La expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Valencia* (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja), 1997; see especially the editor’s contribution, “La colección pictórica sobre la expulsión de los moriscos. Autoría y cronología,” 34–68.

monarchy's military might and its strategic ability to set great forces in motion, forces that could carry out the Expulsion and control revolts. They can also be compared to many other paintings that celebrated the Hispanic monarchy's naval and military power.

Beyond the Expulsion

Many of those who have studied Spaniards' responses to the Expulsion assert that the overall tone shifted after 1619, and that most writers changed from apologists to critics of the king's decision. García de Enterría, in her study of *literatura de cordel*, already suggested that texts appearing between 1619 and 1674 show a certain regret over society's support for the Expulsion on the basis that the Moriscos were not real Christians; the new prevailing opinion would hold that most of them were Catholics and should not have been banished.⁵² Others have made the argument more explicitly, especially the historian who has entered into the subject with greatest depth, Miguel Ángel de Bunes: he has written that in Philip IV's reign "the thinking of historians, men of literature and the public changes drastically as regards the Morisco problem. The 1609 decision begins to weigh like a heavy stone on Spaniards' consciences, and the deportation of almost 400,000 of the Peninsula's inhabitants comes to be seen as unjust and unnecessary."⁵³

The trouble is, however, that none of the writers of the time shows evidence of this shift in opinion. An analysis of the literature from 1619 to the end of Philip IV's reign reveals that criticism of the Expulsion seems much more like myth than like reality. It is true that there are changes in vocabulary and language, and above all in the topics that interest authors after 1619, but we can affirm that support, or rather justification, for the Expulsion as a correct, just and necessary measure continues to dominate the discourse. In many ways, thinking about the Expulsion becomes still more abstract and ideological. Now

52 García de Enterría, *Sociedad y poesía*, 227.

53 "La mentalidad de historiadores, literatos y clases populares cambia radicalmente en cuanto a la consideración del problema morisco. La resolución de 1609 empieza a pesar como una gran losa sobre la conciencia de los españoles e incluso se considera injusta e innecesaria la deportación de cerca de 400.000 habitantes de la península": Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: historiografía de un grupo marginado* (Madrid: Cátedra), 1983, 21–22; María Luisa Candau Chacón uses almost the same words in *Los moriscos en el espejo del tiempo. Problemas históricos e historiográficos* (Huelva: Universidad), 1997, 35. See also the same author's contribution to the present volume.

that the actual presence of Moriscos is minimal, what matters most is the ideological significance of their exile; almost nothing is said about the suffering of flesh-and-blood individuals, and very little about the economic and social implications of their departure.

Few represent this new tendency better than Fray Juan de Salazar. In his *Política española*, published in 1619, he clearly intends to promote a return to a militant policy along the lines of the one prevailing in Philip II's reign. Salazar was among those who maintained that, with the right policy, Spain could become a universal monarchy. In this context, he saw Spain as a kingdom ruled by sovereigns who were "militant" and expansionist, like Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V and Philip II, monarchs who had vanquished their enemies precisely through their stubborn defense of the Christian faith all over the world. Philip III played only a small role in Salazar's narrative because he was considered a pacifist king, one who had signed treaties with religious and political enemies. The only decision in which Philip III showed himself as, after all, the son of Philip II was the Expulsion of the Moriscos, which proved to Salazar that Spain's inhabitants were once more God's chosen people:

Among the other actions that will make [the name of Philip III] famous and his memory eternal in the eyes of God and man is the heroic act and singular decision, by a Catholic prince who was remarkably determined to preserve his kingdoms in Spain (seat and foundation of his monarchy) in all their integrity and purity of faith... to exclude from them all the Moriscos, heretics and apostates from our holy faith; attentive not to the interest that his treasury received from that great number of vassals, but to purging Spain entirely of such a vile and incorrigible rabble; from whose company and proximity his towns and faithful subjects were in danger, if not of a serious infection of their faith, at least of a cooling of the piety and religion that they had inherited from their ancestors, having constantly before their eyes the bad example of [the Moriscos'] lives and actions.⁵⁴

54 "Entre las demás cosas que hará célebre [el nombre de Felipe III] y eternizará para con Dios y con los hombres su memoria, es el hecho heroico y determinación singular, tan de católico príncipe y celoso de conservar en la integridad y pureza de la fe sus reinos de España (silla y asiento de su monarquía),... de excluir de todos ellos a los moriscos, herejes y apostatas de nuestra santa fe; atendiendo, no al interés que de tan gran número de vasallos recibía su fisco, sino a purgar la España, de todo punto, de tan incorregible y vil canalla; con cuya compañía y vecindad estaban sus pueblos y fieles vasallos en peligro, si no de infeccionarse en la fe, de resfriarse a lo menos en la piedad y religión, heredera de sus

These motives and their interpretation also appear in a work by the painter Diego de Velázquez titled *Expulsión de los moriscos* (1627), which won a small competition in historical painting convoked by Philip IV: several artists participated (Cajés, Nardi and Vicente Carducho, in addition to Velázquez), the required subject being the Expulsion of the Moriscos. Although the painting was lost in a fire in the royal palace (Alcázar Real of Madrid) in 1734, several descriptions of its central images survive:

In the painting the king stands in the centre, in armour and robed in white; on his right a figure of Hispania in Roman garb, enthroned at the foot of an edifice, shield and spear in her right hand, ears of corn in her left – apparently the only completely allegorical figure ever painted by Velázquez. Philip points with his sceptre towards the coast, whither soldiers are escorting weeping Moors of every age and sex. The embarkation is going on in the background.⁵⁵

Prominent again here is the celebration of Philip III as the protector of Spain and its religion, and the Expulsion as one more military victory for the Spanish army.

We know that the *arbitristas* [idealist reformers], like many other writers of the period, believed that an ever-growing population was essential to preserving the wealth of a nation: they claimed that a lack of population would open the way for the monarchy's decline and ultimately make it inevitable. From this point of view, the Expulsion should have been seen as an ill-fated and unjustifiable measure, and that seems to have been the opinion of the Count-Duke of Olivares, chief minister to Philip IV. He referred to it indirectly in a letter to Francisco de Contreras in which he explained the need for, and the difficulties of, his proposed *Unión de Armas* [national standing army], especially in the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragón because of the "condition of its inhabitants' estates, which because of the Expulsion of the Moriscos and the misfortunes of the times have fallen into ruin."⁵⁶

mayores, viendo al ojo continuamente el mal ejemplo de sus vidas y acciones": Fray Juan de Salazar, *Política española contiene un discurso cerca de su monarquía, materias de Estado, aumento i perpetuidad* [Logroño: 1619] (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos), 1945, 70–71.

55 Carl Justi, *Diego Velázquez and His Times* (London: H. Grevel & co), 1889, 130.

56 "[El] estado de las haciendas de sus naturales, que con la expulsión de los moriscos y las calamidades del tiempo están arruinadas": letter to Francisco de Contreras on the Unión de Armas, Monzón, 5 March 1626, in John H. Elliott and José F. de la Peña, eds., *Memoriales*

This concern about falling population and diminishing wealth does not, however, seem to have changed opinions about the Moriscos' Expulsion very much. John H. Elliott, the historian of Philip IV's reign, asserts that Olivares's government promoted a critical view of the Expulsion because the new regime was more interested in economic realities than in the religious chimeras that had obsessed the previous one. But in offering proofs of this critical stance, the distinguished scholar mentions only a few words spoken by the royal confessor in 1633: he suggested that the Moriscos' return should be considered as a way of restoring the country's wealth, but only, of course, if they could be persuaded to accept the true faith.⁵⁷ The historians Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent have shown that the Expulsion had significant demographic and economic consequences (much exaggerated in the case of Castile, however, by local authorities); but they do not cite any text published at the time that clearly denounced the measure.⁵⁸

The so-called *arbitristas* and others interested in the issue of the monarchy's wealth also debated the Expulsion of the Moriscos. Sancho de Moncada, one of the most original reformers of the seventeenth century, referred to the matter from a very interesting perspective. He seemed to believe – as did a number of other *arbitristas* – that the Expulsion had not played a crucial role in diminishing Spain's population or in the increasing signs of a crisis in the Peninsula.⁵⁹ All seemed to agree that the loss of population caused by the Expulsion had been amply counterbalanced by the religious unity of the Peninsula – one of the same arguments deployed in 1609–1618 to justify the action. In the second discourse of his *Restauración política de España*, Moncada recalls:

Others acknowledge the lack of population, but attribute it to plagues, wars and the Expulsion of the Moriscos. But none of this has occurred in recent years, which is when we most see the effects. We should keep in mind what is recorded in enrollments and Church registers: more people are missing in the last three years than were missing between [15]98 and

y cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares. Tomo I. Política interior: 1621 a 1627 (Madrid: Alfaguara), 1978, doc. X, 195.

57 Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 308. In his important book about the Count-Duke of Olivares, Elliott does not refer to this supposed change in attitude toward the Expulsion during the reign of Philip III. The only reference to the Moriscos is in J.H. Elliott, *The Count Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an age of decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1986, 257.

58 Domínguez and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, Chap. 10.

59 Manuel Martín Rodríguez, "Población y análisis económico en el mercantilismo español," in *Economía y economistas españoles. T. 2: De los orígenes al mercantilismo* (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg), 1999–2004, II: 99–521.

1602 (1600 having been the year of the plague), and than were missing between 1608 and 1610 (1609 having been the date of the Expulsion). And this is a clear sign, for in many cities that suffered these plagues and expulsions all the houses were occupied, while as of two or three years ago many are empty. Second, in place of the Moriscos an equal number of foreigners has entered the country. Third, they were enemies of Spain who had caused many deaths (as Your Majesty stated in the Royal Decree of Expulsion), and therefore their earlier banishment caused the Spanish nation to increase.⁶⁰

Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, one of the most interesting thinkers of Philip IV's reign, in his famous *Conservación de monarquías* dedicated an entire essay to the results of the expulsions of the Jews in 1492 and the Moriscos in 1609. He states that as a result Spain had lost 5 million citizens (3 million Moriscos and 2 million Jews), numbers that are greatly exaggerated.⁶¹ The sovereigns ordered the expulsions, he claims, despite the importance of a large population to a republic, hoping to prevent "the mystical body of their monarchy" from being filled up with "evil humors that could corrupt clean blood with their contagion" (67). Following what appears to have been a widely held opinion, he affirms that "those who follow different customs and religions are not citizens, but domestic enemies," as the Jews and Moors had been (67–68). Like other writers of the early seventeenth century, Fernández de Navarrete thought that one of the motives for the Expulsion had been the limited efforts made to integrate the Moriscos. Perhaps if they had been allowed full entry into society they would have "entered through the door of honour into the temple of virtue and the community and obedience of the Catholic Church, had it not, by its low opinion of them, incited them to evil..." (68). But at the same time the

60 "Otros confiesan la falta de gente, pero cárganla a las pestes, guerras y expulsión de los moriscos. Pero nada de esto ha habido de pocos años acá, que es cuando se conoce más falta de ella. Y es de considerar lo que se ve en los libros de las Iglesias y matrículas, que falta más gente de tres años acá que faltó desde el año de 98 al de 1602, y fue la peste el de 1600, y más que desde el de 1608 al de 1610, y fue la expulsión de los moriscos el de 1609. Y es indicio claro, porque en muchas ciudades en estas pestes y expulsiones se moraban todas las casas, y de dos o tres años acá están cerradas muchas. Lo segundo, porque en lugar de los moriscos han entrado otros tantos extranjeros. Lo tercero, porque como enemigos de España, eran causa de muchas muertes (como dijo V.M. en el Real Bando de la expulsión) y así hacerla antes fue aumentar la nación española": Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración política de España [1619]* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales), 1974, 135.

61 See the contribution by Bernard Vincent in the present volume.

expulsions of the Jews and Moriscos had had some positive effects. Such was the case in 1492 for the Catholic Monarchs, who in that year had managed to “purge these realms of the last dregs that by indulgence of [the Visigothic] King Egica had remained here [...]; and those sainted Princes did not realise that by expelling such wealthy people they would diminish their royal income and taxes – a loss that Our Lord repaid them with other great advantages, granting them the lands that our monarchy rules in Italy and those that its brave Spaniards conquered in the Indies” (70–72). And to make even clearer which was more important, the size of the population or religious purity, Fernández de Navarrete concludes his discussion of the Expulsion hoping that it might later inspire that of the Gypsies, often “hoped for” but never successfully carried out: “it would not be so difficult to execute when we consider how harmful to the republic is the tolerance of this pernicious people in our midst” (73).⁶²

It is equally revealing to analyze how the Expulsion was viewed in histories, treatises and funeral sermons published or written in the seventeenth century. Perhaps we should begin by regretting that Pedro de Valencia, one of the best students of the Morisco question and a royal chronicler from 1607 onward, never completed the history of Philip III that he appears to have begun writing soon after 1610. We know from various reports that Philip III had approved allowing him access to state documents, including information about actions by the state that had been concluded; some of these were enormously controversial in their day, such as the Peace of Vervins, the Twelve Years’ Truce with Flanders, the Expulsion of the Moriscos, and the motives for each of them.⁶³

62 “El cuerpo místico de su monarquía...malos humores, que con su contagio podrían corromper la buena sangre”; “los de diferentes costumbres y religión no son vecinos, sino enemigos domésticos”; “puerta del honor hubieran entrado al templo de la virtud y al gremio y obediencia de la Iglesia Católica, sin que los incitara a ser malos en tenerlos en mala opinion....”; “purgar estos reinos de las ultimas heces, que de esta gente por permission del Rey Egica habían quedado [...], no reparando estos santos Príncipes en que con la expulsión de gente tan rica, se disminuían los tributos y rentas reales: daño que se lo recompensó nuestro Señor con tan grandes ventajas, dándoles lo que esta monarquía posee en Italia, y los que sus valerosos españoles ganaron en las Indias”; “no siendo tan dificultosa la ejecución, quanto dañosa la tolerancia de esta gente tan perniciosa en la republica”: Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos* [1626], (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales), 1982, Discurso VI: “De la despoblación de España por la expulsión de judíos y moros,” 67–74, refs. in the text.

63 Juan Idiáquez to the king, 3 April 1611, in Gaspar Morocho Gayo, “Una historia de Felipe III escrita por Pedro de Valencia,” in *Homenaje al profesor Juan Torres Fontes* (Murcia: Universidad), 1987, II: 1141–1151, citation on 1150.

But other texts were composed, although some did not see publication until decades later. All of them, or nearly all, follow the same logic in defense of the Expulsion as the works described above, although now in at least some of them the authors stress the Moriscos' responsibility for the event. We may begin with a relatively simple text, the *Annales y memorias cronológicas* published by Martín Carrillo in 1622, in which the author praises the Spanish monarchs for having made Spain into the country that enjoys the greatest happiness and prosperity. One of the reasons would be that Philip III "has torn out of Spain the stalk, roots and branches of the Mohammedan sect that occupied it for nine hundred years; and although every possible effort was made to convert and humble them so that they would be faithful to God and to the Monarchs, it had never been accomplished."⁶⁴

Blasco de Lanuza wrote *Historias eclesiásticas y seculares de Aragón* (1619–1622), a history of the kingdom that was one of the areas most affected by the Expulsion; he is even more explicit about why the act was justified. Although he does not touch on the subject directly, he affirms that, thanks to the courage of the Catholic Monarchs, the cruel Moorish dominion and the 700-year war had ended with the conquest of Granada in 1492. As a result of that victory many Granadans became subjects of the Spanish Christian monarchs, but in name only:

And although it is true that the Moors there became subjects of our Sovereigns, on occasion they wished to rebel and did so; for just as ancient and venerable trees are hard to pull up because their roots are many and deep...so too it is hard to banish perfidy and bad habits from human hearts, and even more so in Moors, who are barbarous and cruel on account of their principles, nature and customs. They assumed the name of Christians so as not to lose their lands; and since that was merely feigned and temporary, and their perfidy and treachery were so rooted in their hearts, they sprang up and became visible from time to time, causing commotion in the land and thousands of offenses against the faithful; so that they have recently been punished a thousand times over and, being incorrigible, have been exiled from these Kingdoms forever, so that not one of them remains today in all of Spain.⁶⁵

64 "Ha echado de España la maleza, raíces y pimpollos de la secta mahometana, que en novecientos años que ha estado en ella, aunque se han hecho las diligencias posibles para su conversión y reducción para que fuesen fieles a Dios y a los Reyes, jamás se ha podido conseguir": Martín Carrillo, *Annales y memorias cronológicas* (Huesca: Pedro Bluson), 1622, fol. 425r.

65 "Y si bien es verdad que los Moros que alli quedaron sujetos a nuestros Reyes, algunas veces quisieron rebelar y lo pusieron por obra, porque asi como los arboles viejos y de

Two works written in the seventeenth century but not published until the eighteenth show that the prevailing view of the Expulsion was still positive and laudatory, although the authors disagreed about Philip III's qualities as a monarch. The first is Baltasar Porreño's *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Felipe III el Bueno* [Words and Deeds of Our Lord King Philip III the Good] (1628), which has been called "one of the most thoroughgoing attempts to sanctify Philip III."⁶⁶ Porreño dedicates parts of two chapters to the Expulsion of the Moriscos. In Chapter 2, "Premio de sus grandes virtudes [Reward for his Great Virtues]", he describes it as one of the greatest triumphs in the history of the Hispanic Monarchy – almost a miraculous one, having been gained without spilling a single drop of Spanish blood. He enters more deeply into the subject in Chapter 3, "Su Fe y Religión y cómo la manifestó en la expulsión de los Moriscos [His Faith and Religion as he Showed them in the Expulsion of the Moriscos]": the Expulsion becomes "the greatest deed that was ever accomplished with success and prudence in service to the Holy Faith and the Catholic Religion, from the time of the sainted King Pelayo [in the eighth century] up to [Philip's] Reign." The reason for the Expulsion, he believes, was simply the character of the Moriscos, "a people who with secret apostasy sought to trouble the tranquillity of these Kingdoms." Whatever its immediate cause, the Expulsion was one of

the seven wonders of the World, such a difficult feat that neither his father, who was so prudent; nor his grandfather, who was such a great soldier; nor

muchos años son dificultosos de sacar la raiz por las muchas y muy hondas, ansi tiene dificultad en los corazones humanos, el destierro de la perfidia y malas costumbres [...], y mas en los Moros que son bárbaros y crueles desde sus principios, de su naturaleza y costumbres. Tomaron el nombre de Cristianos por no dejar sus tierras y como aquello era fingido y de paso, y su perfidia y infidelidad tan asentada en sus corazones, brotaba de vez en cuando y se descubría alterando la tierra y haciendo millares de insultos contra los fieles hasta que ellos últimamente han sido castigados mil veces, y no habiendo enmienda desterrados para siempre de estos Reinos sin quedar uno solo el día de hoy en toda España": Vincencio Blasco de Lanuza, *Historias eclesiásticas y seculares de Aragón* [1622] (Zaragoza: Cortes de Aragón), 1998, 1:5–6. This work appeared in two volumes: the second, which relates the events of 1556–1618, was the first one published, in Zaragoza in 1619; the first was published in 1622 and tells the history of the conquest of Granada and subsequent events up to 1556.

66 "Uno de los más completos intentos de ensalzar la santidad de Felipe III": Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, "Estudio introductorio. Corona virtuosa y pietas austríaca: Baltasar Porreño, la idea de rey santo y las virtudes de Felipe II," in *Dichos y hechos del Señor Rey Don Felipe Segundo el prudente, potentísimo y glorioso monarca de las Españas y de las Indias* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V), 2001.

his great-great-grandparents, who were the Catholic Monarchs, had dared to undertake it or place its bit between their teeth, fearing an infinite series of uprisings and conspiracies. And our sainted King accomplished it and expelled them from his Kingdoms, he who was a Lamb.⁶⁷

But it is perhaps the humanist, historian and royal chronicler Gil González Dávila who entered most profoundly into the Morisco question in this period, in his *Historia de la vida y hechos del ínclito monarca, amado y santo, D. Felipe Tercero* [History of the Life and Works of the Illustrious, Beloved and Sainted Monarch Philip III]. Although he was no great admirer of Philip, González Dávila dedicated one of his book's longest chapters to the Expulsion of the Moriscos. In it the author, like a good chronicler, reprints decrees and even tells us that his own brother took part in the Expulsion. But the important feature is the meaning he ascribes to the event, one also related to the restoration of Spain:

The greatest and most glorious deed that ended in happiness and good counsel, longed for, attempted and understood from the time of the unvanquished King Pelayo up to the happy days of [Philip's] reign; fully deserving of the Civic Crown with which the Romans garlanded the highest and best Captains of their Republic with the title *Ob Cives servatos* – such was the expulsion of the Moriscos. (139)

In González Dávila's account, the significance of this action is accompanied by criticisms of the Moriscos – who were, in his opinion, the ones really responsible for the Expulsion. His censure takes in the Moriscos of Castile, whom he considers as bad as the rest. Those of Ávila, his hometown, for instance, had the same “defects of having conspired openly against the public good, of attending Church little and late, of absenting themselves from the Sacraments, Sermons and spiritual Homilies, showing themselves lukewarm in matters of religion: participating in them only under duress, not reading or owning

67 “La mayor hazaña que acabó con felicidad y prudencia en servicio de la Santa Fe y Religión Católica, intentada desde el Santo Rey Pelayo, hasta los dichos tiempos de su Reynado”; “Gente que con apostasía secreta, solicitaba alterar el sosiego de estas Coronas”; “las siete maravillas del Mundo, empresa tan ardua que ni su padre, siendo tan prudente, ni su abuelo, siendo tan soldado, ni sus Revisabuelos, siendo los Reyes Católicos, se atrevieron a emprender, ni tomarla en la boca, por los infinitos inconvenientes de conjuraciones y levantamientos que se temían. Y nuestro Santo Rey lo acabó todo, y los echó de sus Reynos, siendo Cordero”: Baltasar Porreño, *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Phelipe III el Bueno* [1628], in *Memorias para la historia de don Felipe III, Rey de España* (Madrid: Oficina Real), 1723, 223–346, citations on 280 and 297.

devotional works, not instructing their children and wives in Christian Doctrine; they failed to show piety in their wills and testaments, kept to their own foods and personal relations, and continued to speak the Arabic Language.” (150)

But it is in his conclusions that González Dávila insists once again on the enormous importance of the Expulsion for understanding the history of Spain in general and that of Philip III's reign in particular:

And I shall say here of our King what I say of Theodosius the Great, who was the first of the Augustan Emperors to banish Idolatry from the Empire and the first to order that the temples of the false Gods be shut down. In the same manner our Augustus, that powerful monarch, was the first – after so many holy and religious Kings – to expel from his broad Empire that perfidious people, and the first to put a definitive end to the perverse memory of Mohammed's sect. And it is worthy of note that in every age the Kings of Spain have been zealous in supporting the Catholic Faith; for in their various expulsions they have removed from their Kingdoms three million Moors and two million Jews, enemies of our Church... (151)⁶⁸

68 “La mayor hazaña y mas gloriosa que acabó con felicidad y consejo, deseada, pretendida y entendida desde los tiempos del invicto Rey Pelayo, hasta los dichosos de su reynado, mereciendo dignamente la Corona Cívica con que los Romanos coronaban a los mas altos y mejores Capitanes de su República con el título de Ob Cives servatos, fue la expulsión de los Moriscos”: “defectos de haber conjurado en voz de Reyno contra la salud pública, de acudir poco y tarde a las Iglesias, no frecuentar Sacramentos, ni asistir a Sermones, ni Pláticas espirituales, mostrándose tibios en las cosas religiosas, llegándose a ellas como por fuerza, ni leer en libros devotos, ni tenerlos, ni industriar a sus hijos y mujeres en la Doctrina Christiana; no se mostraban piadosos en sus testamentos, singularizábanse en sus comidas y tratos, y retenían la Lengua Arabiga”; “Y diré en este lugar de nuestro Rey lo que de Theodosio el Grande, que fue el primero de los Emperadores Augustos que desterró del Imperio la Idolatría, y el primero que mandó cerrar los templos de los Dioses vanos. Así nuestro Augusto y poderoso monarca fue el primero que después de tantos Reyes, tan santos y religiosos, desterró de su dilatado Imperio la perfidia de esta gente, y el primero que acabó de todo punto la memoria perversa de la secta de Mahoma. Y es digno de poner en consideración el zelo que los Reyes de España tuvieron en todo tiempo de sustentar la Fe Católica; pues en diferentes expulsiones que han hecho, han sacado de sus Reynos tres millones de Moros, y dos millones de Judíos, enemigos de nuestra Iglesia...”: Gil González Dávila, *Historia de la vida y hechos del ínclito monarca, amado y santo, D. Felipe Tercero*. This posthumous work was published late in the eighteenth century in *Memoria de España*, vol. 3 (1771); the chapter on the Expulsion is no. 41, 139–152, with references in the text. González Dávila died in 1658.

The monarchy's panegyrists, under Philip IV, continued to explain the Expulsion as a result of Philip III's piety, and as a move that was inevitable given the divine plan for Spain and its sovereigns. One of the clearest defenses of these ideas (in spite of its baroque style) was by Fray Hortensio Paravicino, in a memorial panegyric to Philip III composed for a ceremony marking the fourth anniversary of his death, held in the royal chapel in the presence of Philip IV and his court. Once again it is important to remember that Paravicino, like González Dávila, was no great admirer of Philip III. He declared that if the Spanish people had been chosen to rule over others and to become the champions of Christianity, Philip III was the obvious incarnation of this divine plan, having been allowed to fight against religious contamination both within and without his kingdoms:

Such a sacred matter of state, to confound all expectation and political calculations, attending only to the service of his God, the purity of his religion and the Christian safety of his people; forbidding them any further fraternization and company of dragons (as Job said), separating (as Gregory the Great had it) the rapacity of the adulterous eagles from the innocence of the true doves, the wolves from the lambs, the thorns from the roses.⁶⁹

Over thirty years later, in yet another funerary oration for Philip III, the idea of the Expulsion as the crowning event in the sacred history of Spain was expressed once more:

He arrived at the most pious decision, the most courageous intent, the most gallant action that any Prince ever attempted, that any Monarch ever executed, that Statesmen and Politicians have ever censured. Each Republic is part of the world's body, and Kings should be its physicians. An ill humour is never a good citizen, and bad blood is best expelled from the body; for it spreads throughout the veins and infects everything, or else it pools in one spot and becomes an abcess [...]. What were

69 "Sagrada materia de estado, confundir toda la expectacion y sentimientos politicos, atento sólo al servicio de su Dios, a la pureza de su religión, a la seguridad cristiana de sus gentes, no permitiendoles mas fraternidad y compañía de los dragones (como dijo Job), apartando (como dijo el gran Gregorio) la rapacidad de las aguilas adúlteras de la candidez de las palomas legítimas, los lobos de los corderos, los cambrones de los rosales": Fray Hortensio Paravicino, "Panegírico funeral del Rey Felipe III" [1625], in *Sermones cortesanos* (Madrid: Castalia), 1994, 203–204.

Mohammed's infamous followers doing among us? If they were too obstinate to bend their necks to the yoke of obedience, but were constantly shaking off the weight of the law, after having heard so much preaching, what could they do in this mystical body but inflame it? The watching enemy says that it was done through greed, but it was really zeal [...].⁷⁰

Nonetheless it is in the genres of literary fiction and drama that this history becomes somewhat more complex. Other authors beside Cervantes defend the Expulsion or simply criticise the Moriscos; but some take a more sensitive, and somewhat contradictory, point of view. As far as we know, none of these works censures the Expulsion openly or mounts a serious defense of the Moriscos. But they do contain ambiguities that have led many scholars to search for the keys to the attitudes they express.

For most literary historians, one of the best examples of these more sympathetic feelings – though not an outright critique of the Expulsion and its justification – is Calderón de la Barca's *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*, also known as *Amar después de la muerte* [Love after Death]. It is a complex work that presents in a positive light the Morisco rebels of the Alpujarras – or at least those involved in the love story that is its central focus. Most scholars who have studied it, especially in recent years, believe that Calderón, while not being too explicit, was questioning Philip II's policy of subjecting the Moriscos to severe attempts at assimilation, thus forcing them into revolt. They also hold that Calderón was making an indirect criticism of Philip III's decision to expel the Moriscos.⁷¹

70 “Llegó a la resolución más piadosa, al empeño mas valiente, a la facción mas airosa que ha intentado Príncipe, que ha ejecutado Monarca, y que Estadistas y Políticos han censurado jamás. Cuerpo es cada República del mundo, y médicos deben ser los Reyes. Nunca el mal humor hizo buena vecindad, la mala sangre bien está fuera del cuerpo, porque dentro se esparce por las venas, y así lo infecciona todo, o se recoge en alguna parte y así es postema. [...] Que hacían entre nosotros los infames secuaces de Mahoma? Si contra su obstinación no bastó para que sujetasen el cuello al yugo de la obediencia, si a cada paso sacudían a la ley la cerviz, después de muy predicados, que podían hacer en este cuerpo místico, sino inflamarle? Dice el enemigo que acechaba, que fue codicia, pero fue celo...”: Cristóbal Bermúdez, *Oración fúnebre a las honras de la Majestad del Señor Rey Don Philipo III* (1658), fols. 8r-v (Manuscript extant in the Real Convento de la Encarnación, Madrid).

71 See, for example, Margaret Wilson, “Si África llora, España no ríe: A Study of Calderón's *Amar después de la muerte* in Relation to its Source,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 61 (1984), 419–425; and Margaret Greer, “The Politics of Memory in *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*,” in *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain* (London: Tamesis), 2006, 113–130.

Other students of the work, however, disagree completely with that interpretation. Perhaps, they tell us, Calderón disapproved of the Expulsion, but that is not what interests him in this play, which certainly contains nothing that shows him inclined to criticise the monarch's policy toward the Moriscos. As Erik Coenen states, Calderón was simply trying to convert one of the most violent episodes of the Granadan War into "a striking drama of love, honour, infamy and vengeance. It is a drama marked, among other things, by the exquisite poetic passages that it contains; by the empathy with which its author presents the viewpoint of its Morisco characters; and by his palpable indignation in the face of the excesses that are all too common in war."⁷² But there is nothing, or almost nothing, in the work to suggest denunciation of the authorities or solidarity with the exiled Moriscos. Coenen has also shown that the greatest influence on Calderón's work was Luis del Mármol Carvajal's *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* [History of the Rebellion and Punishment of the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada] (1600), a narrative that, as we have seen, shows no sympathy whatever for the Moriscos and their uprising.⁷³

The same can be said of many other works that scholars have upheld as proof of a negative view of the Moriscos' Expulsion in seventeenth-century Spain. Examples include the convert Felipe Godínez's *De buen moro buen cristiano* [From a Good Moor, a Good Christian], written before his death in 1659, and Antonio Mira de Amescua's *El negro del mejor amo* [The Best Master's Black Slave]. Both show "Moors" or "Turks" who convert to Christianity, but always as a result of divine will, and with severe criticisms of everything "Moorish"; neither expresses any explicit questioning of, or opposition to, the Expulsion.

The work of Francisco de Quevedo reminds us once again that some writers contradicted themselves in treating the Morisco issue, although in many cases not because of ideological doubts but through a change in the political context. In one of his best-known satires, *El chitón de las tarabillas* [The Silencer of Overactive Tongues] (1629), Quevedo seems to be castigating the Moriscos'

72 "Un impactante drama de amor, honor, infamia y venganza. Un drama notable, entre otras cosas, por las ráfagas de bellísima poesía que contiene; por la empatía con la que el autor representa el punto de vista de los Moriscos de la obra; por su palpable indignación ante determinados excesos demasiado habituales en las acciones bélicas": Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Amar después de la muerte* (Madrid: Cátedra), 2008, 12.

73 Erik Coenen, "Las fuentes de *Amar después de la muerte*," *Revista de Literatura* 69–138 (2007), 467–485.

Expulsion for the economic and demographic woes that it brought down upon the monarchy:

His Majesty (may God preserve him) found in the monarchy [...] the will to do this, [...] so that the great, good, beloved, fortunate, sainted Philip III, thanks to his miracles, diverted our attention from this calamity through wars in defense of the Church and the Expulsion of the Moors; that order having been decided in a manner that I am not sure was fortunate, for by their departure not only did the number of our enemies increase, but those enemies now had knowledge of many arts; [...] and nothing remained of their possessions save those that were stolen from them. There is little difference between thieves and Moors, the crime is the same; in short, if the Moors who conquered us left Spain unpopulated because they cut everyone's throats, these who have been expelled left it unpopulated because they went elsewhere. They created their own downfall, and took their knives with them.⁷⁴

Quevedo composed this work in defense of the person and policies of the Count-Duke of Olivares, whose regime was founded upon a scathing critique of Philip III's reign;⁷⁵ but when he wrote a second work against Olivares's protection of the Portuguese Jews, Quevedo became one of the strongest defenders of the Morisco Expulsion. Philip III, he wrote,

Your Majesty's sainted and glorious father, assailed by great troubles, expelled absolutely all the Moriscos of both sexes, making no exception for age nor accepting any proof, because there were signs that they were plotting against his person; and since he was sufficiently supported by his

74 "Su Majestad (Dios le guarde) halló en esta monarquía [...] el empeño, [...], de suerte que el grande, el bueno, el amado, el dichoso, el santo Felipo III, a fuerza de milagros nos divirtió de la atención de esta calamidad, que por las guerras en defensa de la Iglesia y expulsión de los moros, que fue una orden resuelta, no se si provechosa en el modo, pues de su salida se nos aumentaron no sólo los enemigos, sino en los enemigos el conocimiento de muchas artes [...] y de los bienes no quedó sino los que les hurtaron, que hicieron tan corta diferencia como de ladrones a moros, con que siempre fue delito; y al fin, si los moros que entraron dejaron a España sin gente porque se la degollaron, éstos que echaron la dejaron sin gente porque salieron. La ruina fue la propia, solo se llevan el cuchillo": Francisco de Quevedo, *El Chitón de las Tarabillas* [1630], (Madrid: Castalia), 1998, 103.

75 John H. Elliott, "Quevedo and the Count-Duke of Olivares," in *Spain and its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1989, 200–202.

immense wealth and possessions, he scorned the property of infidels as offensive and unworthy of sustaining a Catholic prince, and as a result Philip IV had an even greater obligation to expel all the Portuguese Jews.⁷⁶

What students of imaginative literature ought to do – rather than trying to prove that Golden Age writers were liberal and tolerant *avant la lettre* – is to analyze carefully the profound silence maintained by many authors of the period on the subject of the Expulsion. What matters here is not whether they wrote against the act – the vast majority of them did not – but the fact that very few of these writers tried to defend it.⁷⁷ Perhaps we should view this fact in light of Héctor Briosó Santos's interpretations of how little interest many Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seemed to feel in the conquest and colonization of America. The enormous theological, ethical and philosophical critiques of New World colonization and exploitation made the conquest of America very hard to defend with any conviction: how to celebrate the deed without seeming to approve the many crimes and injustices perpetrated by the conquerors and colonisers?⁷⁸ The same check seems to have operated on authors of literary works in relation to the Morisco Expulsion: it was a deed that, for many of them, showed no heroism, and was doubtful from the human, religious and legal standpoints, in spite of all justifications of it by the authorities.

There are many more works that could be studied. Two of the most important were two histories of the War of the Alpujarras: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada* (written in 1575 but published only in 1627, in Lisbon),⁷⁹ and Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Segunda parte de las Guerras Civiles de Granada* (written probably in 1600 but published only in 1619). Both are complex works and neither one deals either directly or indirectly with the Expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. But perhaps we may adopt the words that Pérez de Hita used to describe the exiling of the Granadan Moriscos in 1571 as a way to

76 “Expelió universalmente, atropellando por grandes inconvenientes, el santo y glorioso padre de V. M. toda la generación de los moriscos en entrambos sexos, sin aceptar edad ni admitir probanza, por indicios de que conspiraban contra su persona, y pudiéndose desempeñarse con su inmensa riqueza y posesiones, despreció hacienda de infieles por delincuente y indigna de socorrer príncipe católico”: Francisco de Quevedo, *Execración contra los judíos* [1633] (Barcelona: Crítica), 1996, 25.

77 James Amelang suggested this idea to me during the Madrid symposium on the Expulsion.

78 Héctor Briosó Santos, *América en la prosa literaria española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Huelva: Diputación Provincial), 1999, 48–83.

79 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada hecha por el Rei de España don Phelipe II nuestro señor contra los Moriscos de aquel reino, sus rebeldes* (Lisbon: Giraldo de la Viña), 1627.

represent the profound contradictions and doubts that the final Expulsion from Spain caused many Spaniards to feel in the seventeenth century:

Then His Majesty ordered that the Moriscos be removed from their lands and taken to Castile and La Mancha and other regions that were not the Kingdom of Granada. As soon as the decree was published, their expulsion from the kingdom began. Who could describe the great sorrow that the Granadan Moriscos felt on seeing themselves banished from their land? [...] How these residents from all over Granada wept when it came time to leave their homes! How the women sobbed, looking over their houses, clutching the walls and kissing them over and over, calling to mind their past glories, their present exile, their future sufferings! The unfortunate creatures exclaimed, "Oh, God! Oh, my own land, we do not expect to see you ever again!". Many repeated the words that Aeneas spoke when he fled from Troy: "Oh, three and four times blessed those who fell in battle at the foot of its walls, and who remained in their own land, although they died there!". So said the Moriscos, weeping disconsolately; for had they known that at the end of all their struggles they would be exiled from their homes, they would have died a thousand deaths before they surrendered their arms or sued for peace. In the end the Moriscos of the Kingdom were sent out of their land, and perhaps it would have been better never to have done so, in the light of how much His Majesty and even his Kingdoms have lost.⁸⁰

80 "Luego Su Magestad mandó que los moriscos fuesen sacados de sus tierras y llevados a Castilla y a la Mancha y a otras partes que no fuese reyno de Granada. Publicado este mandato, luego se puso por obra el sacarlos del reyno; quién os podría decir del dolor grande que sintieron los granadinos en ver cómo les mandavan salir de sus tierras [...] Qué de llantos se hacían en todo el estado granadino al tiempo del despedirse de sus casas; con qué sentimiento las mugeres lloravan, mirando sus casas, abrazando las paredes y besándolas muchas veces, trayendo a las memorias sus glorias passadas, sus destierros presentes, sus males por venir; llorando decían las sin venturas: '¡ay, Dios! ¡ay, tierras mías, que no esperamos veros más!' Muchos decían aquellas palabras que dixo Eneas al salir de Troya: 'o, tres y quatro veces fortunados aquellos que peleando murieron al pie de sus muros, que al fin quedaron en sus tierras, ¡aunque muertos!' Esto decían los moriscos llorando piadosamente, que si supieran que al fin de tantos trabaxos los avian de sacar de sus naturales, antes murieran mil muertes que rendir las armas ni aver hecho las paces. Finalmente, los moriscos del Reyno fueron sacados de sus tierras y fuera posible aver sido mejor no averlos sacado por lo mucho que Su Magestad a perdido y aun sus Reynos." Ginés Pérez de Hita, *La Guerra de los Moriscos (Segunda parte de las Guerras Civiles de Granada)* [1619] (Granada: Universidad), 1998, 353.

The Religious Debate in Spain

Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco

The Expulsion of the Moriscos raised a serious doctrinal issue since it involved deporting Christians to Islamic lands where it was obvious that they would, voluntarily or otherwise, renege on their Christian beliefs and embrace the Muslim faith.¹ To make the question more complex, one of the main arguments used to justify the Expulsion was that of the Moriscos' apostasy and the survival of Islamic belief among them. However, the final decision in Valencia, where the expulsion process began, was in fact taken for reasons of state, with the claim made that there was an imminent threat to the Catholic Monarchy from alleged Morisco conspiracies with the Moroccan sultan Muley Zaydān, one of the contenders in the civil war between the sons of the deceased sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The Council of State's decision was thus justified in legal terms by reference to the crime of treason (*lesae maiestatis humanae*) and not that of heresy-apostasy (*lesae maiestatis divinae*). Top-level advisers to the king considered this second option, but rejected it because of the legal impossibility of a global sentence: the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which would have had to assume the burden of proof, was subject to a rigorous legal framework requiring individual trials that could not be applied to a large group.²

The historical reality of the Expulsion can lead us to believe that a decision was made, if not unanimously then at least by a clear majority in the Spanish church, in order to end the problem posed by Morisco apostasy in a radical way. However, this was not the case: it cannot be said that the Spanish church had an official opinion on the solutions that could and should be implemented in order to bring about the conversion of the Moriscos, understood here as a change in their way of life. Neither, in consequence, can it be said that the Church had an official view on the appropriateness of the decision to expel them.

Several diocesan and even provincial synods – some of them highly important ones – discussed the issue. Chief among these were those which took part

1 This essay was written within the framework of a project financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, entitled: "Changes and social resistance in Hispanic areas of Western Mediterranean in Modern Times" (HAR2011-27898-Co2-1).

2 I have given my explanation of the trial in Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La Monarquía Católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim) 2001, 352–420.

in the debates led by Martín de Ayala in Guadix³ and Valencia. The provincial synod of Granada urged by Pedro Guerrero in the mid-1560s was also of great significance. Others, by contrast, limited themselves to reviewing the specific *ordenanzas* affecting the Moriscos, or to promulgating new ones, as occurred in many parts of the kingdom of Valencia. Such discussions tended to cover the subject of daily discipline rather than the larger issues.

Nevertheless, the question of the conversion of the Moriscos, i.e. the best way to turn them into true Christians, did constitute a significant problem for Spanish church figures, and, either on their own initiative or in response to requests from political authorities, they wrote numerous *memoriales*, or consultation papers, on the issue. Of these works, only two were printed before the year 1609: a reduced and self-censored version of a 1587 paper by Martín de Salvatierra, Bishop of Segorbe,⁴ and a treatise by José Esteve, Bishop of Orihuela, on the book of Maccabees, which was published together with another on *La única religión* in 1603.⁵ All other works circulated in manuscript form. The authors of these papers were the priests of Moriscos, religious figures from several different orders, secular ecclesiastics, prelates, Inquisitors and even a handful of lay figures such as Jerónimo Corella, Pedro de Valencia, Martín de Cellorigo or Don Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquis of Denia and future Duke of Lerma. Representatives of the Moriscos also expressed their views in writing.

I will start by considering the main authors and works on which I base my analysis. I have not taken into account any work from before about 1580, when the idea of an expulsion first started to be floated, nor the many works which appeared after the expulsion decree in order to justify it. The latest work I will consider is Jaime Bleda's *Defensa de la fe*, a Castilian Spanish summary of which circulated before its publication in Latin in 1610: I have considered the Spanish summary but not the full Latin work. Most of the works come from three sets of collected materials: the first is what I have called the *great memorandum* of 1607, an extensive set of works put together to inform State Councillors of the antecedents involved in the Morisco issue in the discussions which took place from late 1607 onwards, now held in *legajo* 212 of the *Estado* Section of the Archivo General of

3 Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens. Étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de las Casas (1605–1607)*. PhD diss., University of Rouen, 1998, I: 19–34.

4 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1791/3.

5 J. Esteve, *De bello sacro religionis caussa suscepto: ad libros Machabaeorum commentarie* (Orihuela: Diego de la Torre), 1603.

Simancas.⁶ These texts were extracts and summaries, varying in length and detail, of *memoriales* and *actas* concerning the Moriscos which had been written since the late 1570s. Many of the documents were published in 1901 by Pascual Boronat, in his book *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión*.⁷ This same book also provides a second set of materials, since its author included in the text, notes and appendices a great amount of additional documentation which continues to be required reading on the subject. Finally, a third set of materials comes from the documents in the Holland Collection, acquired and published by Rodrigo de Zayas in his book *Los moriscos y el racismo de estado*,⁸ where they appear in a valuable appendix. Other materials have also been located and consulted in the Archivo General of Simancas, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Biblioteca Nacional de España and the British Library. Some of these materials had already been published by Boronat.

Although the existence of such writings can be traced back as far as Fray Hernando de Talavera, first archbishop of the newly conquered city of Granada, they flourished after the mid-sixteenth century, as awareness grew of the Moriscos' religious resistance and a change in church attitudes coincided with the final phases of the Council of Trent. However, it was not until the late 1560s that arguments were presented for the expulsion of Moriscos from Spain rather than internal deportations. From this time on, it becomes possible to identify two currents of opinion: for lack of a better term I will describe the first of them as that of the "optimists," who thought the Moriscos' sincere conversion to Christianity was still possible. I have opted not to use the term "moderate" for this current, used in previous work of mine, because the word no longer seems appropriate for describing the kind of proposals made by such figures.⁹

6 See my contribution to Alberto Marcos Martín, ed., *Hacer historia desde Simancas: homenaje a José Luis Rodríguez de Diego* (Valladolid: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo), 2011, entitled "De moriscos, papeles y archivos: el gran memorándum de 1607," 107–127.

7 Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (Valencia: Francisco Vives y Mora), 1901.

8 Rodrigo de Zayas, *Los moriscos y el racismo de estado. Creación, persecución y deportación (1499–1612)* (Córdoba: Almuzara), 2006.

9 Especially in: R. Benítez, "L'Église et les morisques," chap. V of *Les morisques et l'Inquisition* (Paris: Publisud), 1990, 65–80. Since completing this Chapter I have been able to consult a work that at the time these lines were written was still unpublished, Isabelle Poutrin, *Convertir les Musulmans. Espagne, 1491–1609* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) 2012. In it she shows the influence of the different theological and canonical currents on the writings of the church figures, and also those of sixteenth-century counsellors and historians, concerning the conversion and expulsion of the Moriscos. It is worth pointing out how she

In order to save the Moriscos from expulsion or harsher punishments, the “optimists” suggested destroying Morisco culture or breaking up Morisco communities. The second current was made up by figures who could be described as “pessimists,” though I will use the term “exclusionists,” since in their opinion the Moriscos had to be seen as Moors, i.e. Muslims, and therefore excluded from all Christendom.

It is important to bear in mind the European political context within which the debate reached its apex of highest tension, between 1580 and 1609. Some of the writings contain hints of a Catholic fear, or pessimism, in the face of what was seen as a triumph of “freedom of conscience,” especially in France but also within the German Empire. The fear was that Spain would be infected by the same evil if Morisco Islamic practices were tolerated.

Fear of the Morisco and Expulsion Proposals

The starting point for all the authors I will examine is the idea of the continuity of Islam among the Moriscos. Nonetheless, there were important differences of nuance. Although the most “optimistic” writers, like the Jesuit of Morisco origin, Ignacio de las Casas, shared this generally negative view, they made some exceptions. De las Casas wrote to Pope Clement VIII in 1605: “It was not my intention [...] to say that there are not [...] many good Christians, for there are many well-known ones and there must be others of whom nothing is known [...] but what I have said is common to all of them and the state of that people grows more irremediable and dangerous every day.”¹⁰ Pointing to the existence of good Christians within a group of individuals which had been harshly judged was a strategy common to a number of the authors of *memoriales* who proposed solutions involving assimilation. In a *memorial* of 1587, Gaspar Punter, bishop of Tortosa, a diocese on which a number of towns in the

explains the Scottist influence among those in favour of putting pressure on the Mudejars to baptise themselves, in the belief that they with time would become good Christians, as opposed to the Thomist current, which was against coercion. By the time of the final discussions, those figures who can be identified as following the Scottist line spoke against the expulsion, but defended the idea of putting pressure on the Moriscos to convert. Against them, the Thomists, who then came to be seen as radicals, argued for expulsion. This brief summary does not reflect the depth of analysis in Poutrin's profound study.

10 El Alaoui, *Jésuites*, II:19: “No ha sido mi intento [...] dezir que no ay [...] muchos buenos christianos, que sí ay muchos muy sabidos y abrá otros que no se sepan [...], pero lo que queda referido es común en todos y el estado de esta gente se va haciendo cada día más irremediable y peligroso.”

Lower Ebro region, where several Moriscos managed to avoid expulsion, depended, wrote that it was well known that the Moriscos continued to use Mohammedan ceremonies but then added that some of those in his diocese were good Christians.¹¹ Pedro de Valencia may be the author who expressed the idea most strongly: “Among such a large number of people, however lost the community might be, there may be many who are not only not guilty of heresy and disloyalty to the king, but are good and even holy Christians.”¹²

As might be expected, the view of the most radical “exclusionists” was that the Moriscos as a whole should be considered Moors, i.e. Muslims, and thus apostates and heretics. The Dominican Fray Jaime Bleda, one of the most bellicose of all the exclusionists, devoted the first treatise of his *Defensa de la fe* to demonstrating that the Moriscos were Moors and should therefore be excommunicated. In a letter to the council member Juan de Idiáquez in 1605, he followed a long passage summarising the crimes of the Moriscos with the sentence: “They are the greatest and most shameless heretics in the world.”¹³ This view was also held by Juan de Ribera, who in a *memorial* dated 20 July 1587 stated that “they are all as one in their obstinacy and in living like Moors, and even also in saying that they have not received instruction”¹⁴; he was even more emphatic in the letter he wrote to Philip II on 3 May 1594, in which he refers to “the Moriscos, or to put it more correctly, the Moors, that there are” in Spain.¹⁵

The problem, in the pessimistic view of the exclusionists, was not only that the Moriscos generally behaved like “moros de Argel [Moors of Algiers]”, but that converting them to Christianity was impossible. This is the key to the exclusionists’ way of thinking. It was clearly true of Juan de Ribera, despite or perhaps because of his efforts to offer them the right to parochial measures from 1582 until 1608, when he wrote to Philip III in the following terms: “No hope is or can be had, judging morally and in accordance with Christian prudence, that they will persevere in any faith other than the one they have now,

11 BL, *Egerton*, 1511, fols. 222–226.

12 Valencia, Pedro de. “Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España” [1606], in *Obras completas*, Vol. 4 *Escritos sociales 2. Escritos políticos* (León: Universidad), 1999, 101: “En tan grande número de gente, por perdida que sea la comunidad, puede ser que haya muchos, no solamente no culpados en crimen de herejía y de infidelidad al Rey, pero buenos cristianos y aun santos.”

13 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fol. 44 v.º: “Son los mayores y más desvergonçados hereges que ay en el mundo.”

14 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 373: “todos son unos en su obstinación y en el bivir como moros, y aun también en dezir que no se an instruydo.”

15 BL, *Egerton*, 1511, fols. 132–133: “los moriscos o (hablando con más propiedad) moros que ay.”

nor that they will want to know anything of ours, and if they do know of it, it will be in order not to believe it.”¹⁶

A few examples will serve to show the harshness of the language used by some authors. Fray Francisco de Ribas, of the Order of the Minims, may have been the first to propose expulsion, writing even before Ribera, in 1582: “Lo mejor de todo sería lo que Abraham dixo al rico abariento: *chaos magnum formatum est inter vos et nos*¹⁷; y que huviese mar en medio dellos y de nosotros, como se hizo con los judíos de España, con lo qual se remediaron los daños que dellos venían [The best thing of all would be what Abraham said to the rich miser: *chaos magnum formatum est inter vos et nos*; and that there be sea water between us and them, as was done with the Jews of Spain, with which a remedy was found for the evils that came from them]”. It is hardly surprising that Ribas should have taken a pessimistic stance concerning the possibility of conversion, to such an extent that he saw a downside to the idea of even attempting such efforts: “With there being so little hope of their conversion, to insist that they do so is nothing more than to give them reasons for belittling us, for in the end we allow them to live in their religion knowing that we know they are Moors.”¹⁸ The Inquisitor of Valencia, Pedro Zárate, who like so many other Inquisitors or former Inquisitors was also a “pessimist,” wrote on 6 July 1587: “Since these new Christians learn their religion from the time that they suckle at the teat, as if by nature, there is no reason to trust that for fear of punishment they will give up their ceremonies and Moorish beliefs.”¹⁹ The search for explanations for the resistance of the Moriscos led some to insist on the existence of a form of original sin transmitted by genetic inheritance: Fray Pedro Arias, an Augustinian, argued in 1602 against those who called for new campaigns of instruction before expelling the Moriscos, since “no se les

16 Antonio Mestre, “Un documento desconocido del Patriarca Ribera escrito en los momentos decisivos sobre la expulsión de los moriscos,” in *Estudios dedicados a Juan Peset Aleixandre* (Valencia: Universitat), 1982, 737–739: “Ninguna speranza se tiene ni puede tener, juzgando moralmente y según prudencia christiana, de que perseverarán en otra fe que la que agora tienen, ni de que querrán saber de la nuestra, y que en caso que la sepan será para no creerla.”

17 Luke 16, 26: “*inter nos et vos chasma magnum firmatum est*” (Between us and you there is a great chasm fixed).

18 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fols. 5 v.^o–6 r.^o: “Haviendo tan poca esperanza de que se conviertan el porfiar que lo hagan no es más que darles materia para que nos tengan en poco, pues al cabo los dexamos vivir en su secta sabiendo ellos que nosotros sabemos que son moros.”

19 BL, *Egerton*, 1511, fols. 290–293: “Como estos christianos nuevos tienen su secta desde la teta, como por naturaleza, no ay confianza que por temor de la pena dexarán sus ceremonias y secta de moros.”

deve dar crédito aunque con juramento solemne prometan la enmienda [they cannot be believed though under solemn oath they promise to mend their ways]. The problem was seen as “racial”: Arias spoke of how “esta mala casta [this evil caste]” was descended from Ishmael, half-brother of Isaac, towards whom he felt eternal hatred,²⁰ an idea reiterated by other more optimistic authors such as Pedro de Valencia. For Martín de Salvatierra, Bishop of Segorbe and a former Inquisitor in Valencia, the problem derived from the fact that Islam was riddled with Judaism, making the sincere conversion of its followers an impossibility.²¹

Those who held such views, which amounted to a virtual summary trial, proposed to exclude the Moriscos from the Church. They wanted to ban them from attending Mass and confession, one of the few sacraments, along with marriage and baptism, to which they had access. Such authors believed that in allowing the Moriscos to participate in the sacraments, Christians were condoning the sacrilege committed when such sacraments were not received as they should be, in a mockery of all that was holy. Even those who still believed in the conversion of the Moriscos, such as the English Jesuit Joseph Cresswell, nonetheless criticised the fact that they were forced to go to Mass by violent means, since this “no sirve sino para multiplicar pecados y blasfemias [only served to multiply sins and blasphemies]”. He defended, on the other hand, the idea that they should only be admitted to church when deemed to have made a true and genuine conversion.²²

There was even proposal and discussion of the idea that Morisco children should not be baptized since they would inevitably end up apostasizing. This is a key idea in the writings of fray Luis Bertrán: if the Moriscos could not be forced through punishment to be good Christians, the idea of not baptizing them must be proposed to Rome, on account of the insult towards the sacrament which was involved when one knew that the children would be corrupted by their parents, under whose power they remained.²³ This thesis was upheld by the most radical thinkers, and was defended by both Bleda and Ribera, who by the spring of 1582 already thought that it was “much less injurious to let them go to limbo than to provide occasion for the name of God to be blasphemed.”²⁴

20 AGS, Estado, 212, *Gran memorandum*, fols. 40 v.º–41 r.º.

21 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 612–634. A great number of the references to Judaism disappeared in the printed *memorial*.

22 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 520 y 524.

23 *Ibidem*, 465.

24 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 607: “mucho menos daño dexarlos yr al limbo que no dar ocasión para que el nombre de Dios sea blasphemado.”

In sum, by denying that the Moriscos could ever be Christians, the conclusion drawn was that they should be excluded from the Christian republic, and in particular from the lands of its firmest pillar, the Catholic Monarchy of Spain. The Inquisitor Ximénez de Reinoso underlined the fact that Spain had always been free of heresy, and that at that moment – 1582 – it was a fortress against the advance of heresy in the north and that of Islam to the south. In order to keep it that way “we must seek to clean and purify it of such an evil people and nation as this, which for so many years has hindered and stained it with its evil ways.”²⁵

The list of authors who expressly mention the risk run by Spain of incurring divine wrath for tolerating heresy is a very long one, and includes both optimists and pessimists. Among the former, Jerónimo Corella in his *memorial* of 1581 wrote that “from all this so many and so great a series of sacrileges result, that if they are not remedied one fears that the Lord God will send some very great punishment upon Spain.”²⁶ This prophetic threat was already being fulfilled, according to other authors – such as fray Luis Bertrán – in the form of starvation and sterility,²⁷ and the idea can also be seen in Bleda and Ribera. The latter made a direct link between military disasters suffered abroad by the Monarchy and divine discontent with the tolerance shown towards Morisco apostasy. Ribera made this view known to Philip II in 1594, when he reminded the monarch of the failure of the Invincible Armada against England,²⁸ and referred to it again in remarks to Philip III after the 1601 disaster of Algiers.²⁹ The summary made of Jaime Bleda’s manuscript version of the *Defensa de la fe* reflected this fear by emphasising “the great need there is to ask God not to punish us harshly for the perfidy of these people who live among us and it can be thought that the bad years we are experiencing, the ruinous events in war and other public travails all occur for this reason.”³⁰

25 *Ibidem*, 598–599: “se ha de procurar que se limpie y purifique de una tan mala gente y nación como esta, que tantos años a la tienen entorpecida y manchada con su mal vivir.”

26 *Ibidem*, II: 498: “de todo esto resultan tantos y tan graves sacrilegios, que si no se remedian es de temer que ha de embiar Dios Nuestro Señor algún grandíssimo castigo a Spanya.”

27 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 465.

28 BL, Egerton, 1511, fols. 132–133.

29 P. Francisco Escrivá, *Vida del illustrissimo y excellentissimo señor don Iuan de Ribera, patriarca de Antiochia y arzobispo de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey), 1612, 360–361.

30 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fol. 47 v.º: “la gran necesidad que ay de pedir a Dios que no nos castigue ásperamente por la perfidia desta gente que tenemos entre nosotros y que se puede temer que los malos años que corren, los ruynes subcessos en las armas y otros travajos que ay públicos suceden por esta causa.”

It was not only a question of not tolerating heresy, but of preventing the presence of different religions within the state. Contemporary France served as a negative illustration of the dangers of making such a mistake. Several of the main defenders of the idea of expulsion curse the “*políticos*” in France who had placed State interests above those of religion and had allowed the existence of two religions in the bosom of their Christian Monarchy by conceding what is referred to as “freedom of conscience” (an idea which does not completely coincide with current understanding of the term). This was a danger which terrified Archbishop Ribera: “in these times when there is such a sect of politicians and from what we see it is allowed by them for proper and natural vassals to live in the law that they want,”³¹ and it was denounced in a more public manner by the Bishop of Orihuela, José Esteve, in a printed treatise, although it is true that the text was published in Latin. Nevertheless, Ribera himself coincided with Father Cresswell in putting forward the idea of a sort of general catechumenate, which related to his opposition to the Moriscos being permitted to take part in church ceremonies, and was presented as a first step towards either sincere conversion or the more likely outcome of expulsion. It certainly did not mean acceptance of the much-feared notion of freedom of conscience, since the practice of Islam was not to be permitted to the Moriscos.³²

Having accepted the principle that it was not acceptable to close one’s eyes to the practice of a religion other than the Catholic faith, the solutions proposed covered a wide range of options from various forms of extermination to expulsion, seen as a benevolent way out, and even including slavery. Faced with the radicalism of some of the proposals we must not lose sight of the nature of scholastic discourse within which they are found: different solutions are usually presented in order to show that the author’s own proposal is a relatively mild one by comparison with much tougher alternative options. Thus, the fact that an author like Martín de Salvatierra should discuss the castration of the Moriscos does not mean that he saw it as the best solution. Instead, he was making use of it as a possible alternative to objections that might be made to his own preferred option, which was expulsion to Barbary. The basic alternative was the death penalty or expulsion for the crime of divine *lèse-majesté* i.e. heresy.

31 Escrivá, *Vida del ilustrísimo*, 356: “en este tiempo que corre tanto la secta de los políticos y que vemos que por ella es permitido a los vasallos propios y naturales bivar en la ley que quieren.”

32 *Relación de lo que se ha hecho en la Junta que su Magestad ha mandado tener en la ciudad de Valencia, que comenzó a los 22 de noviembre de 1608 en el Real* (Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 132–139, esp. 138).

The problem faced by supporters of exclusion was that of couching it in legal terms. This was a very grave difficulty, because although it was assumed that all Moriscos were apostates and heretics, by the same token they were also Christians. The Church had a duty to re-integrate them within its faith and discipline, and if this were not possible, to condemn and sentence them in accordance with procedures laid down by law. In Spain jurisdiction over heresy was held by the Holy Office, having been delegated this function by the Pope. It was therefore the Inquisition's responsibility to decree in an official manner that which the *memoriales* took as granted: the exclusion of Moriscos from the Catholic church. For this to occur it was necessary to place every individual prisoner on trial, to present evidence, mainly provided by witnesses, of crimes, hear defences, make judgements and proceed to pass sentence. Clearly, it was not possible to do this with all the roughly three hundred thousand Moriscos living in Spain in 1609.

In his *memorial* to the Pope, Ignacio de las Casas, after pointing out that there were good Christians among the Moriscos, highlighted the fact that even the Inquisition did not make a global condemnation of them all.³³ To a certain anonymous author it did not seem fair to declare all Moriscos heretics, nor traitors, because there were many innocent folk among them; he thought it was necessary to judge them individually.³⁴ The authors of the *memoriales* came up with various imaginative ways of getting around this obstacle, starting with the very first proposals to expel the Moriscos as early as 1582, but none of them seemed very sturdy from a legal viewpoint. Juan de Ribera offered the alternative of acting on a Royal sentence based on "los justos y urgentes motivos que sabemos [the just and urgent motives of which we know]" or that the Inquisition try them all systematically, which he saw as feasible in Castile, though not in Valencia: the deportation of the Valencian Moriscos to Castile would therefore make the task easier.³⁵ In the same year Ximénez de Reinoso was aware of the legal issues raised by expulsion, such as the impossibility of a judicial sentence – as an Inquisitor he knew that there was only circumstantial evidence. He nevertheless believed that public reputation was enough: "I believe that their evil way of life, their insistence and obstinacy is so well-known and notorious throughout Christendom that with this, and what it can be managed to do, Your Majesty would have such a justified cause in the eyes of all the world that no-one with a minimum of knowledge would be able to

33 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 25.

34 This was the author of the memorial which starts *Jesús, María. Satisfaciendo a peticiones tan justas...* (AGS, Estado, Leg. 218).

35 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 604.

make a murmur.”³⁶ Two of the firmest advocates of expulsion thought that a condemnatory sentence was unnecessary, and that the general principle of forgiving a multitude of individuals was inapplicable in this case. Martín de Salvatierra made the general claim that “in this case the general rule which holds that a crowd of delinquents be forgiven should not be applied.”³⁷ Jaime Bleda, in his *memorial* of 1605, spoke out against the view that only the guilty should be punished, citing the expulsion orders against Castilian Jews and Moors issued by the Catholic Monarchs: “when some serious and detestable crime is committed by one from some college and university it is a reason for that college and university to be dissolved and annihilated, and, the least for the greatest and some for others, all to be punished and castigated.”³⁸ The idea that all Moriscos had to be deemed guilty could, logically, lead to the argument for a general, collective punishment. But the issue remained unclear right up until the end, and was still being discussed in the synod held in Valencia under the direction of Ribera in the winter of 1608–1609. According to the Archbishop, most of those present, with the exception of Father Antonio Sobrino, were in favour of accepting that the Moriscos were notorious heretics. Sobrino wrote a letter to Inquisitor Sánchez harshly criticising the defenders of this doctrine, because of the way they confused public reputation and legal evidence, and claimed, in addition, that if the Moriscos were notorious heretics the Inquisition would have no choice but to judge and punish them, without being able to use the large number of them as an excuse.³⁹

In the face of these legal difficulties, the notion gradually gained sway that the Moriscos were a threat to the security of the Monarchy because of the likelihood that they would organise an uprising, which would be backed by the kind of foreign aid the Moriscos sought to achieve by sending ambassadors to countries which were enemies of Spain. The list of the enemies with whom the Moriscos were said to be conspiring was a long one: most frequently cited were of course the Turk and Algiers, but others such as France and England also

36 *Ibidem*, 601: “Creo que su mala manera de bivar, pertinacia y obstinación es tan conocida y notoria en toda la cristiandad que con esto, y con lo que se procurará hazer, ternía Su Magestad tan justificada su causa delante de los ojos de todo el mundo que nadie de mediano conocimiento terna que murmurar.”

37 *Ibidem*, 631: “no a de tener lugar en este caso la regla general que dice haverse de perdonar a la muchedumbre de delinquentes.”

38 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fol. 43 v.º: “Quando algún grave y detestable crimen es cometido por alguno de algún colegio y universidad es razón que el tal colegio y universidad sea disolvido y anichilado, y los menores por los mayores y los unos por los otros sean pugnidos y castigados.”

39 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 136–137.

appear. Juan Boil, after referring to the prophecy of one Fray Escuder concerning an uprising which would start in Gandía, wrote that “the king of France [Henri IV], when he was prince of Béarn, hold talks with those Moriscos and those of Aragón.”⁴⁰ Ribera, in his first *papel* of 1601, believed a French or English intervention likeliest.⁴¹ This possibility was also mentioned by Father Cresswell.⁴² It is significant that none of these authors pointed to the possibility of a Moroccan intervention, given that this would turn out to be the government’s official excuse for expelling the Moriscos of Valencia.

What lay behind such fears was the belief that the Moriscos wanted to take possession of Spain once more, and this belief was bolstered by ideological considerations and false demographic estimates, which spoke of a future in which the Moriscos would outnumber Old Christians: “Consider, then, the rate at which the Moriscos multiply and how in just a few years they will come to exceed us in number and therefore in strength” were the words with which Pedro de Valencia concluded his demographic analysis.⁴³ For a good example of the belief that the Moriscos sought to take back power in Spain, we can refer to the words of an anonymous Benedictine monk from Montserrat in 1602:

They are certain that Spain must return to their power again, according to certain prophecies of theirs, and although this be false, it would be enough for those blinded and deceived by the devil to believe in it, and thus encouraged to take up arms and lay down their lives so as not to let pass the opportunity and time of their benefit and liberty, as they call it.⁴⁴

The reading which, according to Ignacio de las Casas, the Moriscos made of the Lead Books of Granada was of this kind: it reinforced the messianism of the Moriscos, also seen as encouraged by prophecies such as that recorded by

40 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fol. 31 r.º: “apunta las pláticas que el rey de Francia – Enrique IV –, siendo príncipe de Béarn, tuvo con aquellos moriscos y los de Aragón.”

41 Escrivá, *Vida del ilustrísimo*, 357.

42 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 510–511.

43 Valencia, “Tratado,” 86: “Considérese, pues, a este paso que llevan los moriscos en multiplicarse, en cuán pocos años nos vendrán a exceder en número y por lo consiguiente en fuerzas.”

44 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fol. 30 v.º: “Tienen ellos por cosa cierta que España a de volver otra vez a su poder, según ciertas prophecías suyas, y aunque esto sea falso bastaría a que, como ciegos y engañados del demonio, dando crédito a ello, con mayor ánimo tomassen armas y pusiessen las vidas por no dexar passar la ocasión y tiempo de su bien y libertad, que assí lo llaman ellos.”

Mármol Carvajal in his 1600 book, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada*.⁴⁵ It is also worth remembering here the ideological formulations of the Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century clamoured for the recuperation of al-Andalus. This idea was expressed for domestic political purposes rather than out of any belief that it might actually take place, but the notion may well have had its influence on groups of Moriscos in contact with Morocco.⁴⁶

The connection between the fear of divine punishment and the “loss of Spain” i.e. its falling into the hands of Islamic powers, is implicitly shown by Ximénez de Reinoso (1582) when he writes: “Pray to God that His Divine Majesty will not become wrathful, as he did in the past on account of the many unbridled vices which then abounded in Spain,”⁴⁷ and it is an underlying feature of the prophecy which fray Luis Bertrán was alleged to have passed on to the Valencian nobleman Luis Boil, in which threatened even greater evils than those suffered in the “times of the king Don Rodrigo”.⁴⁸ But it is Archbishop Juan de Ribera who deserves to be credited with the elaboration of a global discourse linking fear of a Morisco uprising with foreign assistance, the threat of a divine punishment and a possible “loss of Spain.” Some of his phrases are very emphatic: “For me this is so true that although I am almost seventy years old, I fear that if Your Majesty does not make a resolution in this case, taking advantage of these inspirations, I will live to see Spain lost,”⁴⁹ since God kept “these domestic enemies [...] as executioners of the justice he intends to wreak on us.”⁵⁰ Faced with the prospect of the disaster that this would mean in both the political and spiritual spheres, the Catholic King was obliged to defend the Monarchy and his Catholic subjects, without concerning himself with issues of

45 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “De Pablo a Saulo: traducción, crítica y denuncia de los libros plúmbeos por el P. Ignacio de las Casas, S.J.” in *Los plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro* (Valencia: Universitat), 2006, 217–252.

46 Nabil Moulina, *Le califat imaginaire d’Ahmad al-Mansūr* (Paris: PUF), 2009; Mercedes García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur. The beginnings of Modern Morocco* (London: Oneworld), 2009.

47 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 599: “Plega a Dios que no se enoje desto algún día su Divina Magestad, como se enojó la vez pasada por los muchos y desenfrenados vicios de que entonces abundava España.”

48 AGS, Estado, Leg. 212, *Gran memorandum*, fol. 31 r.º.

49 Escrivá, *Vida del illustrissimo*, 362: “Para mí esto es tan cierto que, con hallarme casi en setenta años de edad, temo que si Vuestra Magestad no manda tomar resolución en este caso, aprovechándose de estas inspiraciones, he de ver en mis días perdida España.”

50 *Ibidem*, 360: “estos enemigos domésticos [...] para verdugos de la justicia que piensa hazer en nosotros.”

ecclesiastical jurisdiction: "It is Your Majesty's responsibility, and you are obliged by natural and divine law, to free these kingdoms from evident dangers."⁵¹ The safety of the kingdoms was the monarch's main obligation, and should not be limited by ecclesiastical law; to guarantee it "you can and should use the remedies provided by divine and human law, without bogging yourself down in those of the church."⁵²

An underlying element in Ribera's analysis in his third *papel* of 1602, is fear of the position which might be taken up by Rome. This had been a common feature since the first proposals of 1582. The Inquisitor Ximénez de Reinoso assumed that Rome was aware that the Moriscos were Muslims and that it would therefore make no objections. But on other occasions, as occurred when in January 1602, under the impact of Ribera's first *papel*, most of the Councillors recommended expulsion, the Duke of Lerma and the Royal confessor Gaspar de Córdoba, who were against the measure, considered it necessary to consult the Pope.⁵³ Ribera went further and simply proposed acting within the ambit of Christian reasons of state. The fundamental basis of legal argumentation was to be the imminent danger to the Monarchy, rather than heresy. In this way serious jurisdictional conflicts were avoided.

Rejection of the Expulsion, Criticism of the Religious Attention given to Moriscos and Trust in Conversion

Those who were opposed to expulsion were aware of the threat involved for the Monarchy, and some even made prophetic denunciations announcing divine punishments for the toleration of heresy, just as Juan de Ribera had done from the other side of the discussion. The basic difference between the two positions is that for the optimists all was not lost. Their arguments were grounded on an understanding of canon law which they saw as solid: the Moriscos were children of the Church. This did not prevent them from considering forced baptism an error, but as was recognised in its day by the *Congregación* of Madrid in 1525 in its verdict on the baptisms carried out by the *agermanados* in the summer of 1521, which were the most violent, the degree

51 *Ibidem*, 376 (2.º *papel*): "A Vuestra Magestad le compete, y le obliga el derecho natural y divino, librar sus reynos de evidentes peligros."

52 *Ibidem*, 394: "puede y debe usar de los remedios que le da el derecho divino y humano, sin empacharse en los medios eclesiásticos."

53 Manuel Danvila y Collado, *La expulsión de los moriscos españoles. Conferencias pronunciadas en el Ateneo de Madrid* [Madrid, 1889] (Valencia: Universitat), 2007, doc. XL, 315–318.

of force employed had not been “absolute” or extreme, i.e. in such a way that they were prevented from doing anything else, and the baptisms were deemed valid. At the same time, those Moriscos alive in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had been baptized as children and were not affected by the earlier forced baptisms. Both sides agreed on this. What characterised the optimists was that they thought that as children of the Church, the Moriscos had to be attended to and, if necessary, punished, but that it was not permissible simply to exclude them. Ignacio de las Casas was emphatic in his *memorial* to the Pope, in which he made the following denunciation in a discussion of the ideas of those who argued against baptizing Morisco children: “He who argues in favour of exempting them from the yoke of the Church [...] is arguing for taking away from that same Church the ability it has always had to castigate and oppress all heretics.”⁵⁴

The reasons for not expelling the Moriscos were ecclesiastical, political and economic. The authors who wrote on the subject often mixed these reasons. For example, Cardinal Guevara believed that “it cannot be done without great scruple of conscience, for it would seem a dire thing that being baptized Christians they were allowed and given occasion to [...] move to Barbary to renege.”⁵⁵ In addition to this, and although he did not seem to consider it the main argument, Guevara wrote that an expulsion of the Moriscos would destroy the estates and leading men of the kingdom of Valencia. Even Francisco de Sandoval, Marquis of Denia, had tried to persuade Philip II in April 1582, at the same time that Ximénez de Reinoso and Ribera were asking for an expulsion, that the Moriscos should not be removed from the kingdom of Valencia, given that “the day that they are removed all would be destroyed, both church incomes and the patrimony of Your Majesty and everyone else.”⁵⁶ The most frequently used argument within the political sphere was that an expulsion would strengthen the Turk and the enemies of the Monarchy; the economic argument was that as well as leading to the fall in incomes predicted by the Duke of Lerma, it would cause depopulation. The bottom line was that the Monarchy’s prestige was at stake: to expel the Moriscos would be to recognise

54 El Alaoui, *Jésuites*, II: 33: “Quien pretende eximir a estos del iugo de la Iglesia [...] pretende quitar a la mesma Iglesia la posesión que a siempre tenido en castigar y comprimir a todos los hereges.”

55 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 472–473: “no se puede hazer sin escrúpulo grande de consciencia, pues parecería cosa rezia que siendo christianos baptizados se les consintiese ni diese ocasión a que [...] se pasaran a Berbería a renegar.”

56 *Ibidem*, 285: “el día que los apartassen hera destruydo todo, assí en las rentas eclesiásticas como en el patrimonio de Vuestra Magestad y de todos los demás.”

the Catholic King's failure within his kingdoms at the same time that he boasted about evangelising distant lands. This idea was expressed by Martín González de Cellorigo: "to kill them and finish them off or throw them out of Spain, as some suggest, apart from not being an act worthy of Your Majesty's compassion," would lead people to understand that the king was unable to convert them, at a time when he was making huge efforts to convert others outside Spain.⁵⁷ A similar argument was used by Pedro de Valencia, who adorned it with rhetorical effects:

What Christian heart could endure seeing in the fields and on the beaches such a large crowd of baptized men and women crying out to God and the world that they were Christians and wanted to be so, and that their children and estates were taken from them out of avarice and hatred, without listening to them nor giving them trials, and that they were sent to become Moors? That this was done by the greatest king in the world, the only Catholic and truly Christian one, if not from avarice, at least from cowardice, out of fear of men who had surrendered and were unarmed and his vassals, who were in his hands and under his control in the midst of his kingdom.⁵⁸

This was a rejection of the Expulsion, but also of other more radical alternatives which had been proposed by the exclusionists. Las Casas rejected these alternatives as unfair: "And I ask, what is to be done with these people? To kill them is against all reason and justice; to enslave them [...] is also against all justice." To throw them out of Spain, he argued, would be to strengthen its enemies and enable them to destroy it. He also made a prophecy of his own, which in this case can be described as an inverse one: "And I am inclined to say that God would allow it out of just revenge [for the injustice committed]."⁵⁹

57 *Ibidem*, 389: "Matarlos y acabarlos o echarlos de España, como algunos dicen, además que no sería hecho digno de la misericordia de [...] Vuestra Magestad."

58 Valencia, "Tratado," 106: "Qué corazón cristiano había de haber que sufriese ver en los campos y en las playas una tan grande muchedumbre de hombres y mujeres bautizados y que diesen voces a Dios y al mundo que eran cristianos y lo querían ser, y que les quitaban sus hijos y haciendas por avaricia y por odio, sin oírlos ni estar con ellos a juicio, y los enviaban a que se tornasen moros? Que esto hacía el mayor rey del mundo, el únicamente católico y verdaderamente cristiano, si no por avaricia, a lo menos por cobardía, de miedo de hombres rendidos y desarmados y sus vasallos, que los tenía en medio de su reino en sus manos y voluntad."

59 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 38: "Pregunto yo, ¿qué se a de hazer desta gente? Matallos es contra toda razón y justicia; hazellos esclavos [...] es también contra toda justicia"... "Y estoy por dezir que lo permitiría Dios con justa venganza."

However, among the optimists there were a good number who did not completely rule out the possibility of having to expel all or some of the Moriscos, or of resorting to other harsh measures, if evangelising efforts did not yield results. Corella, though an optimist, suggested expulsion or some other alternative for those who refused to change their ways: "If after a period of time that seemed sufficient for the preaching there were still some who persisted in their obstinacy, let them be severely punished or thrown out of Spain."⁶⁰ Cardinal Guevara accepted that if the Moriscos did not convert after an extension of the edict allowing for a period of grace they could be expelled, although he was against the idea.⁶¹ Father Cresswell was forced to accept that if after the right interventions had been made, "it did not have the desired effect, it will be possible to use against them, as against hardened and obstinate people, whatever violent means seemed appropriate."⁶²

The discussion acquired historical overtones on both sides, as authors attempted to explain and assess what had been done in the past to bring about the evangelisation and conversion of the Moriscos. Obviously, supporters of exclusion believed that everything that could be done had been done already. Martín de Salvatierra was a radical in his defence of past efforts, to which he devoted much of his *memorial*. Ribera was more moderate in his expression of the same idea, but defended what had been done by him and other prelates. In his *memorial* of 12 June 1587 he asked Philip II not to ignore criticism and to bear in mind the absence of specific instructions from the Court – in clear reference to the Monarch himself – as well as the lack of means and the difficulty of the enterprise.⁶³

In opposition to this, those who argued that it was still possible to convert the Moriscos made negative analyses of all that had been done so far. Again, there were canonical reasons behind the arguments, which in this case were historical. They were related to the question of vincible or invincible ignorance, a terribly complex but fundamental issue when it came to judging personal responsibility and the chances of eternal salvation. This doctrine held that if deficiencies previous to the baptism were taken into account, and if subsequent instruction had not been sufficient, the Moriscos, however

60 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 497–498: "Si passado el tiempo que pareciere bastante para la predicación quedasen algunos pertinaces que los castiguen muy bien o hechen de Spanya."

61 *Ibidem*, 472.

62 *Ibidem*, 530: "no tuviere efecto lo que se pretende, se podrá usar con ellos, como con gente endurecida y pertinaz, los medios violentos que bien parecieren."

63 *Ibidem*, I: 376–377.

Moorish they seemed, could not be blamed for their ignorance. This was a card which Morisco representatives played on many occasions. The General of the Order of La Merced, Maldonado, made mention in August 1582, in the midst of the debate on their possible expulsion, of a request from the Moriscos in which they said that “they have never had enough doctrine or teaching [...] nor ministers to instruct them.”⁶⁴ Years later, in a *memorial* annotated and used by Fray Antonio Sobrino, the Morisco leaders asked for more time and further instruction.⁶⁵

Much work had been done for several decades on analysis of the evangelisation process of the Moriscos, before voices began to be heard in favour of expulsion in about 1580. Such analysis covered several aspects.

Firstly, there had been assessment of the religious means employed, starting with the initial baptism of adults without enough previous instruction. Although, as we have seen, the validity of such baptisms was accepted, this point was nonetheless seen as the “original sin” from which all later problems derived. The Jesuit las Casas, in his *memorial* to the Pope, pointed this out in a direct manner: “This was, very holy Father, how a great multitude of souls without the necessary catechism and evangelical preaching in any part of Spain were converted and baptized; [...] this serious and essential fault was and has remained until today the cause of all the damage and of them not truly converting.”⁶⁶ For other authors, what was done was done and it was thought better not to return to the issue and concentrate instead on trying to remedy the current situation. This was the line taken by Cardinal Niño de Guevara: “It would have been better not to do things in this way; now that it is done there is no point disputing it nor expressing misgivings about what was done.”⁶⁷

The problem was that the later evangelising campaigns carried out in Valencia were not valued any more highly. Some, like las Casas in his *memorial* to the Pope, highlighted the fact that a lack of knowledge of Arabic and the Qurʾān made them useless.⁶⁸ Others, such as Juan de Ribera, were of the

64 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 297: “nunca han tenido doctrina ni enseñanza suficiente [...] ni ministros que les ayen instruido.”

65 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 712–716.

66 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 10: “Este fue, Sanctísimo Padre, el modo de convertir y baptizar grande multitud de almas sin preceder catechismo necessario y predicación evangélica en ninguna parte de España; [...] la qual falta, como tan grave y essencial, a sido y es hasta oy la causa de todos los daños y del no convertirse de veras.”

67 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 473: “Fuera mejor no averse hecho así; ia que está hecho no ay para qué disputarlo ni dudar de lo que se hizo.”

68 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 56 and ff.

opinion that the Moriscos deceived the missionaries into making them believe they had converted.⁶⁹ Eventually it was realised that the religious elites of the Moriscos had organised themselves to counteract the preaching campaigns with their own counter-propaganda. This makes it surprising that the optimists should continue to believe in the usefulness of the missions, although they did lay down very demanding conditions for their implementation.

Parishes and parish priests were evaluated very differently by the various authors. Juan de Ribera defended what had been done in this field, one of his favourites. He coincided in this with Feliciano de Figueroa, who was entrusted with designing the parish network in the kingdom of Valencia, and asked for it to be completed in its entirety.⁷⁰ Both also defended the work carried out by the bishops of Orihuela. This sort of defence reflected an improvement in the spiritual attention afforded to Moriscos as a consequence of the parish reforms which had been implemented by Ribera y Figueroa since the mid-1570s. But the fiercest critics of these actions emphasised that the rectors were badly paid and lacking in motivation, and that they limited themselves to going through the motions, i.e. forcing Moriscos to go to Mass and attend catechesis, as well as fining them when these obligations were not met. The strongest criticism came from the Valencian Moriscos themselves, whose representatives gave voice to their perceived state of abandonment in 1595:

By sending men to the said new converts who were inexperienced, careless, untrained, far from zealous of the salvation of their souls and even less painstaking in their doctrine and teaching, coming only to say mass, and at most reciting the prayers in it as they are said by the blind, in such a way that even highly instructed people could not understand, and even this only from time to time and without more desire than to fulfil the outward requirements of their office, which is the least important part of it. And then when it comes to punishments or interests, although the transgression be slight, too much is made of it.⁷¹

69 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 326.

70 *Ibidem*, II, doc. 1, 431–443.

71 *Ibidem*, 713: “Embiando hombres, a los dichos nuevos convertidos, idiotas, de poca experiencia y cuidado, poco zelosos de la salvación de sus almas y menos cuidadosos de su doctrina y enseñanza, acudiendo solamente a lo que es dezirles missa, y, quando más, recitarles las oraciones en ella como lo rezan los ciegos, de manera que ni aun personas muy instructas lo podrían comprehender, y esto muy de tarde en tarde y sin más desseo de su aprovechamiento que cumplir con lo exterior de su officio, que es lo menos que ay que considerar en ello. Y quando se llega a materia de penas o intereses, aunque no sea transgressión de mucha sustancia, se tiene demasiada cuenta dello.”

From this situation derived proposals to resort to missionary campaigns, and to introduce a stricter selection process for parish priests, who it was also thought should be subjected to greater vigilance. In some *memoriales*, criticism of the work done by prelates and priests was expressed in very strong terms. Cellorigo was one of those who spoke out most harshly:

to whom one must attribute a certain degree of negligence on account of the carelessness with which these sheep of theirs have been treated, for although they were infirm they should have been cured with their doctrine, something which has been lacking from the beginnings of their conversion. [...] And they should be warned that they have more obligations in this than any other, for their profession is to cure souls.⁷²

Even one of the bishops, José Esteve, Bishop of Orihuela, admitted that the prelates had virtually ignored the Morisco areas, and that official episcopal visitors had been more concerned about charging monetary fines:

it would therefore be highly convenient that in every place, depending on its population, the prelates should stay for some days and months making true efforts, with due care, to convert the subjects, which would serve as a greater discharge of Your Majesty's conscience, and also, if these new converts did not take advantage of the fruits of the preaching, more efficient remedies could be applied to them.⁷³

Other authors sought to qualify such ideas by saying that although a lot had been done, it had not been enough and there was an obligation to keep insisting.

Here we come face to face with the basic argument of the optimists that no-one is permitted to judge God's intentions. In their view, He would confer

72 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 390: "a quien no se puede dejar de atribuir un tanto de negligencia por el descuido que con estas sus ovejas parece se a tenido, que aunque enfermas a ellos incumbe el curarlas con su doctrina, la qual les a faltado desde los principios de su conversión. [...]. Y debrian advertir que a ellos les corre más obligaçión en esto que no a otro ninguno, pues su profesión es curar almas."

73 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 644, point 26: "por ende, convernía mucho que en cada lugar, conforme la población de él, estuviessen los prelados algunos días y meses procurando muy de veras, con el cuidado que conviene, la conversión de sus súbditos, lo que sería para mayor descargo de la conciencia de Vuestra Magestad y para que también, no quisiendose aprovechar estos nuevos convertidos del fruto de la predicación, se les pudiessen aplicar remedios más eficaces."

his grace when He considered it opportune. Our job, they said, was to insist on preaching the word of God. They cited historical examples such as the work of the apostles and the slow process of converting the *Gentiles* to Christianity as a means of criticising their opponents' impatience. In his *memorial*, chronologically one of the first in the series analyzed here, Jerónimo Corella starts from the principle that "our holy law is so strong and the Lord's mercy so great that wherever preaching has been well performed it has turned the hearts, with its divine favour, of heretics, gentiles and apostates, as can be seen today in many parts."⁷⁴ Cellorigo and Cardinal Guevara asked for trust in the truth of the Gospel and in "la poderosa mano de Dios" [God's powerful hand].⁷⁵ The Jesuits Cresswell and las Casas issued reminders of the power of God's word; the former does not only give examples from other ages but also more recent ones such as the evangelisation of the Indies, Japan or even England.⁷⁶ In sum, the optimists vehemently rejected the idea, expressed by Ribera, that pearls were being cast to swine. Their central belief was that greater insistence should be made.

Plans for Evangelisation and Cultural Equalisation

However, the new evangelisation campaigns had to meet a series of demanding conditions which were the result of previous failures. It was of course necessary to look for good, holy preachers – las Casas wanted them also to be expert Arabists – who were well supplied with money, had clear catechetical instructions, would perform their task in good cheer and, if possible, all at the same time. Apart from all this, it was thought necessary to neutralise the *alfaquíes* of the Moriscos. The various authors waver between two extremes on this point, being uncertain whether it was best to win over and convert the community leaders, or to have them removed. On the occasion of the *Cortes* of Monzón in 1585–86 a series of *memoriales* were put together which dealt with the theme of the conversion of the Moriscos; it is significant that by this stage there were already clear differences between the advocates of benevolence and those of a tougher

74 *Ibidem*, II: 493: "nuestra sancta ley es de tanta fuerça y la misericordia del Señor tan grande que, donde quiera que se ha predicado con buen modo, ha trocado los coraçones, con su divino favor, de los herejes, gentiles y apóstatas, como hoy día se ve en muchas partes."

75 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 390, 468–469.

76 *Ibidem*, 512–514.

approach. Among the former was an anonymous Franciscan who believed in starting by honouring and showering with gifts those *alfaquíes* and leading community figures “who were understood to have helped doctrine and encouraged it.”⁷⁷ On the other hand, Jerónimo Corella thought it better to capture and remove them as soon as possible.⁷⁸ Most authors thought that nothing could be done until these leaders were removed from their communities or, as some proposed, were converted and won over. This dilemma was set out by the Jesuits Cresswell and las Casas, with the former explaining the idea in no uncertain terms: “It would be better and quicker to start with the *alfaquíes* and persons of most repute among them, because they are more capable of reasoning and persuasion, and are powerful, if they were to convert, with their example to bring many others from the common people behind them,” although he believed that the dogmatisers and those who prevented religious instruction would have to be removed if they did not mend their ways once they had been warned.⁷⁹ This opinion was shared by las Casas.

Many authors agreed that it was necessary to gain the support of Morisco lords and masters. As with the previous point, we find denunciations of the support given by such masters to their Morisco vassals in the face of evangelising pressure, and demands that they back the process instead. The Bishop of Orihuela told Philip II in 1595 “how important it is to reprimand the Lords of vassals so that they do not waver in the conversion of your subjects.”⁸⁰ For his part, Archbishop Ribera, who in his *memorial* of April 1582 had denounced the protection offered by Morisco masters and said that they had to be removed from their positions of power, requested five years later, in June 1587, the collaboration of such men and said that not all responsibility should fall upon the prelates.⁸¹ This proposal was hard to carry out, given that there were also many voices in the Church asking for the masters of Moriscos to reduce the tax burden upon them.

77 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1791, exp. 5: “que se entendiese que ayudavan a la doctrina y animavan a ella.”

78 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 496.

79 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 526, chap. 10: “Lo mejor será y más breve comenzar con los mismos alfaquíes y personas de más reputación entre ellos, porque estos tales son más capaces de razón y persuasión, y son poderosos, si se convirtieren, a traer con su exemplo tras sí muchos otros del pueblo común.”

80 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 642, point 22: “que importa reprimir a los Señores de vasallos para que no vayan floxos en la conversión de sus subditos.”

81 *Ibidem*, 605, 376.

One problematical issue was that of the role the Holy Office was expected to play in the process.⁸² It should first be highlighted that two of the main supporters of exclusion came from the ranks of the Inquisition: the Inquisitor Ximénez de Reinoso, in 1582, was one of the first to call for expulsion from Spain; Bishop Salvatierra, formerly an Inquisitor in Valencia, proposed even more radical solutions in 1587. The success of the persecution of Moriscos in Valencia, Zaragoza and, previously, in Granada, paradoxically led to pessimism and discouragement among the Inquisitors, who seem to have arrived at the conclusion that in spite of the large number of Moriscos tried and condemned, there were always more to pursue. They were also well aware that Inquisitional legal mechanisms did not allow for rapid summary trials and that many Moriscos were therefore able to escape persecution and punishment. The *memorial* written by one Nicolás del Río – a man I am inclined to identify as secretary to the Inquisition of Valencia⁸³ – focused on Inquisitional procedure, which he knew well and criticised for its lack of efficacy due to its legal limitations and, above all, to the resistance of the Moriscos and the difficulty of obtaining witness statements against them. Del Río proposed important changes, particularly the possibility of permanent imprisonment in improved jails, and suggested that sentences be pronounced in an enclosed office rather than in a public *Auto de Fe*, as a way of saving money.

However, it is significant that Ribera, years after his call for rapid trials of the Moriscos, was to speak out against Inquisitorial actions. His thinking on this subject underwent an important change: whereas in 1582 he had proposed that the Inquisition should devote its efforts to persecuting Moriscos both to force them to justify their condition as Muslims and to encourage them to emigrate, or to finish them off directly, he later thought this was an ineffective way of bringing about their conversion. The Holy Office's demands for legal confession, which weighed so heavily on the confessors, who were obliged to send penitents to the Inquisitors, and also on the Moriscos, who were forced to denounce those who were complicit in crimes, usually those committed by their spouses, children or parents, made the sacrament of confession odious.

82 I have covered this issue in detail in R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Los problemas de la evangelización de los moriscos y el papel de la Inquisición," a paper given at the conference *Los moriscos. Historia de una minoría*, held in Granada, 13–16 May 2009.

83 The memorial published by P. Boronat is signed by Fr. Nicolás del Río, with no indication given of the order to which he belonged. I have seen some early seventeenth-century Inquisition trial records in Valencia in which a certain Nicolás del Río acted as secretary. Given the author's knowledge of Inquisition procedure, and certain references to his personal experience, I would like to make so bold as to propose this identification and to cast doubt on his religious status.

Ribera advocated that the confessors be able to absolve the Moriscos in the realm of conscience, i.e. without the need to venture into the legal realm of the Inquisition. This point of view coincided with that expressed in many of the *memoriales* written by “optimistic” authors, from Jerónimo Corella to Antonio Sobrino.

Ribera also thought that the economic agreements between the Inquisition and the Morisco communities, such as those which existed in Aragón, Valencia and Valladolid and which left untouched the goods of those who were sentenced, made repression more difficult, because it allowed the economic elites, who acted as leaders and agents of Islamic cohesion within the communities, to hold on to their wealth. But most optimists looked at this problem from a different angle: they thought that efforts should be made to prevent the Moriscos from thinking that they could buy pardons, as las Casas put it to the Inquisitor General, or that their money was the only thing that interested the Christian authorities.⁸⁴ On this point, criticism was not only made of the Inquisition but also of the fines imposed by parish priests for not attending Mass or other misdemeanours. Gaspar Punter, Bishop of Tortosa, denounced such arrangements in his *memorial* of 1582, saying that they led to the conclusion that “ley de christiano, ley de dinero [the Christian law is the law of money]”.⁸⁵ Jerónimo Corella (point 10) was in favour of reducing monetary fines since “they think that everything that is done with respect to them is based on self-interest, and this for them is a very great hindrance to their receiving the holy Gospel.”⁸⁶ Father Cresswell asked that nothing be taken from the Moriscos, neither for administering the sacraments nor for tributes or anything else. He summed up with the following sentence: “It is for the best to teach and preach to these people without any kind of self-interest.”⁸⁷ For Cresswell, this was one of the basic requirements of the new evangelising effort which ought to be made.

Although it is never openly expressed, the idea behind many of the criticisms made was that the Holy Office had failed to repress the Moriscos and was now an obstacle to their conversion. Las Casas went so far as to ask that sentences against them not be read out in public and, above all, that

84 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 182.

85 BL, *Egerton*, 1511, fols. 222–226.

86 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 497: “piensan que todo quanto con ellos se haze va fundado en interés, y, por serles esto grandísimo estorvo para recibir el sancto Evangelio.”

87 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 520–521, chap. 7: “Conviene enseñar y predicar a esta gente sin ningún género de interés.”

executions not be held in public either, because in Valencia and Aragón such events redoubled Islamic sentiments and created martyrs.⁸⁸ On this point he coincided with Bleda: “They do not see it as scandalous that one should be whipped or made to wear the *sambenito* by the Inquisition [...], they worship those who are condemned.”⁸⁹ This feeling of failure was to be revealed in the texts of expulsion orders such as that of Aragón, when, in order to justify how the Moriscos had been able to cling to their Islamic beliefs and were now condemned for it, mention was made of the work of the Inquisition in the *Autos de Fe*.

In the view of many, repression should have been the task of the civil authorities. This was something which Ribera had been demanding since 1587, basing his justification on the fact that heresy affected the entire Republic. Bishop Punter also argued that if Moriscos reneged, their goods and possessions should be taken away from them, but through civil procedures. It certainly seemed essential to most that the Moriscos should not be persecuted by the Inquisition while a new attempt to convert them was underway, except in the case of the *alfaquies* and any others who tried to block the positive effects of evangelisation. The problem was that unless Rome decided differently, jurisdiction over heretics lay with the Holy Office. This was the reason for the extraordinary requests for grace, which ranged from the classic edicts, mainly ineffective for the Moriscos by about 1600, especially given the situation of those in Valencia and Aragón who were protected by the economic agreements, to the request to be reconciled with the Church via sacramental confession.

It should not be thought that any of the authors I have described as optimists were respectful in their attitude towards Morisco culture. This is the reason why I have avoided labelling them moderates: many of them were truly radical in the way they argued for total acculturation. Their proposals were not new: one of the most frequently deployed ideas in the final discussions, which was the need for cultural equalisation, had been defined as a basic requirement by Fray Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, a century earlier. It was now considered essential for the Moriscos to imitate the cultural behaviour of the Old Christians in speech, dress, eating customs, etc.

Measures against Morisco cultural survival had been taken early in Granada, culminating in the mid-1560s with the well-known *pragmáticas* which were one of the reasons for the uprising of 1568. Similar measures had been the

88 El Alaoui, *Jésuites*, II: 182.

89 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 431 (Relación de la *Defensa de la fe*, chap. 13 of the first treatise): “No tienen por infame al açotado o ensanbenitado por la Inquisición [...], veneran a los penitenciados.”

subject of much discussion in the kingdom of Valencia, where their application had been recommended rather than ordered. By the time of the new century, all of the authors were in favour of cultural equalisation. For example, Gaspar Punter proposed banning Morisco dress, language and names, Nicolás del Río (1606) “all books and papers in Arabic, even if they deal with medicine and other things,”⁹⁰ and Cellorigo wanted Moriscos to be prevented from speaking Arabic.⁹¹ Cresswell in 1600 asked for them to be taught the language of the Old Christians.⁹² On the other hand, the harsh Martín de Salvatierra believed that it was useless to forbid dress or language, arguing that there were already Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos who could not be told apart from Old Christians but who were, in his opinion, as Moorish as all the others.⁹³ Salvatierra practically constitutes an exception; Ribera came out against cultural differentiation, but it was not his greatest concern because he thought that these were aspects to which the Moriscos themselves did not pay much heed.⁹⁴ Bleda, for his part, asked in his *Defensa de la fe* for more radical steps to be taken. Not only should the Arabic language be taken away from the Moriscos, but they should be forced to keep pigs and use bacon in their cooking.⁹⁵

The main dissenting voice on the language issue was that of the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas, who argued in favour of the use of Arabic that it was impossible to wipe it out in one blow in those places where it continued to survive, like the kingdom of Valencia – although in other territories he thought it should be eliminated – and that it would be useful to use it as a basic instrument for conversion.⁹⁶

The proposals made by the various authors even go further than cultural equalisation. It was thought necessary to take away from the Moriscos not only their elites, as has been said, but their capacity for self-government. Many voices called for the government of the *aljamas* not to remain in the hands of Moriscos, for gatherings of Moriscos not to be permitted without the presence of Old Christian authorities, and for Moriscos not to be responsible for the collection of the economic dues they paid to authorities. The idea, put forward in 1587 by the churchmen Punter and Ribera – the latter thought that it would act as an incentive for those who wanted those in the posts to behave like good

90 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 447: “todos los libros y papeles arábigos aunque fuesen de medicina y otras cosas.”

91 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 393.

92 *Ibidem*, 530.

93 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 629.

94 *Ibidem*, 375 (Memorial of 12 June 1587).

95 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 458.

96 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 61 and ff.

Christians – and by Esteve in 1595, was picked up by the Jesuits las Casas and Cresswell, who suggested that if such individuals were good Christians they could be given posts in their towns, honouring and rewarding them and conceding them certain exemptions and privileges.⁹⁷

At a higher level, the firmest opponents of the expulsion, like Pedro de Valencia, argued for a radical policy of dispersal of the Moriscos as a way of ending their self-isolation. Several imaginative suggestions were put forward for moving the population without resorting to expulsion. Such formulations had arisen after the War of Granada, as a way of “moving them inland.” By the early 1580s Jerónimo Corella and the future Duke of Lerma had already spoken out in favour of placing a certain percentage of Old Christians in Morisco areas.⁹⁸ Corella also proposed separating converted Moriscos from the rest.⁹⁹ For Martín González de Cellorigo, who refers above all to the Granadan Moriscos deported to Castile, this constituted the main argument of his *memorial*; he asked for the orders to disperse them throughout Castile to be implemented and to make sure that they remained in the places assigned to them, and within them to mix Moriscos among Old Christians and prevent them from forming their own communities in certain neighbourhoods or streets.¹⁰⁰

Two radical exclusionists lined up against this policy: Martín de Salvatierra and Juan de Ribera. For the Archbishop of Valencia, in his second *papel* (1602), the dispersal of the Moriscos among the Old Christians constituted a peril, because, amongst other reasons, it was not as easy to identify and control them as when they were living huddled together. Martín de Salvatierra, fifteen years earlier, had already explained that it was useless to mix them with Old Christians, as was shown, once again, by the example of the Granadans distributed throughout Castile, and it could even be damaging because it allowed them greater freedom to live without being recognised.¹⁰¹

Finally, the aim for all authors was to achieve the total dissolution of Moriscos among the Old Christians. For this reason they saw it necessary to stimulate mixed marriages between Moriscos and Old Christians, and, as this was not expected to be easy, certain encouragements and prohibitions were deemed appropriate. Gaspar Punter (1587), who made this the key point in his arguments, thought it would be difficult. The intervention of Rome would be needed to prevent marriages between Moriscos, and that of the king to encourage mixed

97 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 524, chap. 9.

98 *Ibidem*, 285.

99 *Ibidem*, 275.

100 *Ibidem*, 392.

101 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 629–630.

marriages by means of exemptions and privileges. Ignacio de las Casas proposed not only breaking the tradition of marriages between cousins by not conceding the required dispensations, but even by asking the Pope, as he himself did, to extend matrimonial impediments as far as the sixth degree, thereby forcing Moriscos to look for Old Christian marriage partners.¹⁰²

In order to encourage such behaviour, it would be necessary to eliminate the stigma attached to the Moriscos. This process is what Pedro de Valencia termed *permisión*¹⁰³: “Let those born from marriages between Old Christians and Moriscos not be treated as or held to be Moriscos, let us not insult or despise one or the other.” The final objective was to bring about the disappearance of the Moriscos as “tal nación y casta, por haberse confundido y mezclado” [a nation and caste, since they will have been confounded and mixed in]. This author concluded as follows:

It is convenient, then, not that the Moriscos be equal in the offices and honours of the realm to Old Christians, but that the Moriscos come to an end and that there only remain in the realm Old Christians; that all the republic be people of one name and one animus, without division, that there be no dissension.¹⁰⁴

This final proposal was difficult, or virtually impossible, to bring off in early seventeenth-century Spain, when the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* were at the height of their influence. It also ran up against extreme views such as those of Martín de Salvatierra, who saw a Jewish origin in the Moriscos' hatred of Christianity, or that expressed by Bleda, who was opposed to marriages between Old Christian women and Morisco men “because the danger of mixing not only customs but lineage is a very serious one, from which religion could be destroyed,”¹⁰⁵ and the even more radical views of Ribera.

The Archbishop of Valencia considered Morisco blood to be abominable and a transmissor of faithlessness; thus his fear of the Moriscos of the Crown of

102 El Alaoui, *Jesuites*, II: 183.

103 “permisión”: Mixture of things, usually liquids (*DRAE* 2001). “Los que fueren naciendo de matrimonio de cristianos viejos y moriscos, no sean tratados ni tenidos por moriscos, que a los unos ni a los otros no los afrentemos ni despreciamos.”

104 Valencia, “Tratado,” 123–125: “Conviene, pues, no que los moriscos sean iguales en los oficios y honras del reino con los cristianos viejos, sino que los moriscos se acaben y solamente queden y haya en el Reino cristianos viejos; que sea toda la república de gente de un nombre y de un ánimo, sin división, para que no haya disensión.”

105 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 456–457: “porque es grave el peligro de mezclar no sólo las costumbre mas el linaje, de que se sigue destruir la religión.”

Castile, who were able to pass themselves off as Old Christians and move freely among them. Ribera's mistrust of everything that was Morisco seems to have derived from a "racial" conception of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century conception, described by Julio Caro Baroja, who underlined the importance of blood and milk in religious behaviour.¹⁰⁶ The negative ferment of the Moriscos seems to have been seen as transmitted through the blood, meaning that not even small children were able to escape from it. A text from the first *papel* (1601) confirms this notion: "Criándose un hijo con padres moros y decendiendo dellos, ha de ser moro [If a child is brought up by parents who are Moors and descends from them, he is bound to become a Moor]". Ribera justifies this statement with a Biblical example. On two occasions in Holy Scripture, the Holy Ghost, when speaking of Roboam, king of Judah, son of Solomon, makes reference to the fact that his mother Naama, was an Ammonitess, i.e. a *Gentile*, "as if in saying that by having a Gentile mother and having been brought up by her, the son came to be a Gentile."¹⁰⁷ This may explain Ribera's fear that mixed marriages would bring a dispersal of the malignant Morisco ferment throughout Spain in a hidden fashion. The isolation of the Valencian and Aragonese Moriscos at least prevented the evil from spreading.

In relation to this last notion, although possibly without the radical connotations expressed by Ribera, many authors wrote of the way to avoid the transmission of Islamic beliefs from parents to children. In the summary of diverse *memoriales* given in the *Cortes* of Monzón (1585–86),¹⁰⁸ there were many (Jerónimo Corella, a certain Franciscan, the priest of Bayonne, the *asesor* Tarazona, an anonymous Valencian) who argued that Morisco children should be removed, though the authors differed over the question of their ages and final destination, i.e. whether they should eventually return to their parents or not. Two churchmen, Gaspar Punter, Bishop of Tortosa, and José Esteve, Bishop of Orihuela, held that children should be taken from their parents and brought up at their expense.¹⁰⁹ The practical difficulties of this project, pointed out by Ribera,¹¹⁰ made it unfeasible, but this was not true of the promotion of the colleges and seminaries for Morisco children already in existence, and the

106 Julio Caro Baroja, *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa. Religión, sociedad y carácter en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Akal), 1978, chap. XX "Los grupos étnico-religiosos."

107 1 Kings 14, 21; 2 Chronicles 12, 13. Escrivá, *Vida del ilustrísimo*, 354: "como si dixera que de tener madre gentil y averse criado con ella, vino a ser el hijo gentil."

108 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1791/5, point 30.

109 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 647–648, point 38.

110 For example, the cited summary of the memorials reflects the Patriarch's objections to the proposal (AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1791/5, points 31–38).

creation of other new ones, where an elite class could be educated for the priesthood. Some authors, such as Corella or Cresswell, proposed taking children away from the most recalcitrant Moriscos.¹¹¹

The King and His Royal Conscience

The eventual triumph of the position which favoured expulsion might lead us to believe that this option had predominated in centres of power for some time. This was not the case. The calls for expulsion made in 1582 by Ximénez de Reinoso and Ribera received the support of the *ad hoc* committee which gathered in Lisbon in September and was chaired by the Duke of Alba. However, one important absence from these meetings was the royal confessor, Fray Diego de Chaves – this was a clear sign that Philip II had in fact already made up his mind to delay implementing the proposal.¹¹²

This fact obliges us to consider the importance of two key figures: the monarch and the royal confessor. Of the two kings involved in the final drama, Philip II made great efforts after the *Cortes* of Monzón of 1585–86, given the extent of his political and military commitments in the final years of his reign, to bring about the conversion of the Moriscos, but the idea of their expulsion was not discussed. Philip III showed himself to be more inclined towards the idea from the very beginning of his reign. Indeed, he explicitly supported it in January 1602, but found himself up against the views of his royal confessors. Neither Fray Gaspar de Córdoba nor, in particular, Fray Jerónimo Javierre, wanted to accept the idea of an expulsion without making fresh attempts to evangelise the Moriscos. They therefore backed the main request of the optimists who were opposed to the expulsion. Bleda and Ribera encountered the wall of opposition erected by those officials in charge of orienting the royal conscience. It was only after Javierre's death on 2 September 1608 and the appointment as royal confessor of Luis de Aliaga that the path was cleared. An apparent attempt to search for solutions other than an expulsion was still made in the synod of Valencia in late 1608, but this was intended merely to salve consciences. It was only at the last minute that the government of the Monarchy resorted to the views of Bleda and Ribera, as a way of justifying a decision it had already taken for political reasons.

111 Zayas, *Los moriscos*, 274, 527–528, 530.

112 Benítez, *Heroicas decisiones*, 325–352.

Roma and the Expulsion

Stefania Pastore

The issue of the Curia's attitude towards the Expulsion of the Moriscos is shrouded in mystery. The historian who approaches the subject will find disparate and even opposing attitudes, a lack of records and a plethora of arguments seeking to justify a decision which was barely defensible politically, and was even less valid from a theological-religious point of view. The field essentially constitutes a hotch-potch of quotation, plagiarism and cross-reference deriving from the same single source that is coated in a thick layer of enveloping ideology.

The enticing prospect of Rome's approval of the expulsion decree – an approval which never officially arrived, and was far from being as unanimously felt as Madrid would have wished – was to mobilise supporters of expulsion from the outset. Closely linked as it was to attempts to beatify Juan de Ribera, the *Patriarca* of Valencia and one of the driving forces behind the decision to expel the Moriscos, the expulsion issue clearly overlaid a deeper problem relating directly to the classic image of Spain as a champion of catholicism and a country with strong ties to Rome and the Curia. According to the most reassuring of historiographical traditions – that which represents Spain as the military wing of aggressive Catholicism, and Rome as the acquiescent sponsor of Spanish exploits – the old theory, on the rise ever since the Conquest of Granada, that Spain itself was an epic undertaking, disastrous economically but nevertheless staunch in its defence of the Catholic faith, and bolstered by Rome's full backing, also held true for the episode of the Expulsion of the Moriscos. In this view, Philip III was repeating the feats of his illustrious predecessors, while Rome stood by and applauded the crusade against the infidel. However, analysis of the reaction of Rome and the Pope to the Expulsion will take us to the heart of a relationship which will be seen to have been crucial to the construction of the Hispanic Monarchy's identity, and one on which much Habsburg propaganda was founded. By plunging into the jungle of books, biased reports and shaky theories which have been required to uphold the traditional image – particularly with regard to Rome's authority – we will be able to test whether the relationship between these two poles of Catholicism actually changed over the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, and to examine what kind of change took place.¹

1 Neither Spanish nor Italian historians have dealt with this subject to any great extent. The best summary at least with regard to its use of records, remains that of Ciriaco Pérez

The Shadow of the *Patriarca*

The earliest defenders of the Expulsion and the many supporters of the notion of the Archbishop of Valencia's sainthood repeatedly applied themselves to the twin task of showing not only that the Holy See approved of the Moriscos' expulsion, but also that Rome had taken part in the decision. That said, were there any differences between Rome's and Juan de Ribera's respective stances on the Morisco problem? Could the widely believed notion of Ribera's "refined saintliness" (*santidad aliñada*) be upheld, given his rigid, implacable opinions on the fate of his Morisco subjects? Had Spain, in fact, simply ignored the position of the Pope and the Roman Curia?

Rome's attitude towards the Expulsion turned out to be a significant obstacle whenever Spain proposed the Patriarch's beatification. Such proposals were first made immediately after Ribera's death in 1612, and again during the 1660s, when the application for beatification, revived by the city of Valencia and the monarch, became bogged down for forty years despite Valencian attempts to show that Ribera's position on the Moriscos was perfectly compatible with that of the Pope, and with the doubts entertained by Rome. The same problems were encountered in the first decade of the twentieth century, when a new application led to a fifty-year struggle for canonization by Valencian canons and historians; the issue was finally resolved in Ribera's favour in 1960.²

Bustamante, "El Pontífice Paulo V y la expulsión de los moriscos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 119 (1951), 219–237, and I have borrowed extensively from it in the pages that follow. I wish to express my gratitude to Mercedes García-Arenal, whose advice and help were never lacking, for encouraging me to reflect on this subject, and to Maria Antonietta Visceglia, who at the time when I was preparing this paper, was about to complete her book *Roma papale e la Spagna. Diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra le due corti* (Rome: Bulzoni), 2010, for discussing with me the positions I take in this paper and for comparing hypotheses and results in such a treacherous area of research. Few months before the English translation of this paper, an issue of the Morisco Diaspora in Italy was published: "La diaspora morisca", a cura di G. Fiume and S. Pastore, *Quaderni storici* 48–3 (2013).

- 2 The first hagiography of Ribera to be written with the aim of promoting the cause of his beatification was *Vida del ilustrísimo y excellentísimo señor don Juan de Ribera, patriarca de Antiochia y arzobispo de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey), 1612 (reprinted in Rome in 1696) by his confessor Francisco Escrivá. Following the lengthy process which ended with his beatification by Pius VI on August 31, 1796, there came Juan Ximénez's *Compendio histórico de la vida y virtudes del B. Juan de Ribera*. (Valencia: Imprenta del Diario), 1797, which gathered the documentation arising from the beatification procedure. In 1960 there appeared the weighty monograph by Ramón Robres Lluch, *San Juan de Ribera* (Barcelona: Juan Flors), 1960, and in that same year Miquel Battlori's key contribution "La santidad aliñada de d. Juan de Ribera," *Razón y Fe* 172 (1960), 9–18, was also published. Studies on the Inquisition and the Moriscos led to a radical revision of the figure of the Patriarch: see for example, the

It is worth noting that both the Expulsion's defenders and its historians have periodically retraced the same steps in search of evidence to support them. Such was the case of the Valencian canon Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, author of a monumental work on the Expulsion which is quoted extensively by historians and is clearly of fundamental significance, if only for the vast collection of documents it contains. Published to much praise in 1901, this great work filled a gap in the records and was fundamentally intended to demonstrate "that the Archbishop of Valencia, D. Juan de Ribera, whom we worship on the altars, is one of the most prominent figures of our history in a seventeenth century already in decline." Boronat's final chapter was expressly devoted to "revindicating the memory of the illustrious Valencian prelate."³ Three years later, Boronat fulfilled his promise to revindicate the memory of the "holy patriarch" by dedicating a whole book to him – *El Padre Juan de Ribera y el R. Colegio*, which brings together many of the arguments which had already appeared, in a more concise form, in the *Expulsión*.

In his study of Ribera, Boronat dedicated an entire chapter to the thorny question of Rome's stance towards the Expulsion. But curiously, rather than personally defending the idea that relations between Rome and Ribera had been idyllic, he opted to reproduce, word for word and page after page, everything that the Valencian canon Agustín Sales had written on the subject a century and a half earlier. The diocese of Valencia, together with the supporters of Ribera's beatification, had commissioned Sales with quelling doubts expressed

clear sketch of him by Ricardo García Cárcel, *Herejía y Sociedad en el siglo XVI* (Valencia: Ediciones 62), 1980, 62–69, and the sombre portrait by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El 'Nunc Dimittis' del patriarca Ribera," in *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*, Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1991, 196–293. From the wide bibliography that exists on the subject, I will restrict myself, for its general overview and for its extensive bibliography, to citing Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568–1614* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), 2006, and to the lengthy chapter in Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco's *Heroicas decisiones: la monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2001, 311–415. See also the essay by Giovanna Fiume, "La canonizzazione di Juan de Ribera," in *El Patriarca Ribera y su tiempo. Religión, cultura y política en la Edad Moderna* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2012, which contains a much more complete reconstruction of Ribera's trouble-ridden canonisation process. I would like to thank the author for allowing me to read the work before publication, and for giving me her advice and suggestions.

- 3 The quotation is taken from Vicente Vignau's article in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 40 (1902), 150–151. On Boronat y Barrachina, see Ricardo García Cárcel's lengthy introduction to the reissue of Pascual Boronat y Barrachina's *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (Granada: Universidad), 1992; and Miguel A. de Bunes Ibarra, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico. Historiografía de un grupo marginado* (Madrid: Cátedra), 1983, 93.

by Rome and the Sacred Congregation of Rites to show that there had been no discrepancy between Rome and the Patriarch regarding the Expulsion. In the absence of more irrefutable data, Sales had based his arguments on the testimony of two contemporary witnesses. The first of these, the Valencian chronicler Gaspar Escolano, had recorded that as soon as news of the Expulsion emerged, extraordinarily favourable letters from the Pope and the Sacred College had been sent to Spain:

In Rome, where his Holiness received news of the King's heroic decision, and its happy fulfillment, the fact that Spain was relieved of a huge number of enemies at home, and the Christian Religion freed of so many evil, forced, and false children, brought admiration and praise from both the Pontiff and the Sacred College and for that reason they sent the king *letters of extraordinary praise*.⁴

The second testimony was that of the Dominican priest Jaime Bleda, perhaps the Expulsion's most fervent and belligerent supporter. Bleda's first work, the *Defensio Fidei*, had been written to show the King and Court, and above all the Pope and his Roman cardinals, that the Expulsion of the Moriscos had been necessary. In his *Corónica* of 1618 Bleda added, almost as an afterthought, that not only was Rome in agreement with the decision, as all those in favour of the Expulsion had repeatedly claimed, but the Pope had himself decided to expel Moriscos from the eternal city and the Church state:

Many of the expelled went to Rome to beg the Pope to intercede with our Lord the King on their behalf; others went to live there. On May 25 of the year 1611, a friend wrote to me from the Holy City that his Holiness had ordered them all to leave Rome within eight days, and the whole of the church's state within thirty. This was because they had taken the holy sacrament from a certain parish to an ill Morisco woman, and she hadn't wished to receive it, so that they had to leave with neither remission nor any reconsideration of the Pope's decision.⁵

Boronat, having made space for Canon Sales's avowals, picked up the interrupted thread of his narrative at this point, adding a little brusquely:

4 Gaspar Escolano, *Segunda parte de la Década primera de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reyno de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey), 1611, col 1995. The italics are mine.

5 Jaime Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España* (Valencia: Felipe Mey), 1618, 609.

From what these three contemporaries write, it can be inferred that the Spanish King's decision, in part motivated by advice from the Venerable Servant of God, was well received by Rome, and that it was given official recognition when the Pope used it as a norm for expelling the Moriscos from Rome and the Church states.⁶

The Silence of the Documents

We thus find ourselves faced with a strongly propagandistic line of work which has obstinately ignored contradictions and difficulties and based itself on the information gathered by Escolano or that which was sent to Bleda by his anonymous friend to form an unchallengeable theory promoted by historians who have blithely followed Boronat. However, all attempts to unearth writings or documents which might shed light on the situation have failed resoundingly on account of an absence of records or information.

Silence on the subject of the expulsion is, for example, a feature of the Nunciature's correspondence during this period. This correspondence lingers over many problems and concepts, from the most significant to the most trivial. The Nuncio gathers news, weighs up opinions, analyzes whether or not to make interventions, and examines in great detail the characteristics and peculiarities of vacant sees, whilst studying additional prebends, the state of the diocese, candidates for royal favour, and potential or actual conflicts. His correspondence supplies information about tensions over the jurisdiction of the main city councils or the least important nunnery in Spain. He describes in great detail royal journeys and the queen's doubts about the most appropriate place to bring her pregnancy to termination and give birth. Page after page of the Nunciature's correspondence is given over to the Lead Books of Sacromonte and to Rome's repeatedly frustrated wish that they be sent to Roman theologians in order to be studied.⁷

However, in all this correspondence there is just one letter containing any reference to news of the Expulsion of the Morisco minority – and it is a cold and hasty reference at that. The Secretary of State's reply to it – if possible, even

6 Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *El B. Juan de Ribera y el R. Colegio de Corpus Christi: estudio histórico* (Valencia: F. Vives y Mora), 1904, 178–179.

7 The Nunciature's letters from these years are in the Vatican Secret Archives [henceforth ASV], ss Spagna, 333, 336, 337. A notification of the Expulsion dated February 13, 1610 is preserved in ASV, ss, Spagna 60 A 255–256. The letters of Paul V's secretary to the Nuncio Decio Carafa, Archbishop of Damascus from 1609–1612, are in ASV, Fondo Pio, 183.

terser – manifests an almost palpable lack of interest, a deliberate and calculating indifference on the Curia's part.⁸

Rome's role in the Expulsion can be, and has been, much debated, but the correspondence and official records leave no room for doubt: there is no trace whatsoever of the "enthusiastic letters", nor of that "extraordinary praise" with which Rome, according to the Expulsion's defenders, had received the news. There is no expression of acclamation, support, or approval of Spain's action.

We come upon the same silence, and the same lack of documentation, when we search for news on the alleged ban on Moriscos in Rome which Bleda vehemently refers to as proof of Papal assent. The announcement of a possible second Expulsion, from Rome and from the territories of the Church states, simply does not exist. The news reported by Bleda's friend is corroborated neither by Vatican records, nor those of the Governor's Tribunal, nor in any of the numerous public proclamations. Neither is there any trace of it in the city's historical memory as recorded in its annals and chronicles.

The castle of proof so carefully constructed by Canon Sales, and later used by Boronat y Barrachina, thus collapses in the complete absence of evidence. It can be seen as a symptom of the same difficulty faced by those emissaries sent to Rome to seek evidence in support of Juan de Ribera's beatification and the Vatican's full agreement to the expulsion. In 1731, the emissaries admitted to the failure of their mission, writing disconsolately that they had read through the letters from the Nunciature, the Vatican records, and the Vatican's diplomatic correspondence without finding anything that might testify to a supposed consensus between Spain and Rome. Their words are worth reproducing:

...the inventories of papal Bulls and Briefs between 1600 and 1616 have been carefully examined. There being no Bull or Brief which deals with this matter, we proceeded to examine all the state correspondence of Rome for the aforementioned years. Particular attention was paid to the period following 1609, when Don Francisco de Castro, Duque de Taurisano and Conde de Castro, became court ambassador. In the aforementioned correspondence, there is one letter by the Count of Castro referring to this affair, and this is as much as can be found.⁹

8 "Già hebbi avviso con altre di V.S. di quanto passava circa i mori di Valenza, hora con queste delli 13 di gennaio la copia della cedola Reale, che tratta di quei di Castiglia, onde si può fare agevolmente giuditio di quel che sia per esser di loro de quali V.S. deverà andare avvisando quel più che intenderà, et seguirà di mano in mano. Di Roma 1 marzo 1610." ASV, Fondo Pio, 183.

9 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 408–409. Diplomatic note from Rome, Arch. Del Real Colegio de Corpus Christi, sign. I, 7, 8, 22–24.

The Ambassador's Fears

Francisco de Castro's letter described, with the respect and courtesy an ambassador was obliged to show towards his monarch, an atmosphere which was very different from the cauldron of excited fervour alleged by the official apologists. Charged by Philip III with communicating to Pope Paul V the king's decision to expel the Moriscos, Castro had found himself dealing with a pontiff who, whilst anxious to learn the news at first hand, was also extremely wary. Indeed, the Pope had criticized the decision not to separate Morisco children from their parents.¹⁰ Philip III had carefully studied this measure, which had first been proposed by Ribera himself and had been discussed at several meetings and consultations. The inherent difficulties had eventually led to an abandonment of the idea of separating families en masse in order to educate the children in Spain in a Catholic environment far removed from the apostasy of their parents, although room had been left for special cases and initiatives.¹¹ The issue of what to do with Morisco children had also arisen in Aragón, but Luis de Aliaga, Philip III's confessor, expressing fear at the unrest which such a measure would have caused, cynically concluded that the well-being and

10 AGS, Estado, Leg. 991. Letter from Ambassador Francisco de Castro to Felipe III, dated November 10, 1609: "Four days ago I received the letter bringing me the instruction to inform his Holiness of Your Majesty's decision regarding the Moriscos of Valencia and Castile. Given the gravity of the case, and because his Holiness has on occasion shown himself eager to learn from Your Majesty about the decision, I went and spoke to him. He read your letter and spoke for a short time about the business. In the end he took particular interest in the command that the Moriscos take their small children with them, since as they were baptized it would be better to remove them. To which I replied that, your Majesty having taken the decision after long reflection and after holding meetings on the affair with religious and learned men, justification for what had happened cannot have been lacking." My thanks to Mercedes García-Arenal for bringing to my attention the collection of letters at Simancas.

11 Henry Charles Lea's *The moriscos of Spain. Their conversion and expulsion* (New York: Haskell House Publishers), 1968, 294–296, 332–335 remains very useful on the subject of the Morisco children, as is Miquel Barceló's "Els nins moriscos", in *Primer congreso de historia del país valenciano III* (Valencia: Universidad) 1976, 326–332. Of great interest regarding the Expulsion of the Valencian Moriscos are: Mario Martínez Gomis, "El control de los niños moriscos en Alicante tras el decreto de expulsión de 1609," *Historia Social* 1 (1981), 251–280; Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El morisco Ricote o la hispana razón de estado," in *Personajes y temas del Quijote* (Madrid: Taurus), 1975, 267–278; and José Luis Betrán, "Los niños moriscos," *Historia y perspectivas de investigación: estudios en memoria del profesor Angel Rodríguez Sánchez* (Cáceres: Editora Regional de Extremadura), 2002, 295–300.

salvation of the state were preferable to the salvation of the young Moriscos' souls. He argued further that if such a measure had not been adopted during more than a century of Morisco presence on Spanish soil, an exception could justifiably be contemplated.¹²

Theologically "irreproachable" Catholic doctrine required that every possible effort be made to save the young Moriscos' souls, since they had been baptized as Catholics and were presumed not to be totally contaminated by their parents' abandonment of the faith. The position taken by Rome, which was alien to the state and political difficulties tormenting Spain, could not have been more different: the conquest of faithless souls was the aim of an ambitious global project, to be embodied a few years later in the foundation of the *Sacra congregatio de propaganda fide*. Meanwhile, the House of Catechumens – in which both Muslim slaves and Jewish children who had been dramatically torn from their parents were instructed in Christian doctrine and baptized – stood as a symbol of a policy which turned baptism after estrangement from family of origin into the dawning of a new Christian life.¹³

During his meeting with Paul V, the Spanish ambassador was forced to resort to the arts of persuasion in an effort to convince the Pope that all that had been done to the Moriscos, and especially the thousands of "innocent" children deported to lands of the infidel, had been for the best. He referred to the doubts and questions which had tormented the pious court of Madrid, and mentioned the similar cases they had found, and the numerous "meetings of religious men" which had been held on the subject.

But such fine examples of the art of diplomacy seem to have had little effect on the Pope, who felt himself trapped by what was effectively a *fait accompli*. Philip III had given his ambassador the task of forcing the Pope into whole-hearted approval of the "heroic decision" to carry out the expulsion, but Castro

12 Aliaga's opinion regarding the Moriscos of Aragón was debated in the Council of State of April 5, 1610. See the reconstruction by Manuel Lomas Cortés in *La expulsión de los moriscos del Reino de Aragón. Política y administración de una deportación (1609–1611)* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares), 2008, 149–157.

13 On the House of the Catechumens and on Papal policy regarding Jews, see Marina Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati. Storia di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi* (Rome: Viella), 2004, and "La caccia agli ebrei. Inquisizione, Casa dei Catecumeni e battesimi forzati nella Roma moderna", in *Le Inquisizioni cattoliche e gli ebrei* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), 2003, 503–538. On the baptism of Muslims, see information collected in Wipertus H. Rüdiger de Collenberg's "Le baptême des musulmans esclaves à Rome selon les registres de la Casa dei Catecumeni," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* (1989), 1: 9–181, 2: 519–670, and Marina Caffiero, "Battesimi, libertà e frontiere. Conversioni di musulmani ed ebrei a Roma in età moderna," *Quaderni storici* 126 (2007), 819–839.

seemed to be saying, albeit tactfully and prudently, that such approval would never be forthcoming. The Pope's intentions were the best, wrote Castro, but were backed up by nothing concrete:

truly his Holiness has Spain much in his heart, and reveals it in many ways. But I must insist that I do not know whether he will show it so much in his deeds as in his feelings.¹⁴

Rome and the Morisco Question

Such a silence, along with the complete lack of records, seems paradoxical at first sight. Although it had made no intervention in other religious or heretical emergencies, Rome had in the past frequently interfered in Spanish policy with regard to the Morisco minority. Throughout the long history of the Spanish Inquisition, and particularly in its golden period of the sixteenth century – when defending the Tribunal from Rome's meddling had been a priority – the Moriscos had constituted a notable exception. Extensions and Edicts of Grace made the intervention of Rome considerably more important than in other crises involving heretics. And whilst *conversos*, *alumbra-dos* and Lutherans were thought to be a Spanish problem, to be exclusively and zealously handled by the Spanish Inquisition, the Moriscos were above all Rome's concern. During the whole of the sixteenth century, from the first edicts in the kingdom of Valencia to the final troubled interventions from the 1580s up until the Expulsion, when the problem of evangelising the Moriscos was discussed in meetings specially convened by Rome, the Pope made specific interventions in this issue by means of extraordinary measures such as the reconciliation of apostate Moriscos and internal or general absolutions.

Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco has recreated to perfection the "Rome-Madrid-Spanish Inquisition" triangle in Valencia, starting with the Edicts of Grace of 1525 which have created so much confusion for scholars of the Spanish Inquisition.¹⁵ Similar events occurred in Granada, where the Mendoza family guaranteed the Moriscos long years of freedom from interference by the Inquisition. Rome then conceded a lengthy period of grace, occasionally ratifying Inquisitors' and confessors' extraordinary powers to dispense pardons *in foro conscientiae*.

14 AGS, Estado, Leg. 991. Letter of 10 November, 1609.

15 Benítez, *Heroicas decisiones*, 65–76.

Later, when the Inquisition had imposed itself as a sole source of authority, the Papacy continued to make resolute interventions in specific cases, consolidating its powers so as to disregard the Spanish Inquisition more easily. Such were the circumstances surrounding the minor but well-known case of the Morisco school founded by Francisco de Borja in Gandía.¹⁶ A similar event took place during the difficult years of the Granadan revolt, when Archbishop Pedro Guerrero embarked on a series of obstinate, solitary negotiations with Rome. With assistance from the Jesuits, Guerrero applied for and eventually obtained the power to absolve repentant Moriscos *in foro conscientiae*, and this privilege was subsequently extended to all priests in the diocese of Granada. Guerrero's powers – obtained, as the Inquisitors complained, behind the backs of the Crown and the Inquisition itself, and to their detriment – led to a number of problems for the combative Granadan archbishop.¹⁷

It will be seen, then, that by contrast with all other cases in which the Spanish Inquisition had powers, Rome to some extent contended with the Inquisition on the subject of the Moriscos. Furthermore, it was not only in the strictly judicial sense that Rome intervened. Throughout the sixteenth century, and particularly in the decades before the Expulsion, Rome also pressed for an intensification of evangelizing activity. Papal bulls relating to the Morisco issue – whether issued by Clement VII, Paul IV, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII or Paul V himself – conceded Edicts of Grace or the suspension of Inquisitorial activity, but they also contained reminders of the importance of catechization and of setting up new parish churches, and exhorted Spanish dioceses to apply themselves to these tasks. Moreover, the Papacy's final instructions regarding the Moriscos underlined that preachers should dispense with coercive methods. To this end, in his 1606 brief Paul V invited Philip III to convene a meeting of prelates to debate the Morisco problem as it affected Valencia.¹⁸

Just one year earlier, the anti-expulsion stance as outlined in a *memorial* by the Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas was broadly indicative of the attitudes of a large part of the Roman Curia. Las Casas, a Morisco educated in the Jesuit

16 José Luis González Novalín, "La Inquisición y la Compañía de Jesús," *Anthologica Annua* 37 (1990), 11–55.

17 For a reconstruction of this episode, the role of the Jesuits, and the bitter reaction of the Granadan inquisitors and Philip II, see Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada. L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura), 2003, 369–383.

18 ASV, ss Spagna 333, ff. 173–174. This deals with the brief of May 2, 1606 to the Archbishop of Valencia on the execution of other briefs from Gregory XIII and Clement VIII relative to the increase in resources for the Morisco parishes, which makes an application for assistance from Philip III and gives detailed instructions to the Nuncio.

school in Granada, had moved to Rome during the war of Granada, and had been a reader in Arabic at the Apostolic Penitentiary; he had sent a lengthy *memorial* to Clement VIII which had enjoyed considerable success. Las Casas, who was very close to the powerful cardinal Roberto Bellarmino and was an expert in Roman affairs, disassociated himself from the evangelising methods hitherto employed on the Moriscos and proposed a rethinking of the Morisco issue from a global perspective.¹⁹ His idea was that far from considering it an exclusively Spanish problem, Rome should tackle the issue of Christians of Arab origin with a view to the global scope of its missions, which embraced not only Valencia and Aragón but also the vast territories of Middle and Near Eastern Christians and the much sought-after Ethiopia.²⁰ The study of Arabic and the need for trained preachers and translators should, Las Casas argued, be key goals of Roman church policy. He explained that more than half the world spoke Arabic, and that Christian missionaries and preachers were not adequately prepared to work in the East or the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, as had been shown in the case of Spain. Detailed study of Arabic and Qur'anic traditions would open the gateway to the Near East, it would make it possible to prepare more accurate texts of controversy for use by missionaries, and it would supply Christianity with another tool for spreading the faith.²¹

Las Casas certainly knew how to play up to Rome. The city was then in a state of excitement about the letters which were arriving from Constantinople

19 On Las Casas, see Francisco de Borja Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 57 (1988), 3–134, and Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens. Étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de las Casas (1605–1607)* (Paris: Honoré Champion), 2006, which includes in an appendix the lengthy treatise addressed to Clement VIII.

20 El Alaoui, *Jésuites*, 425 and 578.

21 Both in Rome and Madrid, Las Casas had always argued for the training of interpreters and theologians who were experts in the ecclesiastical and Qur'anic sciences for the purposes of preaching to Moriscos and Christians from the Near and Middle East. He proposed to Gregory XIII, Clement VIII and Paul V the printing of Arabic Christian books, as well as the publication of a catechism for Moriscos and a refutation of Islam's anti-Christian doctrines on which he was working. On the other hand he criticized, for their lack of objectivity and their errors with regard to Qur'anic doctrine, the catechisms which Ribera had reprinted in Valencia. The information on Ignacio de las Casas is taken from Charles E. O'Neill, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas), 2001, I: 687–688.

and about the Jesuits' meetings with the Grand Vizier, as well as stories of missions in the far-flung corners of the Portuguese Empire from the Congo to Cape Verde,²² and the myth of the Ethiopian Christians. But the study of Arabic was not considered only from a missionary perspective. The issue of the Lead Books of Sacromonte and the painstaking work that was carried out on them by careful translators had inflamed the relationship between Rome and Spain. In 1610, Paul V decreed that a Chair of Arabic be set up in every institution of higher learning.

Las Casas brilliantly belittled Spanish anti-Morisco propaganda whilst inviting Rome to consider the Morisco issue from a perspective that was both global and Romano-centric. He praised the achievements of the House of Catechumens and the Roman schools, whilst unsparingly criticizing the Spanish social system and its codes of honour, which discriminated against Christians of Morisco origin and kept them at an inferior social level. Rome, Las Casas was aware, would be an attentive audience. His criticism of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, for example, which prevented the Moriscos from attaining ecclesiastical posts, found in Rome an audience which was prepared to listen and to condemn Spain's practice of social exclusion. Las Casas's decidedly radical proposal to do away with *sambenitos* in churches echoed the support Rome had given a few years earlier when Pedro de Castro, Archbishop of Granada, had requested that *sambenitos* be removed from the cathedral of Granada.²³

A short treatise preserved among the records in the Fondo Borghese²⁴ clearly expressed Rome's position on the Morisco issue and helped to make it a global, and not merely Spanish, problem. A condensed work on various missionary and heretical events from Hungary to Belgium, Flanders, etc, this brief, anonymous treatise repeated in short form all the points made in the long *memorial* by Las Casas. It stressed the importance of studying Arabic and of using preachers trained not only in the language, but also in the basics of Qur'anic doctrine (in which "more than half the world" believed).²⁵ The document also gave reminders of the abuses and humiliations endured by the Moriscos, and the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* which had had the effect of

22 The letters, dating from 1609 and 1610, are preserved alongside Spanish versions in ASV, Fondo Pio 182.

23 For more on this episode, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "Los sambenitos de la catedral de Granada," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 26–28 (1977–1978), 249–297 and Pastore, *Il vangelo*, 460–463.

24 ASV, Fondo Borghese, serie II, 2–3, ff. 223–224. *La necessità che ci e d'aggiutar l'anime di morischi di Spagna*.

25 ASV, Fondo Borghese, serie II, 2–3, f. 223v.

distancing them from accepting the norms of Christian society rather than playing a full part in it.²⁶

Indeed, the treatise goes even further than las Casas, since it proposed the introduction into Spain of “the Christian Doctrine as written by Cardinal Bellarmino”, and stated that “by debating the Roman Catechesis”, “the young men will receive an education, with prizes given to them in the Roman manner”.²⁷ Next it dealt with anti-Islamic polemic, stating that it should be used with care and without encroaching upon the rational foundations “of things which are not clearly and openly opposed to reason”;²⁸ the republication in quarto of further texts was proposed, among them a treatise by Juan de Torquemada and Pius II’s epistle to Mehmet II, as was the notion of giving the preachers access to the *opuscula* and treatises which were kept in the Vatican Library.²⁹ The decision to expel the Moriscos put paid to such schemes, and meant that Spain and the Spanish Moriscos could not be used as a bridgehead for missions to assist Christians in the Near and Middle East. Bellarmino’s catechism was translated into Arabic for the missions to Ethiopia and the Eastern Christians in 1622, the same year that the *Propaganda fidei* was founded. But by that time, the Islamic challenge had moved definitively eastwards.

Crossing the Apennines to Reach Spain: Jaime Bleda and the Roman Cardinals

The Roman Curia’s way of tackling the issue of Spain’s Moriscos did not contemplate the possibility of their expulsion. This shows up very clearly in the accounts written by those Spaniards given the task – whether in an official capacity or not – of advocating the cause of Philip III and Ribera. Among the many individuals dispatched to Rome to discuss and defend the need to expel the Moriscos from Spanish territory, the Dominican priest Jaime Bleda stands out for the dramatic, and at times even comic, nature of his adventures. In his *Corónica de los moros de España*, published in 1618, Bleda gives an account of his Roman mission which is characterised by novelistic flourishes and a “final

26 ASV, Fondo Borghese, serie II, 2–3, f. 223r: “Li cresce l’odio in Spagna, vedendosi disprezzar da Christiani, et privare dell’ingresso alle Chiese principali et Religioni et Commende et Croci, et altre dignità”.

27 ASV, Fondo Borghese, serie II, 2–3, f. 223v.

28 ASV, Fondo Borghese, serie II, 2–3, f. 223r.

29 ASV, Fondo Borghese, serie II, 2–3, f. 224.

crusade" rhetoric, but inadvertently reveals that Rome was by no means favourable to the Spanish cause.

Bleda's first mission, undertaken in 1591 with the aim of demonstrating that complete heresy was widespread among the Moriscos, rapidly became an unmitigated defeat. Bleda was sent from one cardinal to another without any of them paying the slightest attention to his theory. The only one with whom Bleda managed to exchange a few more words was the Spaniard Francisco Peña, who was eager to receive news of the *padre portero*. This was the full extent of Bleda's success on his first mission to Rome.³⁰

In November 1602, with the approval of the new Viceroy of Naples, Bleda again set out for Rome. In the spring of 1603 he broke off his journey in Capua to debate the Morisco issue with the city's new bishop, Roberto Bellarmino, a refined and elegant theologian and a key figure in the cardinals' congregations. Bellarmino was also a close friend of the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas, who had taught Bellarmino Arabic. Everything suggests that Bellarmino must have been less than favourably inclined towards the coarse representations of the Dominican, who had come to claim something which no theologian, from the Church Fathers onwards, had ever dared to contemplate: that it might be possible to condemn a population *in toto*, in its entirety and without exception, on a charge of heresy and apostasy.

Bleda's triumphalist narrative steadfastly ignores his humiliations and defeats in Rome. He tiptoes gingerly around his reception by the most famous cardinal of the period, merely noting Bellarmino's suggestion that Bleda should put his theory to the Congregation of the Holy Office, of which Bellarmino was a member. The extent of the Roman cardinals' bewilderment at Bleda's proposal becomes quite clear in his account of his Thursday audience with the cardinals of the Inquisition and the Pope, an audience during which he was advised to reconsider his theory and return at a later date. In the heat of the argument, some scornful, ironic comments were also heard:

But someone did say that declaring the Moriscos to be apostate, and that they must be thrown out of Spain, is just an idle fancy; just as insane a notion as taking the Apennine mountains from Italy to Spain, or the Indies to Italy.³¹

For the Roman theologians, the belief that all Moriscos were tainted by the crime of heresy was as irrational and illogical as believing that by crossing the

30 Bleda, *Corónica*, 940.

31 Bleda, *Corónica*, 963.

Apennines you could reach Spain, or that by passing through the Indies one could reach Italy.

Bleda reports that in his second audience he met with no opposition, and it seems likely that the Roman Inquisition had by then decided not to waste too much breath on him: the Dominican was banished to his monastery, and warned not to leave the province to which he belonged, nor to argue with the King, or much less the Pope, his notion that all Spanish Moriscos should be deemed apostates.

But the obstinate friar would not be beaten. After applying for a special dispensation, he was able to make a third journey to Italy. On this occasion his account reaches the heights of sublime, inadvertent comedy. Bleda decided to confront the Roman cardinals and to fight them with their own weapons by carefully preparing for his Thursday audience. To hone his rhetorical skills, he shut himself away for twenty days in the Dominican monastery of Arpino, Cicero's birthplace, where he prepared twenty copies of an inspired little treatise containing a condensed version of his theories. Beneath the title on its elaborately designed cover page, there was an image of a crucified Christ, at whose feet Bleda himself kneels, holding a "sign" which reads: "*Exurge domine et iudica causam tuam*". Bleda's heroic – if unreliable – narrative tells us that he took part in the Roman Inquisition's regular Thursday *coram Santissimum* and that he defended his line, described as "the Spanish cause". But apart from one reference to a "monseñor" who refuted his arguments with what Bleda calls the outdated excuse of Morisco "ignorance" of the Christian religion, he makes no mention of the objections the Roman cardinals must have made. It is clear that the "monseñor" was a cardinal, and the "worn-out excuse" remained an insurmountable obstacle to the successful demonstration of his thesis.

However, it is not my aim to explore the psychological complexities of this Dominican priest who, in the ardour of his own self-glorification, converted the main theological obstacle to the expulsion into a "worn-out excuse" and demoted a cardinal of the Inquisition to the rank of bishop.

It is, by contrast, worth looking closely at the symbols Bleda used, at the images he chose to defend his cause and at the underlying thesis revealed by his complaints. In Bleda's brilliant description, Rome is presented as being only apparently close to Spain: Rome is similar but distant, alien and completely insensitive to Spanish problems. His version thus draws on a lengthy tradition of writings regarding Roman-Spanish relations, with Rome's lack of sensitivity with regard to the Morisco problem a further addition to the lengthy list of issues that had drawn a line between Rome, the official capital of Christendom, and Madrid, its moral capital, and which was once again showing the Pope how, and to what extent, it defended the true Catholic faith.

Closely related to the jurisdictional policies of the Holy Office and the Crown in the broadest sense, Rome thus had the image of being insensitive to and distant from Spanish problems – it may have been the capital of Christianity but it was nevertheless unable to cope with the threat of heresy as successfully as Catholic Spain. This image had initially been formulated during the last decade of the fifteenth century in the official letters from King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to Rome. These letters defended Spain's jurisdictional autonomy with regard to the Holy Office and made it clear that the *converso* problem was an exclusively Spanish one which was incomprehensible and unmanageable if viewed from the banks of the Tiber, and called for Spanish intervention and Spanish participants.³²

Repeated *ad nauseam* during the numerous conflicts of jurisdiction between the Papacy and the Spanish Crown, this idea was definitively enshrined, almost to the point of becoming a literary *topos*, in the impassioned pages devoted by Diego de Simancas, the *inquisidor de oficio*, to the Roman stages of the Carranza trial, where he discusses the unbridgeable distance between the strict Spanish Inquisitors and the flexible Roman delegates.

Bleda owes a great deal – not least from a literary perspective – to those pages in Simancas' autobiography which describe the Inquisitor's bewilderment when faced with the attitude of the Roman cardinals and that of an Inquisition which was clearly very different from its Spanish equivalent and spent endless time over lengthy, sterile theological discussions whilst ignoring Spain's real problems. It is no accident that Bleda allots so much space in his earlier pages to the Spanish Inquisition's victories and to the constant battles waged by the Dominican order against heretics. The words of the psalm "Exurge domine" which Bleda raises to the crucified Christ, metaphorically pushing them into the cardinals' face, are borrowed from the symbol of the Spanish Inquisition, where they surround and enclose the olive tree and the sword in the emblem. Crusading Spain and the Papal Curia stood face to face once more: the militant and military defence of Catholicism stood in opposition to the cardinals' bland theological subtleties, and the thunderous, unchallengeable condemnation of the Spaniards came up against the canonical impossibility of declaring all Moriscos to be apostates. This final point proved to be of no small importance.

32 See Pastore, *Il vangelo*, 80–85, and on Simancas and his rhetorical arguments over Spain-Rome relations, 241–248.

The Master of the Holy Palace Censored by the Pope: **Damián Fonseca**

The Portuguese priest Damián Fonseca had more luck. A Dominican friar, Fonseca was a sworn enemy of Bleda, who not unreasonably accused him of plagiarising his work in defence of the Expulsion. Fonseca was a cautious, astute man with a good understanding of the intricacies of the Roman court; unlike Bleda, he could call on important backers at court, and was an expert in its mechanisms of power; he was also possessed of a character that was diametrically opposed to Bleda's guileless impetuosity. Fonseca's name appears several times in the Nuncio's correspondence, always associated with Papal expressions of appreciation or recommendations aimed at favouring his rapid rise through the Order's ranks. By employing and plagiarising anecdotes and facts contained in Bleda's Latin work of 1610, Fonseca was able to work up an intelligent little book, conceived *ad hoc* for the Roman public. In fact the first version, translated by Cosimo Gaci, appeared in Italian in 1611,³³ and was followed a year later by the Spanish version.³⁴

It may well be that Fonseca, as Bleda often reproached him, was no expert in Spanish ways and had perhaps never even set eyes on a Morisco. But Fonseca was an expert in the workings of the Papacy and fully understood the Curia's resistance to the Expulsion. His work faithfully reflected the tensions and problems bothering Rome, and the issues which most interested and attracted the Papacy. Even its division into chapters provided a clear indication of the range of Rome's doubts on the issue by tackling in a direct and systematic manner the stumbling blocks that sometimes arose in the Nuncio's letters: the problem of the souls of the Morisco children, that of the authenticity or otherwise of conversions from Islam to Christianity, and the importance of knowing Arabic.

In his solutions to these problems, rather than focusing on examples provided by Spain, Fonseca opted for images and anecdotes which would be directly comprehensible in Roman terms. This was his approach when addressing the most burning issue, that of the need to instruct and be able to call on Arabic preachers and translations from the Arabic. At a time when Rome was going through a phase of warm enthusiasm for Arabic studies, this

33 Damián Fonseca, *Del giusto scacciamento de moreschi da Spagna, traslatati dalla lingua spagnola dal sig Cosimo Gaci* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti), 1611.

34 Damián Fonseca, *Iusta Expulsión de los moriscos de España*, (Rome: Giacomo Mascardi), 1612. In the Spanish edition of 1612, the words "compañero del R.mo maestro del sacro palacio" were added beside Damián Fonseca's name.

represented a particularly tricky obstacle for defenders of the Expulsion. In July 1610, Paul V had ordered the establishment of a chair of Arabic in institutions of higher learning, at the same time that he continued to praise his own experts and translators in the controversy over the Lead Books of Granada. As Ignacio de las Casas had claimed, the Arabic-language teaching card had never really been played in Spain. This had created an unbridgeable distance between the Morisco faithful and the Spanish church, especially in Valencia, and seen from Rome's global perspective, preaching in Arabic would mean opening the doorways of Africa and the East to Roman spiritual conquest.³⁵ Against all this, Fonseca recalled the difficulties of the great Arabist Nicolas Clenard and dismantled the arguments of the strongest supporter of the study of Arabic, the Jesuit las Casas; he referred to them in an aside which stated "confessava non possedeva tanto bene, che avesse potuto assicurarsi di scriverci"³⁶ and used examples from las Casas' treatise in an effort to prove the Jesuit wrong. Thus, to show the impossibility of a true conversion from Islam to Christianity, Fonseca invoked the example, well-known in Roman circles, of Paolo Giovanni Ursino, "an *alfaquí* and a great philosopher in Arabic", who "had seen that evangelical law was good, and even better than his own, but not in such a way that it alone was necessary for salvation; and so as not to displease his own sect, he sought to use his ingenuity to create a mixture of the two". Las Casas had used this example to justify the importance of having experts in the Arabic language and in Qur'anic traditions, adding that after being in Rome, Ursino had sincerely converted to Christianity under the guidance of Pius V himself.³⁷ Fonseca, however, merely cited Ursino's confused initial approach, thereby raising the spectre of religious hybridity.³⁸

Fonseca, as we have already mentioned, could call on the support of an important protector at the Roman court – one with whose help and backing, as he himself explains in his introduction, he had written his treatise *Del giusto scacciamento de moreschi da Spagna. Ne quali si tratta della loro instruttione, apostasia, e tradimento; e si risolvono i dubbii, che d'intorno a questa materia si risvegliarono*. This protector was the Dominican priest Estella, Master of the Holy Palace. This was a key post within the Roman court, one which had been partly redesigned following the creation of the Sacred Congregation of the Index in 1571; the mission of the Master of the Holy Palace was to supervise the

35 These arguments had been extensively dealt with in las Casas' treatise, and had understandably received a warm welcome in Rome.

36 Fonseca, *Iusta expulsión*, 360.

37 El Alaoui, *Jésuites*, 579.

38 Fonseca, *Iusta expulsión*, 360.

control and censorship of books, especially those published in Roman territory. Fonseca could not have found a better sponsor.

On 5 August, *Del giusto scacciamento* received its first imprimatur.³⁹ On the 11th, that of the Master of the Holy Palace arrived, which was fundamental but, in this case, already taken for granted. However, the volume which has come down to us was not authorized until the following month of October. Fonseca's contacts in the Curia and Estella's support did not enable him to avoid the wrath of Paul V when the Pope realized that in the already-printed treaty Fonseca had stated that "the above-mentioned expulsion has been carried out on the authority and with the consent of His Holiness" and that the Pope had even refused to welcome the Moriscos in the Church States. A peremptory order, issued orally from the Pontiff's summer residence at the Montecavallo palace, and which is preserved among the palace papers, demanded the deletion of these two phrases. Censorship was imposed on two imprimaturs which had already been approved by the Order's authorities, and in particular by the Master of the Holy Palace. This order, preserved among the Borghese documents and unearthed by Pérez Bustamante,⁴⁰ did not go through the usual channels and has left no other trace than an annotation signed by Pietro Pavone, the Pope's Clerk of the Chamber. The whole affair was handled with the utmost discretion; there was no mention of it in the discussions of the Roman Index Congregation, and no hint of censorship was ever linked to the book.

The dedication of the *Giusto scacciamento* is dated 15 October, the probable date of the reprinting of the treatise, in which no trace of the censored sentence can be found. Fonseca and Estella must have ordered new copies of the book to be printed at some time between August and October.

Fonseca's Italian translator, Cosimo Gaci, must have taken note of these events, since he decided to record, and stress the importance of, the information that had passed from las Casas to Bleda and Fonseca, and to prepare an umpteenth justification of the Expulsion. He did this in a pamphlet, subsequently abbreviated and left in manuscript form, which bore the title

39 Fonseca, *Del giusto scacciamento, imprimatur*: "In data 5 agosto 1611, Di ordine del nostro Reverendissimo P.M. Serafino Papiense Vicario, e procurator Generale dell'Ordine de' predicatori, habbiamo leto con particular attenzione il libro intitolato *il giusto scacciamento dei moreschi di Spagna*, composto dal M.R.P. Maestro, Frate Damiano Fonseca del medesimo ordine; e non solo non vi abbiamo trovato cosa alcuna contraria alla nostra santa fede cattolica, nè ai buoni costumi; ma ci abbiamo veduto una maravigliosa disposizione delle materie, che ivi si trattano, con una vera narratione, autorizzata in molti luoghi con Brevi Apostolici, e con la testimonianza di gravissimi Autori."

40 Pérez Bustamante, "El Pontífice Paulo V," 232.

Ragionamento di Cosimo Gaci d'intorno al dimostrare la grandezza dell'attione che Sua Maestà ha eseguita nello scacciare i Moreschi nuovi christiani traditori, heretici e apostate. There were two versions of this pamphlet in circulation.⁴¹ The first copy, sent to the Conde de Castro and dedicated to Philip III, commented on the Expulsion by referring to the Holy See's participation and consent:

But to again demonstrate more concretely how just and reasonable this glorious undertaking has been, I know that a few days before the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain on the orders of the *Pope Our Lord* and of Your Majesty, in a council made up of many bishops, prelates of the religious orders, along with other learned theologians and good religious men, which was also attended by the Viceroy of Valencia, it was, after studied consideration and reasoning decided that all the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia were apostates, and so persistent in their errors that no solution except a miracle would be capable of making them recognize their apostasy and mending their ways.⁴²

In the copy sent to Paul V and preserved in the Vatican, the reference to the Pope's approval, which was obviously false, was prudently removed. The Italian translator's cunning self-censorship thus prevented the kind of Papal censorship that had been imposed on Fonseca himself.

Fonseca's treatise *Del giusto scacciamento* and the *Ragionamento* of his translator are almost contemporary. They unequivocally demonstrate that

41 *Ragionamento di Cosimo Gaci d'intorno al dimostrare la grandezza dell'attione che Sua Maestà ha eseguita nello scacciare i Moreschi nuovi christiani traditori, heretici e apostati* (Rome, 1611). Quoted in the edition of Manuel Lomas Cortés, ed., *El desterrament morisc valencià en la literatura del segle XVII. Els "autors menors"* (Valencia: Universitat), 2010. I am very grateful to the author for having pointed out this text to me and for permitting me to quote from it prior to its publication.

42 "Ma per tornare à più particolare dimostratione di quanto questa gloriosa impresa sia stata giusta e ragionevole, io sò che non molti giorni avanti allo sciaciamento de Moreschi da Spagna per ordine *del Papa Nostro Signore* e della Maestà Vostra, in una consulta di molti Vescovi, prelati degli ordini, e altri dotti teologi e buoni religiosi, dove anche si ritrovò il vicerè di Valenza dopo molto matura consideratione e da evidenti ragioni confermata, fu risoluto che tutti i Moreschi del Regno di Valenza erano apostati dalla fede, e così pertinaci nè loro errori, che ni uno oportuno rimedio, se non fosse stato miracolo, saria stato bastanti a farli conoscer loro per tali, e emendarsene". This was dated January 1611. However, the date of the Vatican copy is unknown. Lomas Cortés, *El desterrament*, 493.

Paul V did not give his approval of the Expulsion, nor did Rome support the idea that all Moriscos should be considered apostate. On the contrary, Rome intervened where and when it could to eliminate the version of Fonseca's text which Spain and Philip III had wished for.

From Heretics to Traitors: Rome and Philip III's Blind Messianism

In Madrid, Philip III and his ministers were perfectly aware of the importance of Rome's authorisation and found themselves on a slippery borderline between church and secular jurisdictions. The decision to base their arguments on the heresy and apostasy of the Moriscos as a whole, as Bleda had done on his missions to Rome, gave the Pope and the Vatican the final word on the matter.

The ever-scrupulous Ribera had pointed this out more than once, explaining that the offence of heresy pertained to church jurisdiction, and that perhaps not even the Inquisitor General himself had sufficient powers to order the expulsion of the entire Morisco minority from Spanish territories. An appeal to Rome was essential, and Ribera was convinced that the Pontiff would not withhold his consent:

Aware that the punishment of heresy and apostasy pertains to church jurisdiction, he might hesitate to banish them [...] so that it would be advisable to call on the powers of the Inquisitor General, and if they are insufficient, to turn to his Holiness for the task; which task he cannot but accept, since Your Majesty is obliged by natural and divine right to free your kingdoms from obvious danger, and to remove from them those who cause serious public harm.⁴³

At that time Ribera was still insisting on the importance of obtaining the prior consent of the Vatican, a path that, obviously, was not followed. The cardinals' replies to Bleda and the doubts expressed by Paul V to the Spanish ambassador hinted at the kind of canonical resistance and theological doubts which might prevent the granting of such consent, as well as suggesting the role that political expediency would probably play in the affair. The Moriscos were baptized Christians and not infidels, so it was impossible to declare them all heretics and proceed to expel them en masse, as had happened with the Peninsula's Jews and Muslims. As the cardinals had already explained to Bleda, there were

43 Quote taken from Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, I: 409.

no arguments in canonical and Inquisitorial jurisprudence to lend support to such an approach, which also ran up against the theological obstacle of “ignorance”.

The background to this conundrum was formed by an international political context which had seen profound changes since Henri IV’s absolution; ideological links which were not as strong as they once had been; and a traditional set of alliances which had been badly shaken on more than one occasion. With a different perception of *religio* as *instrumentum regni*, and a new role to play in international politics, Rome interpreted Philip III’s decision as a political measure from which it wanted to disassociate itself.

This is why Philip III was forced to expel the Moriscos as traitors: the accusation of heresy, *laesae maiestatis divinae*, became that of *lesae maiestatis humanae* and treason.

This is a key point, in that it leads us to an understanding of the unequivocally political nature of the Expulsion. It also allows us to sense the full weight of ambiguity and failure that the operation implied. Marcos de Guadalajara, another of the Expulsion’s defenders, specifically addressed this issue of verbal slippage from the category of heretic to that of traitor:

Some Politicians argue that His Majesty, in the expulsion of these Apostates, acted as a judge or expert in church affairs, but in this they are very mistaken. In truth, this famous deed was not wrought upon the Moriscos as heretics, but as common enemies of the name of Christianity and as traitors to Spain. Catholic Princes well know that they cannot wage war freely on heretics, simply for being known as heretics, until they are declared such by the church curia, and that this is prohibited (as stated by Castro, Book 2 Chap. 14) by Boniface VIII.⁴⁴

The criticism was significant. Guadalajara was hinting at the existence of a “political” front of critics of the Expulsion who effectively sought to defeat Philip III with his own weapons: the ultra-Catholic monarch was being reproached for having committed the crime of Uzziah, the king who was turned into a leper for wishing to act like the priests of the temple and for transgressing the borderline of church jurisdiction. It must have been a very widespread criticism, for Bleda also returned to it in the pages of his *Corónica*.⁴⁵

44 Fray Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión y iustissimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolas de Assyain), 1613, f. 155v.

45 Bleda, *Corónica*, 911: “Kings and Princes do not neglect this issue and they are always prepared to punish the Heretic, should the Church declare someone to be such [...]

The failure to gain Rome's approval, both before and after the Expulsion, forced a significant alteration in the arguments used to defend it. The sharp retreat implied by the difference in the arguments deployed during the campaign for expulsion and the *a posteriori* justifications of it served only to highlight its flaws.

The move to expel the Moriscos was launched as an attempt to regain credibility for the Catholic monarch during the truce with the Netherlands. The operation had been intended to revive the grand myth of the Catholic Kings, to play again the card of the messianic state and a Christian crusade against the infidel in an effort to reinforce Spain's Catholic identity. However, these strategies clearly failed to meet with Roman support.

Philip III's first reaction was to try to remind the Pontiff of Spain's old alliance with the Papacy. He clung to this idea with all his might, asking the ambassador to explain to the Pope that by deciding on the Expulsion he was simply following the insistent recommendations made to his predecessors by previous pontiffs:

in this affair of the expulsion of the Moriscos, I have followed the indications made by several Holy Pontiffs to several of my predecessors the Holy Kings, that these evil people be expelled from their kingdoms

But on this occasion, the Pope had made no such "indications", nor issued invitations to launch a crusade. As ambassador Castro feared, Philip III waited in vain for an official token of approval which never came.

The failure of the project weighed more heavily than it seems from the triumphalist chronicles of its defenders, and the thick shroud of mystery, contradiction and silence which hangs over the official records allows us to see just how distant Roman and Spanish positions had become.

The continued glorification of Philip III in Spain⁴⁶ shows that his weakness lay precisely in his awkward relationship with Rome. Previous Popes had

The reason for their rigour on this question is that they believe that all crimes committed against religion are also crimes against everyone, and are public crimes, so that their punishment falls as much to the civil judge, as to the Ecclesiastical. [...] Eymerich, Alonso de Castro, and others tell us that if blasphemy is heretical and against any article of faith, a secular judge cannot pronounce on it, or indeed on any exclusively religious crime."

46 For messianic prophecies concerning Philip III see Grace Magnier, "Millenarian prophecy and the mythification of Philip III at the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos," *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002), 187–209. The pantheon of family glories was also that suggested by the theatrical work of Antonio Mira de Amescua, which the Duke of Lerma wished to use to celebrate the Expulsion. See Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, "The King, the

applauded the feats of the Catholic Kings, Charles V, and Philip II as well-known champions of Catholicism, but the “heroic” decision of Philip III found little recognition whatsoever. Thus three years later, on hearing certain news from North Africa, the monarch told his ambassador to inform the pontiff “so that he may deign to change his misconception”. In an irritable, almost childish manner, Philip recounted the exploits of the Morisco Francisco Manca, who had made his fortune in the court of Algiers. Philip explained, in what almost amounted to a defence of his messianic role, that it was Divine Providence “which so powerfully aided and illuminated me and gave me the constancy to carry it [the expulsion] out.” He reminded the Pope that the expelled Morisco children had swollen the ranks of the enemies of the faith, and wrote that “if I had not carried out the necessary task of expulsion in time, I would have found myself in the shameful position of never being able to uproot the sect of Mohammed from my Kingdoms”.⁴⁷ The wound remained unclosed.

Nation, and the Moor: Imperial Spectacle and the Rejection of Hybridity in *The Masque of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*,” *Journal for early modern cultural studies* 8 (2008), 98–133. See also the chapter by Antonio Feros in this volume.

- 47 Letter of 16 September, 1614 to the ambassador Francisco de Castro: “The King, Illtre D. Francisco de Castro, Duke of Taurisano, of my Council, and my Ambassador in Rome. For the reason that in 1610, with the agreement of persons who are most learned and venerable by virtue of their grey hair, holy lives, and customs, the general expulsion of the Moors who remained in my kingdoms was decreed and put into execution [...]. You advised me that although there were several court rulings regarding this expulsion order, and the Supreme Pontiff had not condemned it, it did seem to him rather harsh to expel even those children of tender age who, growing up in a Christian manner among Catholics, would probably have maintained our faith, and not be lost to it. For which reason, in confirmation of the justified resolution that was taken, I thought I should inform you that, in the latest news we have had from Tunis and Algiers, we hear that the roguish Francisco Manca, one of the expelled Moriscos, was employed by the King of Algiers as his mayordomo, and that his children occupied important jobs in that republic; and that in Algiers alone, over eight thousand Moors, all Valencian Moriscos, have found favour and employment, so that if they had remained in Spain, they would have contaminated and it and led it to total perdition. You will ensure that his S. is informed of this (he is very likely to hear it through other channels) so that he may deign to change his misconception, and that he may become aware that if I had not carried out the necessary task of expulsion in time, I would have found myself in the shameful position of never being able to uproot the sect of Mohammed from my kingdoms. It was the power of Divine Providence which so powerfully aided and illuminated me and which gave me the constancy to carry it out, since those children are now grown and they would have swollen the ranks of the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith. Advise me of what his Holiness and Cardinal Burgesio [Borghese] say about this, for which task I would be very grateful.” Quoted by Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 399–400.

The Religious Orders and the Expulsion of the Moriscos

Doctrinal Controversies and Hispano-Papal Relations

Paolo Broggio

It is not easy to analyse the issue of the role played by religious orders in the Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spanish territories from 1609 onwards. It is, however, an issue of great significance, especially when we take into account the fact that the presence of priests from the regular orders (Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, etc.) strongly influenced the dynamics of European royal courts throughout the Early Modern period, and particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Priests' views also influenced decisions taken by political authorities, especially on issues of a markedly religious nature.¹ Starting with the key works of Boronat y Barrachina and Henry Charles Lea,² numerous references can be found in all general modern histories dealing with Spain's Moriscos and their final Expulsion to specific religious figures who played roles of varying importance in the exhaustive debates regarding the Christian acculturation of the Morisco population and the lengthy preparations for their expulsion. The names of these figures are so well known as hardly to need specifying: one such churchman was Ignacio de las Casas, the great Jesuit champion of the Morisco cause, who favoured a long, patient process of evangelisation and was resolutely opposed to coercive and violent

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- 1 See Flavio Rurale, ed., *I religiosi a corte. Teologia, politica e diplomazia in Antico Regime* (Rome: Bulzoni), 1998. For the Company of Jesus in Spain see in particular Julián J. Lozano Navarro, *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Cátedra), 2003. For churchmen as preachers and their influence at Philip IV's court, Fernando Negro del Cerro's recent study, *Los predicadores de Felipe IV. Corte, intrigas y religión en la España del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Actas), 2006, is essential reading. Further ideas on this issue are found in Michele Olivari, *Fra trono e opinione. La vita politica castigliana nel Cinque e Seicento* (Venice: Marsilio), 2002. On the Jesuit position with regard to the older religious orders in Philip II's Spain, cf. Anthony D. Wright, "The Jesuits and the Older Religious Orders in Spain," in *The Mercurian Project. Forming Jesuit Culture (1573–1580)* (Rome-St. Louis: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu-The Institute of Jesuit Sources), 2004, 913–944.
 - 2 Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (Granada: Universidad), 1992; Henry Charles Lea, *The moriscos of Spain. Their conversion and expulsion* (New York: Haskell House Publishers), 1968.

methods, and whose death in 1608 spared him from having to witness the Expulsion itself.³ But there were also the Dominican priests Jaime Bleda and Damián Fonseca, both of whom opposed las Casas during the great debates of the early seventeenth century, and who played an active role in negotiations between Madrid and Rome. Neither should we forget Jerónimo Javierre, Diego de Mardones and Luis de Aliaga, Philip III's Dominican confessors. Then there were those theologians in the regular orders who were consulted by the *Juntas* convened by Philip II and Philip III and by the episcopal authorities in the Andalusian and Valencian dioceses, where the Morisco question was of particular significance. These men were called upon to reach a *consilium sapientis*, indispensable if this thorny doctrinal, pastoral and political issue were to be handled with the requisite sensitivity.

Finally there are those religious men like the Augustinian Pedro Arias,⁴ who sent *memoriales* to the King, or to his various Councils, offering their personal views on the situation. Moreover, the priests of the regular orders were not only theologians: we should not forget, for example, the Expulsion's chroniclers, among whom the Carmelite Fray Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier stands out. Such writers gave birth to a literary genre whose mission was to justify the Expulsion by disputing with the group of so-called "politicians," which included Pedro de Valencia, Manuel Ponce de León, and Feliciano de Figueroa, Bishop of Segorbe. These priests' mission was primarily to extol the grandeur of Philip III, portraying him as a new David who had been successful where his predecessors, from John I to Philip II, had failed.⁵

We know that these figures interceded endlessly on issues relating to the Moriscos' Expulsion. But this does not necessarily make it easy to decide from their contributions what might have been the "official positions" of the various religious orders, or, to be more precise, the orders' "dominant tendencies" regarding this complex issue. Neither is it easy to reconstruct the exchange of information and instructions between these priests and their respective headquarters, whether at the provincial level or that of the general Curias in Rome. It is primarily a problem of documentation: in most cases, such sources as are

3 For the Jesuit and Morisco Ignacio de las Casas, see the detailed study by Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens. Étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de las Casas (1605–1607)* (Paris: Honoré Champion), 2006.

4 See Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 91–92.

5 See María Luisa Candau Chacón, *Los moriscos en el espejo del tiempo. Problemas históricos e historiográficos* (Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad), 1997; Francisco Javier Moreno Díaz del Campo, "El espejo del Rey. Felipe III, los apologistas y la expulsión de los moriscos," in *La Monarquía hispánica en tiempos del Quijote* (Madrid: Sílex), 2005.

preserved in the central archives of the various religious orders do not allow for a sufficiently well-articulated or persuasive reconstruction of the prevailing attitude of the religious orders towards the individual contributions made by those priests who for various reasons expressed themselves on the burning issue of the Expulsion. Unfortunately, most of the Dominican and Franciscan correspondence between the Spanish provinces and the general Curia was lost, much of it during the period of the Napoleonic invasion.

The case of the Society of Jesus, however, deserves special mention. The Jesuits, by virtue of their distinctive internal structure and their equally distinctive *ratio scribendi*,⁶ can boast of a tradition of producing and conserving documents that is unmatched by other religious groups. Nevertheless, even with the Jesuits it is no easy matter to determine whether the Society's Superior General held an official position towards the Expulsion, or whether there was a prevalent stance within the order. In his classic study of the Jesuits and the Morisco minority, Francisco de Borja Medina – an expert in those records preserved in the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus (ARSI) which deal with the Spanish and Hispano-American provinces – writes: “[...] too little light is shed by the scant documentation preserved in Rome relative to the Society of Jesus at that time to permit a detailed study of the Jesuits' position regarding the Expulsion of the Moriscos as decided upon by Philip III in the Council of 4 April, 1609.”⁷

In addition, it is practically impossible to speak in a strict sense of the “official positions” taken up by the religious orders as regards either the specific problem of the Expulsion or that of the appropriate treatment of the Morisco minority. Only occasionally, and with great difficulty, did the orders' seats of government clearly state their position on the Expulsion. Shifting political and ecclesiastical balances have to be taken into account, as does the orders' refusal to make their own positions explicit: they had to contend with, on the one hand, a Papacy which appeared to have no intention of reaching a conclusive doctrinal definition on the issue of the Moriscos' apostasy, and on the other with a Hispanic Monarchy which, between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, hesitated to put the Expulsion project – first decided upon, as is well known, in the 1582 *Junta* of Lisbon – into practice. We can safely assume that even within such orders as the Dominicans,

6 See Markus Friedrich, “Circulating and Compiling the Litterae Annuae. Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 153–177 (2008), 3–40.

7 Francisco de Borja Medina, “La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545–1614),” in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 57 (1988), 3–134, 120.

generally considered the “hawks” of the Expulsion movement, or that of the Jesuits, who were strongly influenced by Ignacio de las Casas’ non-violent and assimilationist stance, there was no unanimity. As Rafael Benítez and Bernard Vincent have recently pointed out, the difficulties encountered by Jaime Bleda in publishing his treatise *Defensio fidei* may reflect an internal rift among the Dominicans with regard to the Morisco problem which seemingly healed from 1606–1607 onwards and which merits further study.⁸ Within the Jesuit order, too, it is possible to identify major exceptions to the softer line personified by Ignacio de las Casas: we need look no further than Juan Sotelo, the Society’s representative at the *Junta* of Valencia in 1608–1609 (i.e. just after las Casas’ death). Sotelo was a staunch supporter of the Expulsion⁹ and a faithful follower of the Archbishop of Valencia, the *Patriarca* Juan de Ribera.

It is my belief that the issue at hand slots perfectly into the general historiographical debate on the religious orders which has taken place in recent years, especially in Italy. I cannot pause here to scrutinize what some have described, with a certain degree of triumphalism, as a “historiographical revolution.” For some years now, recording the religious orders’ history has no longer been the sole prerogative of historians who are themselves members of the orders. The field has progressively opened up to lay historians, and there are now closer links between, on the one hand, the religious orders’ more traditional church history, and on the other, the work of general historians, with their own paradigms and interpretative categories. The result is a lay historiography of the religious orders which is far removed from the kinds of apologias and triumphalism which held sway until just a few years ago.¹⁰ All recent studies are

8 Bernard Vincent and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “Estudio introductorio,” in Jaime Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España* [1618] (Valencia: Universitat), 2001, 13–14.

9 See Medina, “La Compañía de Jesús,” 125.

10 There is a very extensive bibliography on the Jesuits, and it would be impossible to do it full justice here. See the report carried out by Antonella Romano and Pierre-Antoine Fabre, eds., “Les jésuites dans le monde moderne. Nouvelles approches,” *Revue de Synthèse* 2–3 (1999); Franco Motta, “Cercare i volti di un’identità plurale,” *Annali di storia dell’esegesi* 19–2 (2002), 333–345, monographic issue. For the Barnabites see Elena Bonora, *I conflitti della Controriforma. Santità e obbedienza nell’esperienza religiosa dei primi barnabiti* (Florence: Le Lettere), 1998. For the Escolapios or Piarists see Alberto Tantarri, “Gli scolopi nel Mezzogiorno d’Italia in età moderna,” *Archivum Scholarum Piarum* 50 (2001), 37–51, monographic issue. For the Somascans in the history of education, see Maurizio Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento: gesuiti e somaschi a Venezia* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze), 1999. For the Theatines see Andrea Vanni, “Fare diligente inquisitione.” *Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei chierici regolari teatini* (Rome: Viella), 2010.

united by their attempt to shed light on the countless pieces of the complex mosaic making up the relationship between politics and religion during the centuries of the Early Modern period, a field previously subsumed under the category of Church/State relations. We should not think of the religious orders simply as monolithic, highly disciplined armies in the service of the Papacy. Rather they were deeply heterogeneous entities, characterised by their extraordinary capacity to adapt to particular situations and to make compromises between, on the one hand, their duties of obedience and faith to their General Curias and the Holy See, and on the other to their many and varying links of dependence and interest, often involving family ties and patronage, with local political elites.

In the last thirty years, Morisco historiography has highlighted the complexity and even the contradictions underlying Philip III's decision to apply the measure of expulsion, the *extrema ratio*, rather than choose from a range of equally viable options. The solid, extensive bibliography on the subject makes it unnecessary to linger over this specific point. Debate among historians has mainly focused on defining the decisive role played by the Duke of Lerma, the relationship between the Inquisition, the monarchy and the Spanish episcopacy (with particular reference to the key figure of Juan de Ribera), the stance of the Holy See and the issue of whether political arguments prevailed over religious ones or viceversa. We can safely assume that the involvement of the regular orders fed into all these controversial subjects, since the orders had long been – as they continued to be, throughout the crucial years when the appropriateness of the Expulsion was being debated – direct witnesses of life in the Morisco communities and the advancing process of evangelisation. This is a key point, since the doctrinal definition of the Morisco question, i.e. the question of whether the Moriscos should be considered heretics or apostates of the true faith, depended principally on the way in which their observance of the Christian religion was measured: it depended, in other words, on their willingness to undergo a sincere conversion and on their attitude towards the Christian sacraments, especially baptism. This unmediated relationship between doctrinal formulation and concrete reality is essential when seeking to provide an accurate assessment of the role played by the regular orders in attempts to assimilate the Morisco minority, and in the Expulsion itself.

This study is based on these preliminary considerations. In it I will deal firstly with the significance which the ecclesiastics' first-hand knowledge of the Moriscos' observance of Christian practices may have had in determining their varying, sometimes divergent positions towards the Expulsion. I will then go on to deal with the influence of the religious orders on the complex system of checks and balances operating at Philip III's court and on the leanings of the

government under Lerma's ministership. Relations with Rome in this context are an important subject, albeit under-analysed in recent political studies of the so-called *Pax Hispanica*.¹¹

Pastoral Experience and Theological-Doctrinal Tendencies

For Jaime Bleda, the author of the *Defensio fidei* and the *Corónica de los moros de España*,¹² first-hand knowledge of the religious practices, habits, and customs of the Moriscos was essential when it came to reaching conclusions about their continuance in the "faith of Mohammed." It was consequently also crucial when defining the central problem of whether the Moriscos were apostates, and whether expulsion would be an appropriate punishment for them. As Bleda expresses it very well in the *Corónica*: "with the aim of becoming better informed about the heresies of the Moriscos, so as to be able to impugn them, I wished to live among them for some years, teaching them and serving as their priest."¹³ Bleda, who had spent ten years in the parishes of Ayelo, Alcocer, and Gabarda in Valencia's Ribera Baja region, stressed the importance of such direct experience in those pages of his work which sought to demonstrate that the *Iusta expulsión de los moriscos de España* – written by the Portuguese Dominican Damián Fonseca, published in 1611 in Castilian and Italian,¹⁴ and dedicated to the Count of Castro, Spain's ambassador in Rome, with the backing of the Master of the Holy Palace – was nothing but a clumsy copy of his own *Defensio fidei*.¹⁵

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- 11 See principally Bernardo García García, *La Pax Hispanica. Política exterior del Duque de Lerma* (Leuven: University Press) 1996; Antonio Feros, *El Duque de Lerma: realeza y prìvanza en la España de Felipe III* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2002; Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press), 2000.
- 12 Jaime Bleda, *Defensio Fidei in causa Neophytorum, sive Morischorum Regni Valentiae, totiusque Hispaniae* (Valencia: Ioannem Chrysostomum Garriz), 1610; id., *Corónica de los moros de España, diuidida en ocho libros* [Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1618] (Valencia: Universitat), 2001.
- 13 Bleda, *Corónica*, 942. For a portrait of Bleda see Bernard Vincent and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Estudio introductorio."
- 14 Damián Fonseca, *Iusta Expulsión de los Moriscos de España: con la instruccion, apostasia, y traycion dellos: y respuesta á las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia* (Rome: Giacomo Mascardi), 1612; id., *Del giusto scacciamento de Moreschi da Spagna, libri sei* (Rome: Bartholomeo Zannetti), 1611.
- 15 See for these discussions also the contributions by Benítez Sánchez-Blanco and Pastore in this volume.

The proof of this disagreeable instance of intellectual piracy within the Dominican order was to be found in the *Iusta expulsio*'s colourful description of "Morisco errors." Fonseca gave descriptions that he could only have taken from Bleda's book, given that "we know from the *Padre Maestro* of the Holy Palace that [Fonseca] never lived among the Moriscos, and had no dealings with them, nor did he even know them; and to properly understand their sacrilege, it was necessary to live watchfully among them: and in no manner was it sufficient to be Valencian and to have lived for many years in the city of Valencia, where there were no Moors."¹⁶ According to Bleda, neither Fonseca's theological knowledge nor his teaching activities could have made up for such a deficiency, given that "at the University of Valencia, the difficulties of this nation were never discussed [...] Neither at Alcalá de Henares, where there were many Moriscos, nor at Salamanca, nor Valladolid, did the professors ever teach a single word about the Moriscos, and much less about their errors."¹⁷ Bleda was not speaking here as a theologian, but as a direct witness of Morisco life. It might also be said that he was indirectly taking issue with Ignacio de las Casas: the Jesuit had always been highly critical of the methods of evangelisation used, which in his opinion were woefully inadequate. Bleda argued that in order to know the "errors of the Moriscos" it was not sufficient to have sermonised to them during the missionary campaigns, since "from merely conversing with them, no error on their part could be deduced, due to their great fear of the Inquisition. It was necessary to live watchfully among them, and to converse at length with the *alguacil*, the midwife, or the godmother, and with other Priests, and to be well-apprieved of things, to be able to watch them perform ceremonies, and catch them out speaking bad Latin: because they behaved very circumspectly when among Christians, and by no means as carelessly as that Priest, who has never had dealings with them, believes."¹⁸ To uncover "errors," Old Christians needed to behave rather like modern documentary film makers who don camouflage and lie in wait for lions in the hope of filming them fighting: it was necessary to wait, observe carefully, and seize the right moment. Rafael Benítez and Bernard Vincent have described it as the work of "entomologists," or "police" work.¹⁹ According to Bleda, it was not the missionaries, who lived among them only for brief periods, who best knew

16 Bleda, *Corónica*, 948.

17 *Ibidem*, 948–949.

18 *Ibidem*, 949. The relationship between preaching campaigns and Inquisition activity is extremely interesting. See Paolo Broggio, *Evangelizzare il mondo. Le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America* (Rome: Carocci), 2004, 155–162.

19 Vincent and Benítez, "Estudio introductorio," 13.

the Moriscos' errors, but rather the parish priests and the *alguaciles* who were generally the bishops' and Inquisitors' informants.

Bleda's entire discourse is aimed at demonstrating, with arguments which from his perspective are clear and objective, the apostasy of the Spanish Moriscos and the consequent need to proceed rapidly to their expulsion. It was an opinion that Rome did not share. As the Dominican himself would have it, criticisms of his thesis were the fruit of generalised ignorance about the Morisco problem which was caused by a lack of experience in the field. This explained the harsh opposition he encountered from the Master of the Holy Palace (also a Dominican) during his first visit to Rome:

In 1603, I was in Rome, pursuing my Morisco cause. I raised some of my points with Father Maestro Istella, and they seemed new and unknown to him, as though I'd been talking about China. I have in my possession authentic testimony in which it becomes clear that for Padre Maestro Istella, the fact that the Moriscos were considered apostates was a baseless invention of mine. For this reason, when I went back to Spain, he requested by letter that I neither return to Rome nor visit the King, since I spoke of the Moriscos as apostate. The P.M. Fonseca may say that the P.M. of the Holy Palace supplied him with information about the Moriscos' errors. But I gave this information to all the members of the Inquisition on my third journey to Rome in 1608, and that is why he knew it by heart, like the Inquisitor Generals. I also believe that he was informed about events he claims to have witnessed here at an *auto* of the Inquisition. To each his own in accordance with his just desserts.²⁰

In short, Bleda thought that Fonseca could only have obtained the information about the errors of the Moriscos from Bleda's *Defensio fidei*. Neither Luis Beltrán nor Feliciano de Figueroa had picked up on these "errors" (apart from the one concerning the observance of Ramadan), and, in general, the Spanish Inquisitors had scrupulously respected the duty of secrecy imposed on them by their position. Neither was direct personal experience enough, because in order to uncover a significant number of "errors," one had to collect the testimonies of several people: "When I cited Bishops, Inquisitors and Priests as witnesses of these errors, it was because one of them knew of one error, another of another and by putting them all together, one could see that they agreed on the Moriscos' apostasy. I drew on my own experience to arrive at

20 Bleda, *Corónica*, 949.

knowledge of the errors, and Fonseca did not, he took them from my Defence of the Faith.”²¹

Equally fundamental to these discussions was the issue of the legitimacy of the first compulsory baptisms of the *agermanados* carried out in Valencia in 1521: their validity was definitively sanctioned by the *Junta* of Madrid in 1525, in the same year that the Aragonese Muslims were also converted.²² Nevertheless, the issue continued to fuel debate during the first years of the sixteenth century. The violence or force with which the baptisms had been administered was a central point: if baptisms were to be considered invalid when they had been received unwillingly and without the Valencian Muslims’ consent, then these individuals could not be spoken of as apostates, with all the consequences that would entail (including being submitted to Inquisitorial jurisdiction). Since Fernando de Loazes – in a treatise²³ from the 1520s recently studied by Isabelle Poutrin²⁴ – had already shown these baptisms to be legitimate, Bleda and Fonseca endeavoured to reach the same conclusion by using doctrinal arguments which were again completely dependent on testimonies of events during the War of the *Germanías*. Loazes in particular had used the argument of distinguishing between absolute coercion and conditional or relative coercion; the latter gave the subject a choice between two equally negative possibilities, with the subject only able to act by opting for the lesser evil.²⁵ Eighty years on from the War of the *Germanías*, and on the same basis of a distinction between absolute violence (*violentum simpliciter*) and conditional violence (*violentum secundum quid*) – “The action of the obliged person who does something which he does not wish to do because of some external force, like the merchant who throws things overboard in order to save his life” – Damián Fonseca showed that for him, the validity of these baptisms could not be questioned, particularly if they were considered from an external standpoint:

It is true that during the times of the *comuneros*, less pressure was put on the Moriscos to be baptized. There were only warnings and threats, and the Emperor put even less pressure on them. From the social, external

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² See Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La Monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos*, (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2001, 76–84.

²³ Fernando de Loazes, *Per utilis et singularis questio: seu tractatus super nova paganorum regni Valentiae conversione* (Valencia: Joan Joffre), 1525.

²⁴ See Isabelle Poutrin, “La conversion des musulmans de Valence (1521–1525) et la doctrine de l’Eglise sur les baptêmes forcés,” *Revue Historique* 310–314 (2008), 819–855.

²⁵ See *ibidem*, 837 and ff.

point of view, therefore, their baptism should be considered completely voluntary, although they were in part obliged to be baptized. This can be demonstrated. When the Moriscos were baptized, the priest asked them if they wished to be Christians and to be baptized. They answered affirmatively (this is the holy ceremony which the Church observes by tradition, in the administration of the Sacrament), and the priest then baptized them. For this reason, it can be inferred by the Church that they wished to be baptized, especially when this inference redounds to their advantage and benefit. To this it must be added that they never lodged any legal complaint or requested their former freedoms, even when they were sentenced to death for heresy. This is clear proof that they freely consented to being baptized; it is, at the very least, sufficient reason for the Church to consider it so.²⁶

But Fonseca went further and showed the validity of the baptisms administered by the *agermanados* from an internal perspective, such that:

[...] if they [the Valencian Muslims] wished to receive the sacrament, even if only not to die, or not to have to leave their land, then however much they may protest that if they had not been afraid they would never have been baptized, they were nonetheless really and truly baptized. In my view, the first Morisco baptisms were like this, particularly of those who had been instructed in our religion, by order of the Emperor, before they received the sacrament. I am convinced that these Moriscos, for fear of dying, of exile and of losing their possessions, had at the time sufficient intention to receive the sacrament really and truly, because it only consists in allowing the Church to do to one what it usually does, even though there be no knowledge or worship of the sacrament beyond this.²⁷

In her analysis of Loazes' work, Isabelle Poutrin has shown that Charles V's final decision to consider the baptisms legitimate was not dictated by purely political motives. On the contrary, the decision flowed naturally from canonical and theological doctrine on baptism as it had developed throughout the late Middle Ages. This doctrine was largely made up of restrictions on the possibility that the civil authorities and the Pope himself could grant protection and tolerance to those who had received compulsory baptism: and neither the charters of the various kingdoms, nor the Pontiff himself, could in any way

²⁶ Fonseca, *Iusta expulsion*, 364–365.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 366.

authorise civil authorities to admit the apostasy of those who had been forcibly baptized.

For Fonseca and Bleda, who were well versed in Loazes's treatise, forced baptism was clearly legitimate because of the absence of any objection to it from those baptized – even if in many cases they had been “dragged by the hair”²⁸ to the baptismal fonts. This view was based on the sacramental theology of earlier centuries and particularly on the work of St. Thomas Aquinas; it gave far greater weight to the person of the minister responsible for administering the baptism than to the subject's intention. In a sense, this reflected the pattern of development of modern theological doctrine on marriage.²⁹ We know that for Aquinas, baptism administered against the subject's will should be considered invalid (“tales nullo modo sunt ad fidem compellendi, ut ipsi credant: quia credere voluntatis est,” *Secunda Secundae*, Quaestio x, art. VIII), but we also know that Aquinas' position was ambiguous insofar as it offered no solution whatever to the problem of how to distinguish between relative and absolute violence. To the views of Aquinas we can add those of Duns Scotus, who, basing his ideas on the principle that a Christian prince has absolute authority over his subjects, went so far as to admit not only the legality of enforced baptism of the children of Jews, but even that of the violent conversion of their parents.³⁰

The administration of the sacraments is a rich field for study, not only as regards the position of the religious orders concerning the status of the Moriscos, but also the role played by the religious orders in the debate over doctrinal issues. These issues naturally came to represent yet another area of conflict by which to measure the Catholic Monarchy's dependence on, or autonomy from, Rome. The legitimacy of baptism – and not only the first baptisms administered to Muslims – was an important doctrinal question which was never formally submitted to the judgement of either the Pope or the

28 For the sixteenth-century debate on the forced baptism of Portuguese Jews at the end of the fifteenth century, see Giuseppe Marcocci, “[...] per capillos adductos ad pillam: Il dibattito cinquecentesco sulla validità del battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496–1497),” in *Salvezza dell'anima, disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa: Edizione della Normale), 2006, 339–423. For the later development of Roman doctrine on the forced baptisms of Jews, especially in the eighteenth century, see Marina Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati. Ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi* (Rome: Viella), 2004.

29 On the move from pre-Tridentine to post-Tridentine marriage see Daniela Lombardi, *Matrimoni di antico regime* (Bologna: Il Mulino), 2001; ead., *Storia del matrimonio. Dal Medioevo ad oggi* (Bologna: Il Mulino), 2008; Gabriella Zarri, “Il matrimonio tridentino,” in *Il Concilio di Trento e il moderno* (Bologna: Il Mulino), 1996, 437–483.

30 See Marcocci, “...per capillos”, 348–350.

Roman Inquisition, who were the only Church authorities empowered to settle controversial issues of doctrine. This is a further aspect of Juan de Ribera's actions that Bleda, for example, was to criticise, following Ribera's 1610 decision to repeat baptism ceremonies for the approximately one thousand children who had stayed in Spain after the start of the Expulsion. Some of these children had been abandoned by their parents, but much more frequently they had been held back by the Spanish authorities and literally torn from their mothers' arms ("they stole," Bleda says, "many children from the Moriscos"). The decree of Expulsion had established that all Moriscos above four years of age be expelled from the country, which raised the problem of the separation of the youngest Moriscos from those of their parents who had been condemned to Expulsion, as well as the problem of what should happen to these children. Ribera had believed Fonseca's account, according to which a strategy of resistance to Christianisation had developed within the Morisco communities. This strategy involved having the same child repeatedly baptized over a certain period of time, so that other children born during this same period would remain unbaptized.³¹ In his treatise, Bleda again applied himself to rigorously and bitterly refuting what Fonseca had written, seeking to show that Fonseca's hypothesis could not be true and basing his argument on his first-hand knowledge of the Moriscos' natural tendency to lie: "[...] The Moriscos who gave information about this matter did not speak the truth: they were unfaithful to God, and so they were also unfaithful to men." The alleged

31 "In Buñol, a place of Moriscos, if ten, twenty or more children were born in the space of eight days, then they took just one of them, and that child went around all the stations; and they baptized it ten or twenty times, changing its name, and the name of its parents, each time. So that simply by multiplying the names, and only one child actually being baptized, the other nineteen children were left without having received the Sacrament. In some places, children were lent between one place and another. For this reason a certificate was sent to the Patriarch from Orán, in which Miguel Ferrer, a Moor of the kingdom of Valencia, a resident of Ayodar and a vassal of Don Cristobal Muñoz, was asked whether he was baptized. He replied that he was not, and that he was sure of this, because in all those places which were on the shores of the Mijares river, it was customary not to baptize children during the first two months of life. Only one of those born during these two months was baptized. Later, when other Morisco women had children, these children remained unbaptized. With this system, they baptized the first child, then changed its name and lent it out to other places. They were very satisfied with the result, for in this way they deceived priests and godmothers, and they mocked our sovereign Holy Sacrament. Ferrer added that this practice was customary throughout the kingdom, and that less than a tenth part of the Moriscos must have been baptized." Fonseca, *Iusta expulsion*, 106.

strategy of repeated baptism, which Fonseca and the *Patriarca* himself assumed to be true, was pure invention:

They were born with lies in their mouths, and they constantly sought to deceive the Christians. What they believed was that they could wipe away the baptism of a child by cleaning the child's head with a damp cloth or a piece of bread. That is why the father of the child or another relative usually attended the baptism, to observe on which part of the head the water was dropped and the holy oil applied. But this supposition about the children is something the Moriscos have invented recently, when they saw that their children were being taken from them and they wanted to get them back and take them with them. But the opposing opinion won and the King, advised by his Viceroy, ordered that all the little Morisco boys and girls who had lived among Christians until the age of twelve should not be expelled. The *Patriarca* wrote to the King and told him that if they were not baptized, then they should be. And this is what they started to do, in the belief that the other opinion was correct.³²

Bleda's experiences, both direct and indirect, authorised him to refute with total certainty the assumptions on which Ribera based his decision to repeat the baptism of the infant Moriscos. These assumptions were based on a story which was simply an ingenious invention of the Moriscos, dreamed up when they realized that the Spanish authorities were intending to keep back their youngest children: by declaring that they had not been baptized, they hoped to avoid their children having to stay in Spain. At the time of the Expulsion, the wife of the Viceroy of Valencia, the Marquise of Caracena, had, according to Bleda, kept back "many pregnant Morisco women, so that they would give birth before boarding ship. She did so in order to baptize the children, which caused their parents much pain and repugnance, and it was done against the Archbishop's will."³³ The Dominican seemed to wish to distance himself from such inhuman behaviour.

Bleda describes the repetition of the baptism of the Morisco children, as decreed by Ribera on 3 August 1610, as truly sacrilegious – even if the prelate had employed, as was usual in such doubtful cases, the *sub condicione* formula ("si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo"). According to Bleda, Ribera had effectively committed the twin errors of not consulting Rome and of acting on impulse. He had taken a delicate decision alone, and moreover based it on information that was scarcely trustworthy:

³² Bleda, *Corónica*, 952.

³³ *Ibidem*.

This issue was one of the most serious to be found in religion. In his decretal, Pope Leo instructed that such cases be dealt with slowly, and that much time be devoted to them. Saint Cyprian relates that in another similar case that was settled in Greece, the Pope was consulted. But in this case, the issue was resolved rapidly, without consulting either the Pope or the Inquisition. Don Gaspar de Quiroga, who was on the Supreme Council, ignored the resolution and decided that all the young Valencian Moriscos in Madrid should be reconciled with the faith. After the *Patriarca's* death, I sent them to him and he ordered them to repent of their errors, even though several had been rebaptized.³⁴

It should be borne in mind that sacramental issues were another area of conflict, especially in that which concerned the *Dubia circa sacramenta*.³⁵ In the particular case of the baptism of Moriscos, the prelates and churchmen in general had their doubts, but Spanish sovereigns preferred to continue to entrust the settlement of such doubtful cases to theologians, whether collectively in *juntas* or individually. This tradition subsequently continued unaltered. Sending *Dubia* from every corner of the world to Rome – and specifically to the Roman Inquisition and *de Propaganda Fide* – remained a relatively constant practice, in line with a project which sought to affirm Papal supremacy from both the missionary and doctrinal perspectives.³⁶

Philip III, the Duke of Lerma and Ambiguities in the Defence of Catholic Orthodoxy

The episode of the Expulsion of the Moriscos should also be considered in the context of another controversy among Spanish religious orders – a controversy which arose in Spanish territory and was then transferred to Rome in ways that

34 *Ibidem*, 953.

35 Unfortunately, the series of documentary records of the *Dubia circa baptismum* of the Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF, previously the Holy Office), starts in 1618.

36 See report by Paolo Broggio, Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estoile, and Giovanni Pizzorusso, eds., *Administrer les sacrements en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: La Curie romaine et les "Dubia circa Sacramenta," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 121–1 (2009). See especially the introductory essay: Paolo Broggio, Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estoile, Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le temps des doutes: les sacrements et l'Eglise romaine aux dimensions du monde", in *ibidem*, 5–22.

it is not possible to examine in detail here.³⁷ I am referring specifically to the *de auxiliis divinae gratiae* controversy which, having been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition by Clement VIII, kept the Pope Aldobrandini occupied until his death. The controversy was inherited by Paul V, who found himself obliged to bring an end to a theological dispute which had dragged on for years, and which had consumed the energies of both the religious orders involved and the Congregations of the Curia and the Secretary of State. Finally, in August, 1607, Paul decided to settle the question by imposing silence on the contending parties, without defining the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the subject of the controversy. This was Luis de Molina's *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis* (Lisbon, 1588), a treatise which contained a doctrine on the concordance of grace and free will (the so-called *scientia media*) which the Dominicans had violently attacked, accusing it of being Pelagian or semi-Pelagian. The doctrinal issue of grace would prove to be only an initial testing ground for the political-religious balance of power between Rome and Madrid, in that just a few years later another huge controversy of greater intensity and duration occurred, and was to absorb their respective diplomats: the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception.³⁸ These were years of vital importance, which produced genuine conflict between Dominicans, Jesuits and Franciscans both in Spain and Rome; and to the struggles between the religious orders, we must add the battles within the orders themselves. All this may provide a more convincing explanation of the failure of Bleda's mission to Rome in 1603. Not only was the content of his *Defensio Fidei* a source of disagreement, but also part of the peculiar atmosphere in Rome, with the cardinals – many of whom were also members of the Inquisition – as well as those theologians who took part *de auxiliis* in the Inquisition's meetings finding

37 For further information, see my monograph *La teologia e la politica. Controversie dottrinali, Curia romana e Monarchia spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki), 2009.

38 I shall restrict myself here to identifying some of the more recent contributions to the prodigious bibliography on the issue of the Immaculate Conception: Antonio Luis Cortés Peña, "Andalucía y la Inmaculada Concepción en el siglo XVII," in *Religión y política durante el Antiguo Régimen* (Granada: Universidad), 2001, 103–148; J.A. Ollero Pina, "Sine labe concepta: conflictos eclesiásticos e ideológicos en la Sevilla de principios del siglo XVII," in *Grafías del Imaginario. Representaciones culturales en España y América (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica), 2003, 301–335; Adriano Prosperi, "L'Immacolata a Siviglia e la fondazione sacra della monarchia spagnola," *Studi Storici* 47–2 (2006), 481–510; Paolo Broggio, "Teologia, ordini religiosi e rapporti politici: la questione dell'Immacolata Concezione di Maria tra Roma e Madrid (1614–1662)," *Hispania Sacra* 65 / Extra I (2013), 255–281.

themselves in a very delicate situation. It cannot be mere coincidence that one of these cardinals – his name is unknown, since Bleda omitted it – after hearing Bleda expound the content of the *Defensio* to the Inquisition's *plenum*, addressed Bleda to state that “declaring the Moriscos to be apostate, and that they must be thrown out of Spain, is just an idle fancy, an insane notion.”³⁹ In a generally unstable political-ecclesiastical context marked by increasing external political pressures from both Spain and France, Bleda's mission was perceived in Rome as yet another attempt by the Hispanic Monarchy to meddle in doctrinal issues.

The Morisco question cannot, of course, be reduced to a mere dispute between religious orders. But I wish to stress that this aspect of the issue should not be underestimated when we take into account all of the various factors which influenced the Expulsion of the Moriscos. The Dominicans undeniably played a key role in influencing the direction in which Lerma wished to take the Hispanic Monarchy's religious policy, in particular with regard to Rome. 1612, for example, marks the high point of the Hispanic Monarchy's struggles to reach a definitive doctrinal definition which might be favourable to the Dominicans, or to have the controversy reopened *de auxiliis* after the Papacy had already formally resolved the issue by deciding not to decide. I therefore wish to raise the following question: might there have been some connection between the decision to expel the Moriscos and the existence of these tense relations between Madrid and Rome over Spain's request – sometimes interpreted by the Secretary of State as being over-ambitious – for doctrinal definitions of the issue of grace and the Immaculate Conception? I believe that the answer is in the affirmative. Petitions requesting that Rome take a clear stand in its definition of the “solid Catholic truth,” as the phrase ran in the communiqués of the time, formed part of a political and ideological climate in which Philip III's monarchy was striving to make the purity of faith and religious orthodoxy one of the cornerstones of its image both at home and abroad. To speak of orthodoxy is to speak of theology; and when we speak of theology, we speak of religious orders, particularly of the Dominicans and the Jesuits, the two great heirs to the Thomistic tradition, locked in perpetual struggle and in an ambivalent, shifting relationship with Augustinianism,⁴⁰ which was in its turn in rather a volatile condition. To speak of theology is, moreover, to speak of popular piety: the two factors are closely linked, as becomes perfectly clear in the controversy of the Immaculate Conception.

39 Bleda, *Corónica*, 963a.

40 See Mario Rosa, “Gesuitismo e antigesuitismo nell'Italia del Sei-Settecento”, *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 42–2 (2006), 247–280.

Antonio Feros has hypothesized that when the possibility of a truce with the Protestant heretics of the Netherlands was considered, because of the impracticability of continuing the war against them, Philip III and Lerma were forced to seek for themselves a new identity, different from the traditional role as champion of Catholicism in Europe. This new identity was found in the defence of Catholicism against the threat of Turkish advance. It found its quintessential embodiment in a renewed interest in southern Europe, the Mediterranean zone, and in the presumed Muslim threat within the Monarchy's own kingdoms.⁴¹ I would broaden Feros's interpretation by saying that the Hispanic Monarchy's new identity was founded above all on an *extension of the concept of heresy* which was also, in its turn, a *political and rhetorical enlargement of the concept of orthodoxy*. This new religious and doctrinal orthodoxy was subject to reasons of state, and the Catholic monarchy claimed the duty and right to defend it. It was a way of further extending the traditional policy of confrontation with the Protestants of northern Europe. It is important to stress that in order to defend this orthodoxy, the Catholic monarchy asserted its historical right to seek, from the only authority capable of giving it, clear, incontrovertible definitions of all those issues where there were doubts among various equally probable theological opinions. But when Rome refused to play this role, or dragged its heels in doing so, as constantly occurred, difficulties inevitably emerged in which it became difficult to distinguish the political from the doctrinal. The religious orders, traditional repositories of theological knowledge, found themselves continually at the heart of these discussions.

The king's favourite, the Duke of Lerma, played a key role in this politico-religious project. He worked alongside both the Dominican Luis de Aliaga, who would become the King's confessor in 1608, and, with regard to negotiations with Rome, the Count of Castro. The political affinity between Lerma and Aliaga, at least in this particular area, is confirmed by the fact that, in order to move ahead with the Expulsion project, Lerma had to wait for the death of the previous royal confessor, the Dominican Jerónimo Javierre, who had argued for the need to set in motion a new, more widespread campaign to evangelise New Christians of Muslim origin.⁴² But in my opinion, the Expulsion was not just the politically expedient result of a disastrous military situation in the Netherlands, with the Morisco minority being used as a *cabeza de turco* or scapegoat, to borrow Rafael Benítez's telling phrase.⁴³ The Expulsion of the

41 See Antonio Feros, *El Duque de Lerma: realeza y privanza en la España de Felipe III* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2002, 354 and ff, as well as his contribution to this volume.

42 See Benítez, *Heroicas decisiones*, 369–390.

43 *Ibidem*, 430.

Moriscos is very probably the start of a new political strategy by Lerma which continued during the years that followed. His policy was lent further impetus by an event which weakened the Jesuits' position at Court, the death in 1611 of Queen Margaret of Austria, who had led the faction opposing Lerma. But Aliaga was probably little more than a pawn in Lerma's hands; several years later, Philip would mount an ambitious diplomatic campaign, again in the field of theological doctrine. This was the petitioning of Rome for a dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception, to which the Dominicans, given that it was a doctrine towards which Aquinas had maintained a cautiously open position, were traditionally opposed. The diplomatic exchanges between Madrid and Rome continued for decades, until Pope Alexander VII, Fabio Chigi, promulgated the bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* on December 8, 1661. A dogmatic definition did not arrive until 1854.

These three factors – theology, politics, and popular worship – are, as was stated earlier, intimately linked to each other, and relations with Rome were fundamental. The ideology of an unstained Spanish Catholicism – Spanish as against Roman – was constructed via the stands repeatedly taken on issues of a doctrinal nature. It required inflamed, high-spirited popular religious zeal of a kind which defined itself through its “enemies” or adversaries, and it was a form of devoutness which became a cause for concern to the Vatican on more than one occasion. All the Expulsion chronicles abound in rhetorically high-flown references to the supposedly anti-Morisco feeling of the Spanish people; it was a feeling that was also expressed in fervent processions and hastily written liturgies such as that composed by Pedro González de Mendoza, Archbishop of Granada, in 1614.⁴⁴ In the literature of those years we find many significant references to legends and popular prophecies about the Expulsion, an issue explored by Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier in *Prodición y destierro de los moriscos de Castilla*.⁴⁵ The Carmelite Guadalajara is an interesting figure, not least for writing the continuation of Gonzalo de Yllescas' *Historia pontifical y católica*, a history of the Papacy told from a Spanish point of view. Yllescas's work displeased Rome, and since the time of Sixtus V it had been included, along with the mitigating clause *donec corrigatur*, on Rome's Index of

44 *Officium nocturnum atque diurnum pro gratiarum actione de expulsiōe et relegatione Tartararum sobolis sarracenorum, ab Ill.mo et Rev.mo D. Fr. Pedro González de Mendoza Archiepiscopo Granatensi, pia devotioni Philippii Tertii Hispaniarum et Indiarum Regis Catolici*, published in Ciriaco Morón, “Una visión inédita de la expulsión de los moriscos,” *Salmanticensis* 6 (1959), 483–502.

45 On popular anti-Morisco feeling, see Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 377 and ff, and 390 and ff.

forbidden books. The volumes prepared by Guadalajara were censored by Rome and placed on Alexander VII's 1667 Index.⁴⁶ By contrast, the *Memorable expulsión de los moriscos de España* must have achieved considerable success in Spanish territories in the years that followed the Expulsion. We know, for example, that in the late eighteenth century the Capuchin missionary Fidel de Segovia saw fit to copy it out whole, though naming himself rather than Guadalajara as the author.⁴⁷

With specific regard to popular feeling as expressed through religious devotion, stories about alleged offences committed by the Moriscos against the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Cross are of particular interest: such stories were a literary convention. Muslims living in the Hispanic kingdoms had been obliged since the late Middle Ages and the Council of Vienne to kneel in the presence of the Eucharist, as Guadalajara reminds us: "Among other things which were decreed, the Catholic Kings of Spain were forbidden, on pain of God's judgement, from permitting the sect and the ceremonies of the false Prophet Muḥammad to exist within their kingdoms. Apart from this, by a law of 1312, the Catholic King forbade them from carrying weapons on roads, and ordered that whenever a Muslim came upon a Holy Sacrament that he should kneel, with monetary punishments and lashing for those who did not obey. He also forbade them from shouting out the call to prayer or to other Moorish ceremonies in the streets."⁴⁸ Such supposed lack of respect for Christian religious symbols lay at the heart of what Habsburg propaganda in the years immediately following the Expulsion wished to pass off as widespread popular anti-Morisco feeling. Among the many imagined advantages that the Expulsion of the Moriscos had brought to the Spanish crown, Guadalajara listed the absolute freedom to worship Catholic symbols which Old Christians had now regained:

With their [the Moriscos'] exile, the price of wheat has come down; goods move freely over sea and land; one can travel by sea with fewer worries about the state of the skies; agriculture brings more advantages; long journeys can be made without fear of meeting an enemy; walkers enjoy the beauty of the Holy Cross; the towns where the Moriscos lived are now honoured by the Eucharist; copper coinage, gold and silver flow freely:

46 See Enrique Gacto, "Censura política e Inquisición: la Historia Pontifical de Gonzalo de Illescas," *Revista de la Inquisición* 2, 23–40 (1992), 23–40.

47 BNE, ms. 10651.

48 Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión y iustísimo destierro de los Moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolas de Assyain), 1613, 46v–47r.

religious festivals are held throughout Spain, to great acclaim, and our enemies do not know our secrets; we are free, both on our coasts and our shores from insults and robberies; there are fewer deaths than before, which were caused by the offences of the Africans; wherever they lived, our Spain now breeds a great many new soldiers; unrest and differences are easily pacified; the land is free of forecasts and uprisings, and a Catholic, Apostolic, Roman faith reigns; and lastly, we are all safe in our homes, as God promised when He told us *Dabo pacem in finibus vestris, dormietis, & non erit, qui exterreat*.⁴⁹

In other respects, the methodology was very similar to that implemented several years later, in the 1630s, when a violent campaign of anti-Jewish Inquisitorial persecution was unleashed against Portuguese conversos. At the heart of these accusations was a series of sacrileges allegedly committed against Catholic symbols, and particularly the Holy Cross.⁵⁰ As Guadalajara wrote in the *Memorable expulsión*:

I believe it was in the kingdom of Aragón that their poison and rage reached its height. Leaving aside the murders and other cruelties that these people carried out against poor Christians, it is shocking and horrifying to think what they did to the hermitages, the roadside shrines and the wooden crosses, all sacred places venerated by Catholics, but brutally profaned. Gregorio Cedreno says that Mohammed (who was a Marcionite, Simonian heretic) banned his disciples from worshipping the cross and that he mocked Christians for believing that Christ was set on the cross to save mankind. Mohammed said that if [Christ] was truly omnipotent, then he could prevent men from sinning. When the Christians saw such contempt, they took the exaltation of the cross to heart, making them in the sight of their peoples from iron or stone and adorning them with craft and care, to last for all time. But their diligence and holy zeal were of little use, since at night gangs of their enemies went out and carried out the same and new attacks on as many of them as were placed before them.⁵¹

49 *Ibidem*, ff. 157v–158r.

50 See Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII* (Alcalá de Henares: Instituto Internacional de Estudios Sefardíes y Andalusíes-Universidad de Alcalá), 2002.

51 Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión*, 58v.

It is no coincidence that one of those most responsible for spreading the image of the enemies of the faith as “enemies of the Cross” and as offenders of sacred images in general had been Jaime Bleda himself. In 1600 Bleda had published in Valencia a treatise in which he recounted a lengthy series of miracles brought about by the Cross, mentioning those who regularly failed to respect it and even offended it: among these offenders, the conversos and the Moriscos obviously stood out.⁵² In the same way, just a few years earlier, in 1592, Bleda had published a work on the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament of Rome which contained a detailed description of the miracles worked by the Eucharist.⁵³ Bleda’s works locate us in a religious, devotional and doctrinal universe which made holy images of key importance, including those located on church exteriors. Political power was consciously imported into these modes of worship and consuming the sacred; they were thus manifestations of the interests and identity of certain social and/or professional groupings. Ecclesiastics themselves soon realized that they would have to handle such practices with a degree of care in order to control them more effectively.⁵⁴

There are several religious symbols which became rich in political significance from the seventeenth century onwards: the Virgin and the Immaculate Conception, the Holy Sacrament and the Eucharist, the Cross and others. Political capital was made of religious concepts, languages and symbols which helped the Hispanic Monarchy to spread an ideology of power based on defence of the Church and purity of faith. To function effectively, the project needed “enemies,” whether Protestants, Turks or the fearsome conversos – true “enemies within” who were even more dangerous than the others because of their propensity for dissimulation and deceit. It is interesting to note that as late as 1674, images of the Expulsion of the Moriscos could still be seen in the pictorial representations displayed in the streets of Madrid during the festival of the Cristo de la Oliva. This becomes even more significant if we consider that the festival in question was devoted to the worship of a crucifix which had allegedly been profaned by Protestants.⁵⁵

52 Jaime Bleda, *Cuatrocientos milagros y muchas alabanzas de la Santa Cruz, con vnos tratados de las cosas mas notables desta diuina señal* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey), 1600.

53 Jaime Bleda, *Libro de la Archicofradia de la Minerva, en la qual se escriben mas de cien milagros del sanctissimo Sacramento del altar* (Valencia: Ioan Nauarro), 1592.

54 See María José del Río Barredo, “Imágenes callejeras y rituales públicos en el Madrid del siglo XVII,” in *La imagen religiosa en la Monarquía hispánica. Usos y espacios* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez), 2008.

55 According to Francisco Santos, “the scenes depicting the Expulsion of the Moriscos which were placed along the walls of the *camino de Atocha* were of particular interest to the

The Hispanic Monarchy thus made ample politico-ideological use of religious symbols and images; such use could be rooted only in the arena of pious worship, and consequently in the actions of the religious orders. But if the use of such symbols was part of a vast project to exclude Morisco and converso minorities from political life during the Early Modern period, the same did not occur in another context where the Hispanic Monarchy was just as dominant but which was nonetheless very different. I am referring to the New World of the Americas, where the indigenous population was able to appropriate creatively iconographic subjects and symbolic systems which had originally been conceived as a way of celebrating the triumphs of post-Tridentine Spanish Catholicism. Such appropriation is clearly visible, for example, in the iconography of the Corpus Domini procession in Cuzco. In this case, where the Corpus procession is represented in a pictorial cycle painted by indigenous artists and thick with references to the native symbolic universe, the subject of the *defence* of the Eucharist became an image of its *triumphs*, and was closely linked to the affirmation of certain symbols of the grandeur of the native elites of the southern Andes.⁵⁶

Antonio Caetani was the Papal Nuncio in Madrid during the demonstrations of support for the dogma of Immaculate Conception in Seville in 1614 and 1615, as well as being the intermediary between Philip III and Paul V during the confrontations between Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans regarding its doctrinal definition. Caetani wrote to Rome that “the level of devotion is excellent and most holy, but when it is mixed with a disputatious spirit aimed at defeating adversaries, it becomes poisonous and loses all its former beatitude.”⁵⁷

public of Madrid, although we do not know whether this was because of their novelty, their subject matter or the depictions themselves. What is particularly striking for the contemporary reader is that, at least at first sight, these pictures had no connection with the celebration organised by a group of devotees around a crucifix which had allegedly been profaned by Protestants.” María José del Río Barredo, “Francisco Santos y su mundo: las fiestas populares en el Madrid barroco,” in *Bajtín y la cultura popular: cuarenta años de debate* (Santander: Ediciones de la Universidad de Cantabria), 2008, 175–207, esp. 200.

56 See F. Cantù, “Ideologia politica e simbolismo religioso: la Monarchia cattolica e la rappresentazione del potere nel Cuzco vicereale,” in *I linguaggi del potere nell'età barocca*, vol. I *Politica e religione* (Rome: Viella), 2009, 421–456. For the Corpus Christi ceremony in Baroque Madrid, see M.J. del Río Barredo, *Madrid Urbs Regia. La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2000, 205–233.

57 “La devotione è ottima e santissima, ma mescolata di quell'animo di competere, et abbattere i contrari si fa venenosa, e perde tutta la suavità di prima,” in a letter from the nuncio Antonio Caetani to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 24 March 1616, ACDF, S.O., St. St. M 6 a, f. 97 r-v.

Paradoxically, in this case the “opposition” or “enemies” were the Dominicans themselves, who had become the target of attacks from practically all the Andalusian and Spanish church bodies for their opposition to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. In his correspondence with Rome during those years, Caetani considered such inflamed religiosity to be a characteristic Spanish feature, aware that the construction of a political ideology based on defending the faith and the Church had to rely on doctrinal, and above all, devotional arguments. “The Spanish nation is very devout,” wrote Caetani to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, “but that piety may be put into practice in other similar situations, such as the sanctification and beatification of saints, and in everything that has to do with the miraculous and the pious, with little consideration for what might be appropriate. Perhaps in the same way as it is the responsibility of prelates to encourage piety when it is set on the right path, they should also enlighten it when it loses its way in the darkness, and may be in danger, in such a way that the sheep should hear and follow the voice of the shepherd, rather than the shepherd that of the sheep.”⁵⁸

The issue was complicated still further for the church authorities by the fact that the voice of the sheep was also an expression of political interests.

58 “La nation spagnola è devotissima, ma l'istessa pietà opera, che in simili materie, come anche in santificazione e beatificazione de' santi, et in tutto quello, che ha del miracoloso e del pio trascorre con manco consideratione di quello che si converria; e però come a' prelati tocca aiutar la pietà quando va sicura per buon camino, così illuminarla dove si veda errar per le tenebre, e che potria pericolare, *di sorte che le pecore odano, e seguano la voce del pastore, e non il pastore quella delle pecore,*” Antonio Caetani to Cardinal Borghese, 24 March 1616, *ibidem*, f. 98v–99r, my italics.

The Unexecuted Plans for the Eradication of Jewish Heresy in the Hispanic Monarchy and the Example of the Moriscos

*The Thwarted Expulsion of the Judeoconversos*¹

Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano

Real Alcázar of Madrid, First Months of the Year 1627

Much expectation had been generated at court around the rivalry between the king's most brilliant painters. A competition had been arranged within the royal palace with the intention of determining which of these painters had the greatest mastery of his brush. The chosen theme to be transferred to the canvas was that of the General Expulsion of the Moriscos, decreed in 1609 by the late king Philip III. Despite the numerical predominance of Italian artists, the winner of the contest was the man sponsored by the Count-Duke of Olivares, the young Sevillian Diego de Velázquez, and although all the paintings have today unfortunately disappeared, some information on them has come down to us.²

The banishment of about 300,000 Moriscos from Spain was a political decision which had a social impact of enormous dimensions. It also left its mark on seventeenth-century cultural artifacts, in what amounted to a clear indication of how heavily the Expulsion weighed on the conscience of contemporaries. In 1627, painters provided treatments of the theme through large-scale works proudly showing Philip III's heroic determination and the eradication of the last vestige of the community of Muslims within the Catholic Monarchy. The canvases were hung on the walls of the salons of the Alcázar of Madrid and could be seen by all those who were attracted by the pictorial contest.

Not far away, in rooms very close to the palace building itself, a group of Portuguese businessmen who were *crístãos-novos* or New Christians were then

1 This text was first published in the proceedings of the 7th Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna, which appeared under the title *La Declinación de la Monarquía Hispánica en el Siglo XVII*, edited by J.F. Aranda Pérez, (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha), 2004, 891–904. I have made a few corrections. I would like to thank Mercedes García-Arenal for her interest in including this text in the present volume.

2 Antonio Martínez Ripoll, “Velázquez, hechura de Olivares y sus simulacros de monarquía.” In *Velázquez (1599–1999): visiones y revisiones. Actas de las I Jornadas de Historia del Arte* (Córdoba: Universidad), 2002.

discussing with the principal ministers of the king the terms of an agreement which would prove to be crucial to the economic interests of the monarchy. The aim of these discussions was to persuade the wealthy businessmen to agree to intervene in the Crown's finances after the bankruptcy of 1627 – an area of shifting sands which could bring profit or disaster to all who dared to enter it. The discussions were long and difficult and while a definitive solution was being sought, the Portuguese New Christians may well have taken a break from the talks to stroll through the salons where the Expulsion contest paintings were on display. We cannot know for certain that this ever occurred; neither does it matter too much. What I would like to underline is the connection between the two events i.e between the painting of scenes showing the Expulsion of the Moriscos and the ongoing negotiations with the so-called *hombres de la Nación*. Gazing at the pictures, the latter would have been made well aware of a threat which had existed for some time, that of the king's much-repeated proposal to expel the Portuguese New Christians from the realms of the monarchy. The idea had been studied by the monarch's ministers and there was a great deal of pressure on the king to act. What was more, if Philip III had expelled the Moriscos, who could be certain that his successor on the throne would not follow the same path, on this occasion ordering the expulsion of another group of vassals?

The Count-Duke of Olivares may well have been insinuating as much to the businessmen gathered in the Alcázar of Madrid when he decided to arrange the pictorial contest. The competition can be seen as a veiled threat slipped into the negotiations then being held, which covered issues like the extent of the loan to be made to the king, how the money was to be returned and the rates of interest that would be charged for it. This episode can thereby serve to introduce the pages that follow, which refer to the expulsion projects considered during the reigns of Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV with the aim of eradicating Jewish heresy from the realms of the Hispanic monarchy.

In truth, the idea of expelling the Portuguese *cristãos novos* was present in the minds of the authorities and in the political debate which addressed the issue from the late sixteenth century until the mid-seventeenth. It was an extreme, radical measure which found many supporters and was deemed feasible by the various kings who ruled during the period. Expulsion was imposed on the Moriscos, the *cristianos nuevos de moro*, thereby eliminating the continuous outbreaks of Mohammedan heresy, and the experience served as a reference point in discussions of the situation of the Jewish New Christians. However, the proposals made in favour of Jewish expulsion have not, in my view, been sufficiently well studied. With some rare exceptions, little reference is even made to the issue, and this is very striking when expulsion was one of

the main solutions proposed to bring an end to the seemingly unsolvable problem of Jewish heresy. I will therefore try to analyse the topic in the few brief pages that follow.

The Reigns of Philip II and Philip III

In the early twentieth century, the historian João Lúcio de Azevedo, in his book *História dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon, 1921), wrote a number of pages on this issue which later historians have simply not followed up upon. Azevedo, whose work remains relevant today, focused exclusively on the reign of Philip IV when referring to projects of expulsion.³ But before Philip IV there had been other efforts along these lines which are worth mentioning. For instance, in 1597, in the final days of Philip II's reign, it was the king himself who, concerned by the large number of Inquisition prison sentences in Portugal, proposed the expulsion of all those condemned by the Holy Office. The idea under consideration was that of lifetime exile from the realms of His Majesty for those who were declared heretics. The royal initiative was sent to the Inquisitor General of Portugal, to be studied by him and the other members of the General Council. However, the officials consulted did not think it convenient to impose such a severe punishment and transmitted this opinion back to the king. The measure was therefore left in suspense.⁴

With the start of the reign of Philip III, the position of the new government with regard to the Portuguese New Christians changed significantly. During the first half of the reign, between the years 1598 and 1607, Philip III devoted some time to listening to and attending the petitions of the New Christians. It was a political decade that was favourable to their cause and was characterised by a number of measures manifesting the king's generosity, which was far from altruistic, towards a group of vassals who had been marginalised and persecuted to a great extreme. Pardons for those found guilty and greater freedom for all New Christians in Portugal: such were the guidelines of the policy of a new age. But between 1607 and 1609 came a dramatic turnaround as a result of the grave crisis which arose in the government headed by the Duke of Lerma.⁵

3 João Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon: Livr. Clássica), 1975, 181–222.

4 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), Conselho Geral Sto. Ofício, Liv. 314, fol. 71vto. Henceforth, ANTT.

5 J. Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Os judeus e a Inquisição no Tempo dos Filipes* (Lisbon: Campo da Comunicação), 2007.

In addition, the decree of Expulsion affecting the Moriscos augured difficult times and new restrictions for the Portuguese New Christians. And thus it proved. In 1610, Philip III revoked the licence granted to “*los de la Nación*” nine years earlier, by virtue of which they had the complete freedom to leave the kingdom of Portugal with their families, after selling off their properties.⁶

This decision was followed by others along similar lines. It was a moment of harsh reaction, to such an extent that in the final years of Philip III's reign the possibility of expulsion was studied again. In spring 1619 Philip travelled to Portugal, where he was able to see at close hand the tense situation that existed in that kingdom as a result of the New Christian issue. In the town of Évora he was invited to take part in an *Auto de Fe* at which a large number of Judaizers were punished.⁷ In the parliament sessions held in Lisbon in the summer of that same year, representatives of the nobility and clergy asked the king to set in motion a General Expulsion of New Christians, giving them a period in which to sell their properties but forbidding them to take away with them gold, silver or money beyond a certain amount. The voices that were heard in parliament calling for expulsion revealed the high-pitched point of tension that had been reached. Such a drastic means of tackling the *converso* problem had not been proposed in the previous session of 1581, nor would it be in the next one of 1641.⁸

These calls for action were matched by arguments put forward at court in Madrid. There, experts studied the possibility of carrying out a limited expulsion, applied only to those New Christians of Portugal tried and condemned for Judaizing. Such was the proposal made by Philip III himself in a letter he sent to the Viceroy of Portugal in November 1618, in which the king asked the Viceroy to consult on this initiative with the Inquisition Council in that kingdom.⁹ The Marquis of Alenquer, Viceroy of Portugal, urged the Inquisitor

6 Biblioteca de Ajuda (Lisbon), 51-VIII-17, n° 102, fol. 138, “Sobre a revogação da licença concedida aos cristãos-novos para sairem do Reino com suas familias e fazendas (21/02/1609)”; *Ibidem*, 51-VIII-13, n° 17, fol. 22–23, “Sobre a revogação da licença que se concedeu aos da nação para poderem sair do pais... (Madrid, 10/02/1610)”; *Ibidem*, 44-XIII-50, n° 40–41, “Lei de Felipe II sobre a gente da nação para que nao saia fora de Reino sem licença (Valladolid, 13/03/1610).”

7 António Borges Coelho, *Inquisição de Évora* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho), 1987, I: 343. Id., *Política, Dinheiro e Fé* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho), 2001, 136–137.

8 António Manuel Espanha, “A Restauração Portuguesa nos Capítulos das Cortes de Lisboa de 1641,” *Penélope. Fazer e Desfazer a História* 9–10 (1993), 29–62. For the Lisbon parliament session of 1619 see 39.

9 As explained by the monarch himself in a letter to the Inquisitor General of Portugal (Aranjuez, 05/05/1620), transcribed by Isaías Rosa Pereira, *A Inquisição em Portugal. Séculos XVI–XVII. Período Filípino* (Lisbon: Vega), 1993, 106–107.

General of Portugal to discuss with members of the General Council of the Holy Office how a banishment of these characteristics could be carried out. The Inquisitor General thought the idea an acceptable one. In his reply he spoke in alarming terms – “que todo está contaminado [everything is contaminated]” and “que el judaísmo es mucho, los sacrilegios infinitos [there is much Judaism and infinite sacrilege]” and proposed as an appropriate way of “purging those realms of such a faithless and persistent people” the banishment of those condemned by the Inquisition. Firstly, however, their goods should be confiscated from them, to prevent them from placing their properties at the disposal of enemy princes who might shelter them.¹⁰

The Council of Portugal considered all of these ideas and referred to them in a consultation it made of the king. In the debates in council the opinion of one of the leading members, Mendo da Mota, was to impose itself on all others. Mota was distinguished by the rigour of his views and until the year of his death, in 1632, he played an important role in the meetings which dealt with issues relating to the Portuguese New Christians. Mendo da Mota made use of a providentialist discourse which made Jewish heresy responsible for divine wrath and the severe punishments inflicted on the monarchy by God. He said, “Your Majesty has the obligation, in divine and natural law, to order the eviction from your realms and possessions of all those who have been declared heretics or who swear vehement suspicions of faith.” It was necessary to “expurgar su reino poco a poco [purge the kingdom little by little]”, he explained, firstly by jailing and sentencing the suspects and then expelling all those who were guilty, after stripping them of their belongings and estates.¹¹

The royal confessor, fray Luis de Aliaga, who advised the monarch on all these issues, asked for the opinion of the Council of the Supreme Spanish Inquisition. At that level, the councillors introduced important alterations which softened the impact of the expulsion project. Resorting to the clichéd metaphor of the sick body of the monarchy, they warned that “as the whole of Spain is so lacking in people” it was risky to undertake an expulsion among the few vassals left in it, “because the bad ones are needed to conserve those that

10 BL, Egerton, 344, fol. 140r–141r. *Consulta* of the Consejo de Portugal (Madrid, 17/06/1619).

11 *Ibidem*. “Tiene Vuestra Majestad la obligación, en ley divina y natural, mandar desterrar de sus reinos y señoríos todos aquellos que fueren declarados por herejes o abjuren vehementemente sospecha en la fe.” See also Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: Macmillan), 1907, III: 558–561, which contains a proposal to expel all New Christians convicted of Judaism or who had abjured *de vehementi* on account of Jewish heresy. 1619 also saw the appearance of the treatise entitled “Papel que fez João Baptista de Este, de nação hebreia, que convén botar destes Reynos de Portugal os christãos novos” (21/08/1619), Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 220.

are good, as occurs in human bodies, when although they have many bad humours they cannot all be removed because if they are the body becomes affected and close to death.” The ideal solution in the view of the councillors of the Spanish Inquisition was exactly the opposite, to prevent the continual flight of the New Christians and to bring about the return of those now living in foreign lands. However, they were resigned to acceptance of eviction as inevitable. But before carrying it out, they proposed, the king could give one last opportunity to the Judaizers through an Edict of Grace which would forgive those who voluntarily confessed their guilt before the Holy Office. The rest should be “desterrado perpetuamente [banished forever]” from the kingdom of Portugal. They did not miss the opportunity to insinuate that the evicted could be spread throughout Castile, in accordance with the king’s interests and needs.¹² If they were not wanted in Portugal, they could be made use of in other territories of the monarchy, for there was an awareness that they were highly necessary, especially in such difficult times. It is worth noting that the man who spoke in these terms was the Dominican friar Aliaga, the king’s confessor and the Spanish Inquisitor General.

As far as we know, after all these deliberations and discussions nothing was done. Judging by the words of Philip III himself in a letter he sent to the Inquisitor General of Portugal, the delay in making a definitive decision was due to the lack of response from the Inquisition Council in that kingdom. A few months before his death, the monarch returned to the subject once more and again urged the councillors to give him their opinion.¹³

The Reign of Philip IV

In 1621, shortly after the start of Philip IV’s reign, the records of all these consultations were sent to the bishop of Segovia, who rejected the plans for expulsion. He wrote, “this remedy is exorbitant and little suited to the sacred canons and style of the Inquisition.” He also wrote, “This remedy in my view is ineffective for the reduction of these people.” Those found guilty of Judaizing should be kept close to the Inquisitors – the bishop said – to ensure the sincerity of their conversions and in order to be able to punish persistent offenders. To expel them to foreign lands – he continued – would make it easier for them

12 BL, Egerton, 344, fols. 144r–147r. *Consulta* of the Inquisition Council (Madrid, 27/06/1619).

13 Rosa, *A Inquisição*, 106–107. Letter from Philip III to the Inquisitor General of Portugal (Aranjuez, 05/05/1620).

to make a definitive return to Judaism and to express their support for the princes who were the enemies of the Hispanic monarchy.¹⁴

However, everything seems to indicate that the idea of expulsion chimed with the outlook of Philip IV's new government. By contrast, the plan was very different from the requests made of the king by various groups of New Christians, who saw in the beginning of a new reign a cause for hope. This had occurred in the early days of Philip III's reign and now, some of them believed, the opportunity to exercise leniency might be repeated. But by 1621 the reality was very different, for the projects debated by the king's ministers pointed in the direction of a drastic decision. It is true that there were rumours of a new general pardon and that some measures favourable to the Portuguese *cristãos novos* were put forward. But the consultations required by Philip IV related to the old project of expulsion. The description of the problem spoke with alarm of how widespread the Jewish heresy was in the kingdom of Portugal and of the political priority which should therefore be given to the rapid and definitive elimination of that blemish. In an anonymous printed treatise which was read in both Spain and Portugal at this time, entitled *Parecer que hum Bispo de Portugal fez sobre a materia do perdão geral, que os da Nação pretendem alzarçar de Sua Santidade per intercessao del Rey N. Senhor*, providentialist arguments were used to make a passionate defence of a General Expulsion. Expulsion was seen as just and respectful of the law, for it was preferable to make the New Christians public Jews in foreign lands rather than retaining them within the monarchy. The author of the treatise claimed exaggeratedly that such peoples were despised in all the countries of Europe except Spain, where "se lhes guarda respeito y cortesía [they are shown respect and courtesy]".¹⁵

In the first days of his reign, the young Philip IV seemed to be more concerned about questions of faith than material issues, and the providentialist reasoning deployed by many appears to have had its effect on his conscience.¹⁶ To allow the existence of the Jewish heresy, it was explained to him with wearisome reiteration, awakened the ire of God, which fell upon those places where that heresy was permitted; the evils of the monarchy, including outbreaks of the plague, were mainly due to this cause. For this reason, experience showed that the best remedy was to get rid of Jews as soon as possible.¹⁷ God would

14 BL, Egerton, 344, fol. 148r–150r.

15 BUS, Papeles Varios, 55, fols. 285r–297vto.

16 This is the opinion expressed by Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 183.

17 See the anonymous treatise entitled "Que meyo se podera tomar pera extinguir o iudaismo de Portugal," which reflected this idea. BUS, Papeles Varios, 55, fols. 325r–330v.

reward the king who acted in this way, as historical experience showed, and he would be compensated for the loss of people and wealth that might be suffered as a consequence of such expulsions. This argument can be seen in several of the most important treatises of the period: for example, it is found in the book by Fernández de Navarrete entitled *Conservación de Monarquías y Discursos Políticos* (1626) or in that of the friar Benito de Peñalosa, *Libro de las cinco excelencias del español que despueblan a España para su mayor potencia y dilatación* (1629).

Philip IV asked the Portuguese Inquisition for its view on an expulsion, proposing it be discussed and asking about the limits such a measure should have. Who should be affected by the penalty of banishment from the realm? There was no consensus on this point among the ministers of the Inquisition. The Council of the Inquisition of Portugal differed from the Inquisitor General. For the latter it was best to expel at least those New Christians found guilty of Judaism, although they had then been reconciled with the Church after repenting of their heretical error, and to send with them those who were condemned for strong suspicion of their faith. For the Inquisitor General, the ideal solution, although he admitted this was impossible, was a “universal expulsion” of all New Christians, “as was practised with the Moriscos of Spain,” an opinion he claimed to share with many virtuous and learned men. According to the Inquisitor General, such a drastic measure was justified for many reasons: he cited the danger of contagion if such people were allowed to remain vassals of the king, but also mentioned the benefits brought by other expulsions in the past. In addition, he claimed that all previous conversions were faked and that all previous pardons and measures of grace had been ineffective and mentioned, finally, that expulsion was a way of preventing divine justice from being directed against the realms.¹⁸

By contrast, the members of the Council of the Inquisition of Portugal did not see such measures as appropriate. A General Expulsion of New Christians, although it seemed desirable to them, was almost impossible to apply, for they were so intermingled with Old Christians that no distinction could be made between one group and the other. This idea, which was repeated for years, is one that should always be taken into account, especially as it came from

Its author supported the expulsion of “*todos os Christãos novos que forem convencidos de Iudaismo*,” and also defended the idea of “*abrir a porta a todos os que se quizerem sair de Portugal, pera quasquer outros Reynos fora da Coroa de Hespanha, com declaração de não podere tornar a ella.*”

18 Edkan Adler, “Documents sur les marranes d’Espagne et de Portugal sous Philippe IV,” *Revue de Etudes Juives* 48 (1904), 67–72 (document VIII).

ministers who were authorities in the issue and had such a profound knowledge of it. This was not an expression of scruples so much as a reference to an objective difficulty of a technical kind. When it came to putting the project into practice, it would have been impossible to draw a line between Old and New Christians in Portugal.

In addition to this, the members of the Council of the Portuguese Inquisition also disagreed with the Inquisitor General about the idea of starting by expelling those who had been condemned by the tribunals of faith. They paid special attention to prisoners who were reconciled. These prisoners, they said, ended up being good Christians out of fear of the death penalty with which persistent offenders were punished. For this reason, they said, they should be conserved. If they were expelled to foreign countries, they would irreversibly enter the ranks of the Jews, supporting princes who were enemies of the Hispanic Monarchy, just as the Moriscos expelled in 1609 were now doing. Furthermore, and this was not the least important objection, prisoners punished with expulsion would not collaborate with the Inquisitors by testifying against their accomplices and other Judaizers. For all these reasons, if the king expelled these vassals from his realms, he would only favour his enemies and harm the Inquisition in its efforts to eradicate heresy. The councillors insinuated, in addition, that the expulsion project had even been proposed by the New Christians themselves, who wanted to be certain that those condemned by the Inquisition would not testify against them and knew that the best guarantee of this was to keep possible informers away from them.¹⁹

The council members of the Portuguese Inquisition were not far wrong when they pointed to the New Christians as promoters of the expulsion project. In November of the same year of 1622, the *Junta* which was studying these issues at the court of Madrid discussed a twenty-point document given to the king by a group of New Christians, in which they made several different requests. The penultimate point asked “that the gravely punished be banished from the realm along with all the others of the Nation who were found guilty of apostasy or conspiracy against the peace and the public good.”²⁰ Four members of the *Junta*, chaired by the king’s confessor, voted in favour of banishment in the terms previously used by the Inquisitor General of Portugal.

19 “Parecer del Consejo de la Santa Inquisición de Portugal sobre si conviene o no desterrar los Hebreos que fueren convencidos de Judaísmo o condenados por vehementemente sospechosos (05/09/1622), Adler, “Documents,” (document XIV).

20 BL, Egerton, 344, fols. 162vto-163r (Madrid, 23/11/1622): “que los gravemente castigados sean desterrados del reyno con todos los demás de la Nación que fueren gravemente infamados de apostasia o conspiración contra la paz y bien público.”

Only one of the ministers, Francisco Vergança, voted against, in reflection of the general view of the Council of the Inquisition of Portugal.²¹

The arguments against an Expulsion were also heard at this time. Apart from the damage that would be inflicted on a good number of innocent people and the violent disorders that such a measure would bring about among the affected population, there was also an economic argument. An Expulsion would ruin commerce, it was said, for the New Christians exercised control over a great deal of the overseas trade which caused wealth and goods to circulate between Europe, the East Indies, Brazil and Guinea. If expelled, the New Christians would take with them their fortunes, business and knowledge, placing them at the disposal of enemy countries, as the Moriscos had done in the Mediterranean after their Expulsion, when many of them had gone to Algiers to weaken the Catholic Monarchy from there.²² It will be seen that this argument coincided with that of some ministers of the Inquisition. In the age of mercantilism, the defence of trade and commerce was a powerful reason of State, and this recommendation was always to be borne in mind.

Proof of the fact that Philip IV did not have a clear notion of the decision he ought to take is provided by a command he issued in 1624, when he sent the governors of Portugal and the Inquisition of that kingdom a *memorial* to be studied by them in which a General Expulsion was again proposed. This document presented expulsion as the best way of definitively extinguishing heresy from that kingdom, but saw it as necessary to reconcile this aim with a protection of the monarchy's economic interests.²³ The project now under discussion involved taking all New Christians to some part of the monarchy where they would be kept under observation in a large-scale prison, where they would even be allowed to have their own synagogue. The members of the *Junta* who discussed the proposal in Portugal, who were chosen by the Inquisitor General there, again failed to agree. The Inquisitor General himself, Fernando Martín Mascareñas, gave his view in a *memorial* which was printed under his

21 The members of the *Junta* were as follows: fray Antonio de Sotomayor (the king's confessor), the President of the *Consejo de Hacienda* (Juan de Hocés), and two members of the Council of Portugal proposed to the king by the Duke of Villahermosa, president of the council, whose names were Mendo da Mota and Francisco Vergança. For the formation of this *Junta* see BL, Egerton, 344, fols. 159r–160r (Madrid, 23/08/1621).

22 "Los daños que hacen y pueden hacer los hebreos y lo que con ellos se debe resolver," BL, Egerton, 344, fols. 80r–85r. For the expulsion, see fols. 83r–84r.

23 A transcription of part of this proposal is given by Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 182–183 and appendices 13 and 14 (469–472). For the so-called *Junta* de Lisboa see ANTT Conselho Geral Sto. Ofício, Liv. 314 fol. 73vto.

signature.²⁴ Mascareñas was opposed to a General Expulsion of the New Christians, also rejecting the suggested transfer to a prison within the confines of the monarchy. This was impossible to carry out, he said, because of the extent of intermingling between this population and the Old Christians.²⁵ He cited the example of the Expulsion of the Moriscos, a theme with which he was clearly familiar, in order to compare it with the present case. Whereas the Expulsion of the Moriscos was just and necessary in his opinion, the same could not be said of the New Christians: they did not form a community of their own, but were a “disunited” people who were scattered among the Old Christians, meaning that there should be no fear of an uprising or violent attack coming from them. In the spiritual sphere there was also a great difference between the Moriscos and the New Christians, according to the Inquisitor General of Portugal. The Moriscos were mostly heretics but among the “hombres de la nación hebrea” there were many who had given sufficient proof of the sincerity of their Catholic faith.²⁶ Neither did he accept an expulsion of the “cristianos nuevos enteros, [complete New Christians]”, i.e. those who were descended from *conversos* alone, who amounted to no more than 6,000 individuals throughout the realm, according to calculations made on the basis of payments laid out in the last general pardon of 1605. He nonetheless proposed perpetual exile for those condemned for Judaism and those tried for strong suspicion of their faith.²⁷

Shortly afterwards, in 1627, when Philip IV thought the time had come to take a decision, he tried to find a compromise solution among the many different proposals. His *Carta Regia* of June that year, which granted the famous Edict of Grace to those New Christians who elected to confess their guilt in a voluntary manner, also contemplated several extremely harsh measures. All those who wished to confess their crimes of faith before the Inquisitors and be pardoned for them were given between three and six months to do so. Once that time had passed, those who committed religious offences would be expelled. Prisoners who confessed, repented and were reconciled would be banished from the realms of the monarchy and its overseas colonies, with the exception of the military strongholds and ports of Africa; and those who abjured *de vehementi* would be expelled at the discretion of the

24 “Tratado sobre os varios meyoys que se offerecerão a Sua Magestade Católica para remedio do judaísmo neste Reyno de Portugal,” BUS, Papeles Varios, 55, fol. 331r-354vto.

25 *Ibidem*, fol. 338v-339r.

26 *Ibidem*, fol. 340v-432r.

27 *Ibidem*, fol. 349v-352v.

Inquisitors.²⁸ In March 1628, a new decree mitigated the severity of this sentence, exempting minors below the age of twenty from expulsion.

However, the General Council of the Inquisition of Portugal wrote to the king protesting against such measures. Neither did its members accept the sentence of expulsion, thinking its application would only be possible with a *Breve* from the Pope to authorise it.²⁹ Faced with such opposition, João Lúcio de Azevedo explains that Philip IV gave in to Inquisition pressure and allowed the decision concerning the expulsion of sentenced prisoners to lapse.³⁰ A detailed study of these documents thus reveals a paradoxical situation. The Portuguese Inquisition appears in them as a protector of the Judaizers against the legislative severity of a king, Philip IV, who in Portugal was generally held to be excessively lax in the struggle against heresy. Everything seems to indicate that although the Inquisitors indulged in opportunistically extremist rhetoric against New Christians, the truth was that they could not or did not want to be deprived of their victims.

Tomar, 23rd May 1629

On this day and in this symbolic Portuguese location began a *Junta* which brought together the prelates of the realm. This was an exceptional event in the history of Portugal, but as its promoters explained, the gravity of the situation required a special effort to be made. The aim of the meeting was to put forward ways of definitively eradicating Judaism from Portugal. One year earlier, the bishop of Coimbra, don Juan Manuel, in his role as spokesman for the ecclesiastical class, had asked the king for permission to convoke a national council to deal with the issue. They argued that it was the job of Church representatives, gathered together at a council meeting, to reflect and decide what to do with regard to the issue, which was of a fundamentally religious nature. For this purpose, the bishop of Coimbra had travelled to Madrid, where he tried unsuccessfully to persuade the king, who was against the proposal and said that he would only accept an intermediate formula. In this the king had no choice, considering himself obliged to make some sort of concession, as part of the negotiations on the subsidy the Portuguese Church had to give the monarch to pay for the Indies fleet. Philip IV reluctantly gave his permission to convoke a *Junta*, not a full council, and he took it upon himself to set the time

28 BA, 51-VI-2, fols. 385r–386r (Letter of Philip IV, 22/06/1627).

29 Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 472, appendix n° 15.

30 *Ibidem*, 191–192.

and place for it to be held.³¹ As it turned out, there were a number of notable absences at the assembly, which was nonetheless attended by leading Portuguese jurists and theologians as well as most of the kingdom's prelates.³²

After several months of debate at the Convent of Christ in the town of Tomar, the leading authorities of the Portuguese church reached an agreement. In their conclusions they asked the king for the Expulsion of all New Christians who were *enteros* or complete (i.e. descendants of *conversos* on both sides of the family) as the best way of eradicating Jewish heresy from Portugal. It was thought necessary to expel those who were yet to mingle with Old Christians. These conclusions were reasoned and justified in a long treatise which circulated in manuscript form in both Portugal and Spain.³³ Furthermore, a commission representing the *Junta* which was headed by the bishop of Coimbra went to Madrid at the start of 1631 to explain to the king and his *valido* in person the need for the urgent application of the measure. A series of contacts ensued between the bishop, the king and the Count-Duke of Olivares, with the bishop trying to persuade the latter two men that it was only through an Expulsion of all *nuevos cristianos enteros* that Judaism could be quashed in Portugal.³⁴

At around the time of the *Junta* of Tomar, a number of other voices were heard which insisted on the same idea. One such voice was that of the Portuguese jurist João Pinto Ribeiro, agent of the Duke of Braganza in Madrid, to whom was attributed authorship of a treatise printed during this period which outlined in some detail the spiritual and temporal benefits to be gained by expelling all those found guilty by the Holy Office. The author calculated that given the number of prisoners in *Autos de Fe* held in Portugal, within 50 years some 18,000 condemned individuals would be expelled, and if to these

31 "Memoria para el Señor Conde Duque sobre las cosas que pertenecen a la Junta de los Prelados de Portugal, que se dio por escrito a Su Excelencia," ANTT Conselho Geral Sto. Ofício, Liv. 90, fols. 98r–101r. See also the "Carta de Francisco de Lucena para o Bispo Conde João Manuel sobre os Prelados tratarem das coisas da gente de nação sem se juntarem po ora (06/07/1628)," in BA, 54-XIII-8 n° 237. The reply made by the bishop of Coimbra to the Count-Duke of Olivares after the king's refusal can be read in BA, 51-VI-2, fols. 430r–431r.

32 Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 195.

33 "Tratado sobre la gente de la nación hebrea del Reyno de Portugal. Ofrecido a los Prelados que concurrieron en el Convento de Tomar. Por los doctores que a aquella junta fueron llamados," BUS, ms. 390. Another copy of this manuscript treatise can be found in BNE, ms. 8705.

34 "Memoria para el Señor Conde Duque sobre las cosas que pertenecen a la Junta de los Prelados de Portugal, que se dio por escrito a Su Excelencia."

were added the relatives who would go with them, including wives and children, the figure would rise to 90,000, which would guarantee a successful eradication of the Jewish heresy. Pinto cited the providentialist words of the archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, who had addressed Philip III with the purpose of convincing the king of the need to expel the Moriscos. According to this author, Ribera had told the king that his arms would not win the struggle against the infidel in foreign lands until he had freed himself of the heretics who lived within his own kingdoms: "because Philip was trying to sow the Faith in foreign kingdoms and conquer them for this purpose, leaving in his own the heresies and the sectarians who propounded them and did so much damage, and thus he said it was permitted to wage war on foreign enemies when we find them at home, since this vein is none other than the first from which blood should be let."³⁵ Those expelled should be sent to some foreign country, but never to any part of the monarchy, or to distant conquered lands. Pinto was not troubled by the idea of forcing the children and wives of those found guilty to accompany them into exile, even if they were innocent. Once again, the Expulsion of the Moriscos was cited as an example in this context. If the Moriscos expelled from the monarchy had also included a number of sincere Christians, the author of the treatise asked, then "who will be able to object to the injustice of the expulsion and banishment of the apostates, convinced by their Jewish confessions?"

Another *memorial* concerning this point was also sent to the king at this time. The author, whose identity is unknown, was not satisfied by the notion of expelling only those sentenced by the Inquisition, an idea which he also attributed to the New Christians as part of a plot to free themselves from possible denunciations. The author had made his own calculations and explained that demographic growth among the New Christians far exceeded the number of victims of Inquisitional repression. This meant that a limited expulsion would never bring a halt to the multitudinous presence of New Christians in society and that it would therefore never be possible to guarantee the annihilation of the Judaizing heresy among them. As a consequence, evil would continue to

35 "Discurso sobre si es útil y justo desterrar destes reynos de Portugal los Cristianos Nuevos convencidos de Judaísmo por el Tribunal del Santo Oficio y reconciliados por él, con sus familias, y aquellos con los cuales hay prueba bastante para destierro": "porque [Felipe] trataba de sembrar la Fe en los reinos extraños y conquistarlos con ese motivo, dejando en los propios las herejías y sus sectadores que tanto daño les hacen, y así dice que es escusado hacer guerra a los enemigos extraños cuando quedamos con ellos en casa, por no ser aquella vena sino ésta de que primero se debe hacer sangría." This printed treatise was cited by Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 213–214. Another copy of the text, which I have used myself, can be found in BNE, ms. 18170, "Papeles de Gil González Dávila," document n° 12.

increase at an ever faster rate. The unknown author therefore proposed a General Expulsion of all those who had Jewish blood in their veins, with some clearly specified exceptions. This is what had been done with the Moriscos, the author stated, and if this drastic measure had been taken with them, why do any less with the Jewish New Christians, who were much more dangerous? Unlike the Moriscos, who “were ignorant, rough farm labourers who tilled the earth,” “the people of the Hebrew nation were lettered and educated” and were “intelligent, wise and cunning” – all the more reason, the anonymous author writes, to expel them. What is more, this solution would prevent God from punishing the king for allowing the existence of the heresy within his monarchy. Once again we see the use of references to the Moriscos and of providentialist arguments, both common features in all the proposals we have examined so far.³⁶

How to avoid the negative consequences of a General Expulsion? This was the question asked by the anonymous author, referring to the arguments used by those who were opposed to an Expulsion in such broad terms. To prevent the flight of capital, the transferral of men and wealth to enemy countries, the ruin of trade or the unjust punishment of some innocent people, the author of this long and painstaking *arbitrio* argued that it was best to create well-protected ghettos at various points on the African coast (Guinea and Cafraria) and send the Portuguese New Christians there. The Crown would continue to have them, their wealth and their trade at its disposal but would keep them far from its kingdoms, locked up in well-controlled fortresses well away from the rest of its vassals.³⁷

The different projects presented to Philip IV proposing the Expulsion of the New Christians continued to be studied by the king’s ministers. This is what occurred with the requests made by the prelates of Portugal who met in Tomar, and which, as we have seen, were made known to the king and his *valido* by the bishop of Coimbra, who was commissioned for this task in Madrid. In the contacts he maintained with Olivares from 1631, the bishop was urged to write a *memorial* to the king laying out in complete detail all that had been agreed in Tomar.³⁸ The bishop of Coimbra did what had been suggested to him, and the resulting document was debated at a *Junta* of ministers commanded by the king to gather and discuss it. This *Junta* heard the opinion of the king’s

36 The author of this treatise calculated that in Portugal there were some 20,000 “*fuegos de hombres de la Nación*” and that they were growing at the rate of 20,000 every three years. “*Memorial contra los cristianos nuevos*” (s/f), BL, Egerton, 344, fols. 64r-79vto.

37 *Ibidem*. Chaps. 45, 46 and 47.

38 ANTT, Conselho Geral Sto. Oficio, Liv. 90, fols. 98r-101r.

confessor, which carried great weight and was of course opposed to the idea of any kind of expulsion. For this Dominican, the future Inquisitor General, there were no moral, theological or legal arguments to justify such measures.

The reasoning used by this Dominican friar is of great interest. The Expulsion of the Moriscos, he wrote, was used as an example by “many in order to convince that the intended expulsion is licit,” but could not be used to justify such projects, because his understanding was that the Muslim population had resisted Christian conversion and this was not the case for the Jewish New Christians. To draw parallels between the Moriscos and the Portuguese *cristãos novos*, as had been done during the various debates, was an error. But this author went further and actually lamented the Expulsion of the Moriscos, arguing that it was against reasons of politics or State: “It was a very short time ago that the expulsion of the Moriscos was carried out, causing such harm to these kingdoms that it would be good to welcome them back again, if they were prepared to receive our holy faith.” What was more, added the royal confessor, there was much evidence that the conversions of the Portuguese *cris-tãos novos* had been true and genuine. Furthermore, “the universal presumption of apostasy among these people” was not enough to make a General Expulsion licit in the eyes of the law, since the crimes of some could not dictate punishment for all, unless they constituted a community. But the Portuguese New Christians, did not, in his view, form a body, republic or community. Neither did he accept the limited versions of expulsion which contemplated ridding the realm of only those *cristianos nuevos enteros*, or those found guilty of Judaism along with their relatives, or any other group. They had no legal basis, for they could not be grounded in divine, human or natural laws. Finally, the king’s confessor expressed his optimism, saying that hope of an eventual conversion of all these peoples should not be given up and that this conversion would be “founded on the virtue of divine grace and the freedom of free will.”³⁹

In spite of his confessor’s opinions, Philip IV ended up ceding on a few points because of the pressure exerted on him by the Ecclesiastical State of Portugal as it had expressed itself in the *Junta* of Tomar and as had been defended in Madrid by the bishop of Coimbra. According to the aforesaid Portuguese historian João Lúcio de Azevedo, in 1633 the king again decreed the expulsion of those guilty of heresy, but only if this was decided upon by the Portuguese Inquisitors. The king left it up to the Inquisitors to make decisions in each particular case. The Inquisitors, after processing and sentencing each prisoner, were to decide if he should also be punished by being expelled. Through this decree the king renounced responsibility for making a global

39 Adler, “Documents,” 115–120 and 251–260 (document XXVII).

decision concerning this complex problem. He handed over the power of decision-making to the Inquisitorial tribunals of Portugal, resigned to the fact that it was impossible to find a common consensus among those involved. All the time and effort which had been invested in this issue had failed to serve in finding the definitive solution to the problem, despite the fact that there was growing alarm in society on account of the so-called Judaizing heresy. Despite all this, the king's decree of 1633 was never applied by the Inquisitors, who in the last instance were supposed to put it into practice.⁴⁰ No advance was made: the views of the ministers continued to be mired in contradiction, social alarm grew and the king seemed to want to wash his hands of a complex problem which it was impossible to solve.

Conclusions

As a way of concluding this chapter, it might be said that for one reason or another the various projects and plans to expel the New Christians, whether condemned by heresy or not, all failed. I believe that one reason for this was the lack of a common position among the authorities in Portugal. Even within the Inquisition, as we have seen, there was no agreement about what to do. On the occasions when the king, whether it were Philip II in 1597 or Philip IV in 1627 and 1633, proposed or passed an expulsion of limited scope, the ministers of the Portuguese Inquisition took it upon themselves to neutralise the initiative. In addition to the lack of agreement among the Portuguese ministers when it came to applying a solution, it looks as if there was also a calculated wish to cause alarm by invoking the bogeyman of Jewish heresy, which responded to political objectives which sought greater responsibility or independence in the handling of this problem. This would explain the reiterations in the most pessimistic arguments concerning the advance and extent of the heresy in Portugal, the pressure exerted on the king, and in apparent contradiction to all of this, the subsequent refusal to apply the definitive and drastic solution, which is what was proposed. We should not be surprised by this, for it formed part of the struggle for power, and of the rhetoric of politics and strategy.

In addition to all this, we have already seen that the Expulsion of the Moriscos was a historical reference-point that was often used in analyses of the problem concerning the Portuguese New Christians and in justifications of the plan to expel them. The example of what had been done to the Moriscos by Philip III in 1609 featured in all the projects and considerations made of this

40 Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, 215–217.

issue, but despite what was said by some, there were obvious differences which eventually thwarted these attempts to bring off the project. The kind of providentialist reasoning which explained that God was punishing the monarchy for its permissiveness towards the practice of so much heresy had been key in persuading the king and his ministers of the need to take such an extreme measure against the Moriscos.⁴¹ The same kind of reasoning appears over and over again in the case of the Portuguese *cristãos novos*. But there was a big difference between the two minorities of which no-one was unaware. It was particularly clear to those who set about thinking how to put such an expulsion into practice, thereby passing from a rhetorical explanation of the problem to the effective realization of the project of extirpation. Inbreeding and resistance to conversion, which had been such consistent features of the Morisco populations, were nothing like so widespread among the *cristãos novos*, who were integrated within Christian society to a greater extent, as was shown by the number of them who were related to Old Christians through mixed marriages. If expulsion was decided upon, who would be subjected to the punishment? This was a difficult technical question to which there was no answer, for it was impossible to draw a line dividing New Christians from Old. Intermingled as they were, how could they now be separated out? This is why the problem had its *raison d'être* so long as it stayed within the sphere of political discussion and struggle. When serious mention was made of efforts to take practical steps to resolve it, this was seen as another matter entirely.

41 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La Monarquía Católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim), 2001, 389.

The Moriscos Who Stayed Behind or Returned

Post-1609

James B. Tueller

On August 11, 1615, fully a year after Philip III had officially declared a successful end to the Morisco Expulsion, the Council of State received a letter from the Count of Salazar. He wrote that “so many Moriscos have returned to Murcia, Andalusia and Old Castile that it seems as if the expulsion never took place.”¹ In this paper, I will not explore Salazar’s reasons for exaggerating the return.² The vast majority of the Moriscos left between 1609 and 1614. The small numbers that obtained exemptions, secretly stayed or quietly returned could no longer be Moriscos, a group which had not been easy to define before or during the Expulsion. After generations of conversion they were accepted as the Old Christians they had become. They hid and presumably lost any vestiges of Islam. Neighbours and friends would not have mentioned their ancestry openly. The Moriscos that remained cut themselves off from a Muslim past and assimilated into a Christian identity.

We can, however, recover the drama of those that tried to stay or return. In their 1978 history of the Moriscos, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent remarked that dry, official documents can tell dramatic family tales – such as the case of an Old Christian coachman who wanted to go into exile with his Morisco wife and daughter.³ The vicissitudes of the Moriscos remaining in, or returning to, the Peninsula cannot be entirely recovered. However, an attempt to do so reveals a spectrum of identities in Early Modern Spain.

I will examine documents from three kinds of cases: those involving exempted Moriscos, those providing evidence on brief Morisco returns to the Peninsula and those which show the actions that the Hispanic Monarchy took to punish disobedience. Over time, accusations of hidden Moriscos emerged, leaving evidence which can help historians to examine questions of change and continuity over time within the Peninsula. Although the Moriscos in Spain after 1609 deliberately disappeared, analysis of their significance has fostered

1 AGS, Estado 259.

2 Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric versus Local Reality: Propaganda and the Expulsion of the Moriscos,” in *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain* (London: Tamesis), 2006, 1–24, 4–5.

3 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1978, 253–254.

many interpretations. With hindsight, we have been too hasty to decide on the triumph or tragedy of the Morisco Expulsion, overlooking the human elements of resilience, contingency and agency.

Deliberation, Delay and Disobedience

When the King and Council of State considered expelling the Moriscos, they did not want to expel them all at once. They determined early on to follow a step-by-step process whereby Moriscos from various kingdoms would be expelled and sent off through designated ports. They chose to begin in Valencia and then proceed to Castile, Aragón and lastly Murcia. To their surprise, however, the Moriscos, their aristocratic lords and their neighbours turned the Expulsion into a frustrating five-year process.

On April 4, 1609 Philip III chose to expel the Moriscos. The Council of State decided on a plan for expulsion and prepared the stage for their departure. On June 21, 1609 the King ordered the Expulsion to begin in Valencia; royal officials were assigned to travel there and inform the archbishop and the Viceroy. On September 22, 1609 the Valencia decree was published. For the next two months, Moriscos moved to the ports, soldiers marched into the countryside and houses were emptied. Although the Expulsion from Valencia was not as smooth as imagined from Madrid, it proceeded along the lines that the King expected. If there were any hiccups, it was because there were many Morisco children who needed care and housing.⁴ Even the exception of allowing six out of every 100 households to stay was revoked on January 9, 1610. The Bishop of Orihuela noted that every Morisco of Elche wanted to leave, although the Duke of Maqueda encouraged many to stay.⁵

The Expulsion of the Moriscos from the other kingdoms did not go as smoothly. On December 28, 1609 the Moriscos from Old and New Castile, Extremadura and La Mancha were given permission to leave.⁶ Then two weeks later, on January 12, 1610, official orders to expel the Moriscos of the two Castiles,

4 François Martínez, "Les enfants morisques de l'expulsion (1610–1621)," *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac* 2 (1995), 500–539, esp. 501–505.

5 Francisco Javier Brotons González, "Notas sobre la expulsión de los moriscos de Elche," in *L'expulsió dels moriscos: Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 296–299. The Duke of Maqueda was also the Marquis of Elche, Jorge de Cárdenas y Manrique de Lara (1584–1644).

6 Florencio Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España: causas de su expulsión, y consecuencias que esta produjo en el orden económico y político* (Madrid: Imp. de la Real Academia de la Historia), 1857, document CXXII, 339–340.

Extremadura, La Mancha and Andalusia were published.⁷ The order to expel the Moriscos of Aragón was published on May 29, 1610, but rather than the King ordering the departure of Moriscos from this kingdom, only the Viceroy signed the decree, showing the royal concern for the separate privileges of Aragón. On the same day, the king published in Barcelona the Expulsion decree for the Moriscos of Catalonia.⁸ But one expulsion order proved insufficient. There were too many exceptions, special situations and petitioners. On July 10, 1610 a second Expulsion decree for the Moriscos of Valencia, Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, Catalonia and Aragón had to be circulated.⁹ Because too many had stayed in 1610 and reports came in of others returning, on March 22, 1611 Moriscos were given two months to leave, even those with briefs testifying to their good Christianity. In order to clarify the situation, it was stated that those Moriscos who were called *Antiguos*, lived in separate neighbourhoods or paid a separate tax all had to leave. All these different kinds of Morisco categories challenged the singular conception of Morisco-ness. *Moriscos Antiguos* were those Moriscos whose ancestors had been baptized before the conquest of Granada, mostly in the areas of Old and New Castile. By 1609, many such *Antiguos* had been baptized Christians for five or more generations. Even the Archbishop of Toledo in the Council of State wondered how 'old' Moriscos had to be.¹⁰ The exemption remained for Morisco women married to Old Christians, converts from Barbary, or Morisco priests, monks or nuns.¹¹ The repetition of decrees, orders and punishments demonstrated that the monarchy knew of disobedience. On September 29, 1611, the King commanded the Count of Salazar to send to the galleys any Morisco who had not left or had returned.¹²

Although in 1611 the Expulsion took longer than the king expected, the initial plan to expel the Moriscos from the kingdom of Murcia at last began. On November 10, 1611 the *cristianos nuevos moriscos* from the kingdom of Murcia were ordered to depart and to leave from Cartagena.¹³ In 1612, the process of investigating, identifying and expelling the Moriscos continued, as did the repeated orders to obey. On August 21, 1612 a proclamation ordered all officials from royal or seigniorial jurisdictions to obey the Expulsion decree.¹⁴ In the

7 Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión: estudio histórico-crítico* (Valencia: Francisco Vives y Mora), 1901, II: 281.

8 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 300–301.

9 Janer, *Condición*, document CXXV, 342.

10 Also see further on page 11 – AGS, Estado 2641, folio 122, 14 January 1611.

11 Janer, *Condición*, document CXXVIII, 344–345.

12 Janer, *Condición*, document CXXXIII, 351–352.

13 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 285–287.

14 Janer, *Condición*, document CXXXIX, 355–356.

spring of 1613, the Viceroy of Aragón, Navarre, Valencia, Catalonia and Portugal, and the officials of Castile, were requested to send in all the paperwork related to the Expulsion of the Moriscos, assisting the Count of Salazar in his duty to expel them and capture those who had returned.¹⁵ Less than a month later, direct orders requested the *gente de milicia* to obey the Count of Salazar as he expelled the Moriscos who had either stayed or returned.¹⁶ In the fall of 1613, the decrees addressed those who helped Moriscos, declaring

His Majesty orders that no person in all his kingdoms or seigneuries, permanent and resident, in whatever quality, state or preeminence and condition that they may be, should not dare to receive, conceal, take in, defend, publicly or secretly, a Morisco or a Morisca, for evermore from this day of publication onwards.¹⁷

In addition, anyone who denounced a Morisco for having stayed or returned would be awarded ten *ducados* once the individual expulsion had been verified.

The last comprehensive decree had been reserved for the Moriscos *mudéjares* from the Ricote Valley in the kingdom of Murcia. On October 19, 1613 the decree expelling the Mudéjares was published.¹⁸ This was only after a very lengthy investigation and debate, precipitated by the investigation of Father Juan de Pereda. He had found that the general inhabitants of Murcia believed that the approximately 9000 Mudejars were Old Christians. The Moriscos of the Ricote Valley had been especially helpful during the rebellion of the Moriscos in Granada, serving as mountain guides and informants. Pereda concluded his report by stating that those who condemned the Moriscos only spoke in generalities “from a presumption of their birth,” not from knowing any specific individuals. When he interviewed over fifty confessors, he learned that the Mudejars were devoted Christians, and were honest, simple and knowledgeable.¹⁹ Over the next three months, the Expulsion proceeded in

15 Janer, *Condición*, document CXLI, 357–359 (April 20, 1613).

16 Janer, *Condición*, document CXLII, 359–360 (May 20, 1613).

17 Janer, *Condición*, document CXLIII, 360–361. (October 26, 1613) “ninguna persona los recete, ni encubra, acoja, ni defienda pública, ni secretamente... Su Majestad manda que ninguna persona de todos sus reinos y señoríos, estantes y habitantes, de cualquier calidad, estado y preeminencia y condición que sean, no son osados de recibir, ni recetar, ni acoger, ni defender, pública, ni secretamente Morisco, ni Morisca, para siempre jamás, desde hoy día de la publicación.”

18 Janer, *Condición*, document CXLIV, 361–362.

19 James B. Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain* (New Orleans: University Press of the South), 2002, 180–189.

Murcia but still the Count of Salazar had to give the Moriscos *mudéjares* ten days to register with the commissioners of the Expulsion, or else they would be treated as rebels.²⁰ By early 1614, Salazar, Lerma and the Council of State began to consider how to conclude the expulsions. Trevor Dadson has recently called the five-year process a “nightmare” which in the beginning was only supposed to last a few months.²¹ By August 1614, after five long years, the King decreed that “an end had been reached after expelling all the Moriscos; man and woman, Granadino, Aragonese, Valenciano and Catalan as well as *Antiguos* and *Mudéjar*.”²² The royal centre, as best it could, turned its attention elsewhere. The Moriscos who stayed were able to continue in their normal lives. The Moriscos who returned found protection in their old neighbourhoods.

Exemptions – The Moriscos Who Stayed

When town criers announced the Expulsion decree in the kingdom of Valencia, the king proved his resolve to remove all Moriscos from the kingdom and to expel them to North Africa.²³ The Valencian decree, however, allowed some to stay. Not all needed to leave. In locations with one hundred homes, six Morisco families would be allowed to stay in order to preserve the homes, sugar mills, rice harvests and irrigated lands, helping to train the new settlers who it was hoped would come. The decree established that six families should be chosen from among the oldest Moriscos, those who cultivated the land and showed evidence of being Christian. Other provisos of the decree established that Moriscos who had lived among Christians for more than two years, avoided former Muslim neighbourhoods or mosques and those who had licence from their prelates to partake of the holy sacraments would not be expelled. The initial clarity of the decree’s announcement dimmed as specific places and people were considered. The particularities of the kingdoms ruled by Philip III emerged during the five years of expulsion. The process of expelling the Moriscos proceeded relatively smoothly in the kingdom of Valencia when compared to the later expulsions from Aragón, Old and New Castile, La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalusia. The Expulsion took five years, multiple

20 Janer, *Condición*, document CXLVII, 364–366.

21 Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (Siglos XV–XVIII): Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert), 2007, 533.

22 AGS, Estado 2644.

23 Boronat y Barachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 190–193.

decrees, many revisions and, finally, a conclusive yet suspect royal declaration of ultimate success.

Exceptions, exemptions, returns and negotiations characterised the entire process. In the subsequent decree for the Moriscos from Andalusia and Granada, the Council of State drafted a clarification for all the prelates using the king's words: "I have resolved that Moriscos of this type not be expelled – those who the Bishops approve as good and faithful Christians and to have lived as such without keeping any of the rites of the Mohammedan sect in food, drink or any other thing."²⁴ In a very cursory reading of three Council of State bundles in the Simancas archives, sixty-five separate requests remain for the year 1610 alone.²⁵ The requests for exemptions for Morisco homes added up to 1894. In his request to exempt twenty Morisco homes, the vicar of Villanueva de los Infantes explained that this included twenty-nine people. In Guadalupe the request to exempt five families specified that this was for nineteen people.²⁶ And this did not include the blanket requests for all the *Moriscos Antiguos* of Almagro, all the *Moriscos Granadinos* of Ávila, the Moriscos of Atienza and Molina, the Moriscos of the Duke of Arcos, the Mudejars of Villa de Pliego or unspecified numbers in Oropesa and Piedrahita.

The Grandees also wanted exemptions. The Council of State considered a request for exemptions from the Duke of Arcos, asking that the Morisco servants who grew up in his home be made exempt because they had always lived as good and faithful Christians. In his request, the Duke of Arcos pointed out that he had heard that the Duke of Medina Sidonia had had six Moriscos who worked for him as gardeners and beekeepers exempted from the Expulsion. Four members of the Council, Idiáquez, the Cardinal of Toledo, the Constable of Castile and the Duke of Albuquerque agreed that if the Duke of Medina Sidonia received exemptions then the Duke of Arcos must also be allowed to retain his Moriscos, but that opening this door would delay the cleansing of the kingdom. The four Council members asked that Medina Sidonia be informed that he should lead by example and that these types of exemptions should be cancelled. The Duke of Infantado disagreed and said that he saw no problem in allowing the lords to keep the Moriscos who were raised in noble homes if they were also good Christians. The Duke of Medina Sidonia should

24 AGS, Estado 2705, 9 February 1610. "He resuelto que no se expelan los moriscos de este género que los obispos aprobaren ser buenos y fieles cristianos y haber vivido como tales sin haber guardado en la comida y bebida ni en ninguna otra cosa ningún rito de la secta de Mahoma."

25 AGS, legajos 225, 226 and 227.

26 AGS, Estado 228, no. 2 and Estado 2640, folio 303, 23 Oct. 1610.

be allowed to keep the *gracia* given to him, and the Duke of Arcos should also be granted his request. As all final statements, the final sentence of the Council's report in this case also stated, "Your Majesty will order to see and provide what is necessary," leaving the decision up to the King. The Duke of Arcos' request languished and nothing appears to have been done.²⁷ Noble privilege remained difficult to change.

The Duke of Pastrana also requested that his expert silk workers be exempted. The expertise of ten Moriscos in twisting, dying, spinning and beating the textiles was too valuable to lose. One Morisco woman, Lucía de Mendoza, was a special case. At about the same time as the uprising in Granada, some Moriscos of Pastrana had become anxious and left for North Africa. At that time, Lucia had informed the Duke and the Moriscos were caught and returned to Pastrana. Because of the hate and suspicion against her, a son of hers was killed, but she had always served the Duke of Pastrana with loyalty and zeal. The Council of State on 21 August 1610 recommended that these Moriscos be exempt and the King wrote "it's good [i.e. approved]." The Duke was also required to pay a fee for the privilege.²⁸ Four years later, at the end of the Expulsion period, Pastrana asked that his vassal, Lorenzo Pérez, an expert in silk production, be given a licence to stay forever. On July 4, 1614 the Council agreed, renewing his stay for another four years.²⁹ By 1618, with the Expulsion officially over, Lorenzo Pérez, the silk worker in Pastrana, may have chosen to remain.

As the prelates' reports came in during the fall of 1610, the Council of State received summaries from their secretary. The council members' frustration mounted. Sixteen religious leaders had reported that a total of 605 Morisco homes and individuals had been found to be "well-known and continually good Christians and worthy of the grace that Your Majesty has conceded to

27 AGS, Estado 2745, 13 February 1610. "El abrir esta puerta sería de grande inconveniente para el intento que se lleva de limpiar el Reyno desta gente.[...] V.Ma. lo mandará ver y proveer lo que fuere servido."

28 AGS, Estado 2745, 17 August 1610. The ten Moriscos were named as Hernando López Ferry, Lorenzo Pérez, Luis González (berberisco), Miguel and Luis García, Luis Hernández, Francisco Díaz, Lucía de Mendoza, Alonso de Ávila, and Alonso de Baena, and their occupations were given as *torcador*, *tintorero*, *hilador* and *garroteador*. The Moriscos of Pastrana have been written about in many places. See Aurelio García López, "Moriscos Andalusíes en Pastrana. Las quejas de una minoría marginada de moriscos, con noticias sobre su paralelismo en el reino de Granada," *Sharq al-Andalus* 12 (1995), 163–177; and Mercedes García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente Español: Los Moriscos y el Sacromonte en Tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2010, especially Chapter 10.

29 AGS, Estado 2748.

all who fit the criteria and not be expelled.”³⁰ Over the five years of the Expulsion following each decree attempting to clarify the King’s intent, Moriscos, their neighbours, priests and village leaders sent in requests for special dispensations.

By early 1611, the Council of State believed that too many Moriscos had obtained exemptions. The Count of Salazar reported that there were 1511 homes of Moriscos in his district with papers declaring that they were good Christians. The Father Confessor sent in his recommendations that all the Moriscos be expelled, which he believed could be done in good conscience. Inexplicably, for the King’s confessor, there were people who favoured the Moriscos and had made the Expulsion difficult. Morisco defenders said that people would be offended when findings arose about who was a Morisco *Antiguo* but only Moriscos whom the officials listed should be expelled. The Council then examined all the Expulsion orders to see who was exempted. They listed the exemptions: Old Christians married to Morisco women and their children, descendants of Moors who came from Barbary to convert, Morisco clerics, monks or nuns, Morisco slaves from the Granada rebellion and well-known and continually good Christians.

The Cardinal of Toledo spoke about the *Antiguos*, saying “if we expel the *Antiguos* we must decide very carefully who they are because there are many different categories of them.” He recommended forming another *Junta* of Theologians. If the Expulsion included those who had been Christian for over 200 years it would result in great *inconvenientes*. Idiáquez reminded the Council that the king wanted “no trace of these people left.” Many *Antiguos* had already left without being asked. Idiáquez believed this demonstrated their guilty conscience. The Cardinal of Toledo spoke again. He wanted to know how far back in time the *Antiguos* should be defined because if they went back far enough very few people would be able to remain in Spain. A distinction must be made. Those from Granada must have no exceptions because from few would come many and from many *muchísimos*. As for the *Antiguos* in Ávila, if it was true that they were Old Christians than their expulsion must be carried out much more leniently. At the end of the day, the Council of State asked to know how many Moriscos *Antiguos* and *Modernos* there were. They also thought that the list of exemptions was justified.³¹

30 AGS, Estado 2640, folio 303, 23 October 1610. “Notorios y continuadamente buenos cristianos, y merecedores de la gracia que VMg ha concedido a los que concurriere, esto para no ser expelidos.”

31 AGS, Estado 2641, folio 122, 14 January 1611. The King’s words were: “no quede rastro desta gente.”

Antonio de Aróstegui, the king's Secretary, reported that the king had read the Council's recommendation from 14 January. The king recommended that a *Junta* examine the issues. The king believed that the Moriscos *Modernos* who had formal briefs from the Bishops testifying to their good Christianity should be expelled to other Christian lands with free passage and no difficulties. He wrote:

it would be best for them to leave for although they are held to be good Christians they would be better out in order to prevent the problems which have been seen. As it is understood that some have this permission to remain because they are good Christians, it seems that those who [I] have understood to have been declared [good Christians] should be detained for now.³²

All other *modernos* should leave. Any delay in the *Junta's* decision would be a problem.

Moriscos also took it upon themselves to travel to Madrid and petition the King directly. On January 31, 1610, five Granadan Moriscos presented their certificates of nobility at court. Francisco Rodríguez, a paymaster for the *Audiencia* in Granada, and his brother claimed to be descendants of Francisco Rodríguez Adalmeque, a nobleman from Granada who converted before the conquest in 1492. Miguel Venegas said he was a descendant of the kings of Córdoba, while oddly Gregorio and Alonso Hernández came as makers of *azulejo* tiles in the Alhambra.³³ In a few months so many petitioners had come that the king ordered the removal of the multitude of Moriscos who were at court, wanting to settle the matter quickly.³⁴

Other Granadan Moriscos produced earlier decrees from Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, establishing their good Christianity and nobility. Diego and Luis de Carvajal, Francisco, Hernando and Diego Baltasar Alférez, Francisco Enríquez, Isabel Alférez and Isabel Alard were all descendants of Moorish knights in Zújar and claimed exemptions. In fact, all the residents of

32 AGS, Estado 2641, folio 121, 3 February 1611. "Mejor les estuviera salir pues aunque se precien de buenos cristianos estarán mejor fuera por escusar los inconvenientes que se han visto y porque se entiende que algunos de estos tienen permiso para quedarse por notorios buenos cristianos le parece que los que ya lo tuvieron entendido por haberseles declarado se detengan por ahora."

33 AGS, Estado 227, 31 January 1610. For another petition for the Rodríguez Adalmeque descendants see AGS, Estado 227, January 25, 1610.

34 AGS, Estado 224, no date – possibly August 1610. "Desembarazar el corte de la multitud de moriscos y despachar lo con brevedad."

Zújar had helped the Catholic Monarchs in the original conquest, Charles V during the Comunero revolt and Philip II during the 1569 Granada rebellion. Philip III agreed and approved the exemption, confirming his ancestors' proclamations.³⁵ Other Moriscos used the same connections to previous monarchs to request exemptions. Miguel Hernández Hermez, a descendant of knights from Granada, had documents from the King's ancestors exempting him. The jurist, Melchor López Marbella and Geronimo López, both residents of Pastrana, had records from 1604 exempting them from the lists of Moriscos because their ancestors had converted before the conquest of Granada. Juan de León presented letters of nobility from Queen Juana in 1511 and reconfirmed in 1603, establishing descent from the Moorish knight who surrendered Vélez Blanco and Vélez Rubio. Luis de Mendoza had served against his own people in the Granada rebellion and had a special privilege to enter the Alhambra. The elderly Alonso de Chaves El Chapiz, whose parents had converted before the conquest of Granada, declared that Charles V had personally held him in his arms at his baptism. Gaspar Lope de Cuéllar had documents declaring descent from those who converted before 1492 and also had letters allowing him to bear arms. Gaspar's priests attested that he lived a Christian life, attended Mass, confessed every fifteen days and donated much money to the Church. Gonzalo de Baeza and his two sons, Diego and Andres, had royal licence to bear arms. They hoped that this connection would exempt them from expulsion. Iñigo de Mendoza had an exemption from the previous expulsion, i.e. the expulsion of Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada.³⁶

The hierarchical nature of the Hispanic Monarchy privileged the nobles, no matter their ancestry or religion. We know very well that noble families from Granada incorporated themselves into the Peninsular elite. The Granada Venegas family is one of the more famous.³⁷ Julio Caro Baroja mentioned that even in his day (the first edition of his *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada* came out in 1957) surnames like Zegrí, Abenojar, Benhumeya, Benjumea and Venegas were still used in Andalusia.³⁸ Indeed, Luis Fernández el Zegrí, a grandson of Muhammed Fernández el Zegrí, who was baptized by Cardinal Ximénez de

35 AGS, Estado 2747, 17 April 1612. For more research on the Moriscos of Zújar see Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una Gran Familia: Las élites moriscas del Reino de Granada," *Estudis: Revista de Historia Moderna* 35 (2009), 9–35, 20.

36 AGS, Estado 227, January 25, 1610. "El Emperador lo sacó de pila."

37 Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2009, 127–128.

38 Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de Historia Social* (Madrid: Itsmo), 1985, 249.

Cisneros, became a knight in the prestigious Order of Santiago.³⁹ Later centuries would see individuals with Venegas and Benjumea surnames become nobles in modern Spain.⁴⁰

The nobles of Spain also protected their Morisco villagers. Trevor Dadson has shown that the Moriscos of Villarrubia de los Ojos worked successfully with their lord, the Count of Salinas, to do all they could to remain. Thirty-one Morisco families who were baptized in 1502 were still in the village in 1669 or later.⁴¹ The Count of Salinas, the lord of the village, wrote many letters to defend and ultimately exempt a number of the Moriscos. The correspondence between him and the Count of Salazar still reads four hundred years later like a quick-tempered but polite exchange between two noblemen at the King's court. For example, on May 11, 1611 Salinas wrote to Salazar requesting that the few Granadan Moriscos in Villarrubia be allowed to depart without hiring a commissioner to accompany them since these Moriscos had always lived as good Christians and were very poor. Salazar wrote back immediately, explaining that the governor of Villarrubia had misunderstood the decree or wanted to deceive Salinas and those handling the Expulsion of the Moriscos:

Your Lordship testifies only about the Moriscos from Granada as if the decree did not also include the Old Moriscos, who are known to be in large numbers in that village [...]. In Villarrubia there are one hundred fifty homes of these kinds of Moriscos and two commissioners have already been named to get them out.[...] I've been sick lately and therefore have not gone to kiss your hands or give you more specific accounts of this matter.⁴²

39 Bernard Vincent, "La Familia Morisca," *Historia* 16, 57 (1981), 58–66. For other members of the Zegrí family see Amalia García Pedraza, "La asimilación del morisco don Gonzalo Fernández el Zegrí: edición y análisis de su testamento," *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* XVI–1 (1995), 39–58.

40 For example, the Count of Guadalhorce, Rafael Benjumea y Burín (1876–1952) and Francisco Xavier Venegas de Saavedra (1760–1838), the Marquis of Reunión and Nueva España.

41 Dadson, *Los moriscos*, 1284–1287.

42 Dadson, *Los moriscos*, 947–948. "El gobernador de Villarrubia ha entendido mal el bando de su Majestad o quiere engañar a V.S. y a los que tratamos de la expulsión de los moriscos. V.S. testimonia de solos los moriscos granadinos como si el bando no se entendiese con los moriscos antiguos, de que se sabe que hay gran cantidad en aquella villa... En Villarrubia hay ciento y cincuenta casas de moriscos de esta calidad, y están ya nombrados dos comisarios que vayan a sacarlos... Yo ando achacoso estos días y por eso no voy a besar a V.S. las manos y darle más particular cuenta de este negocio."

The King weighed in on the two counts' disputes a week later on May 19, 1610 when he wrote that "for now the commissioners should not go."⁴³ Salinas reminded the governor of Villarrubia in a letter two days later that the *Barrio Nuevo* was not really a separate neighbourhood, thus the name should not bias outsiders against the residents who also intermarried with Old Christians.⁴⁴

Personal messengers travelled quickly between the powerful two counts. Salinas was born Diego de Silva y Mendoza, the second son of Ruy Gómez de Silva, favourite of Philip II and Ana de Mendoza, the Princess of Éboli. His older brother Rodrigo, inherited the large ducal title of Pastrana from his father, but he became a titled nobleman when he married the Countess of Salinas.⁴⁵ Bernardino de Velasco, the Count of Salazar, was appointed to oversee the Expulsion in Old and New Castile, La Mancha and Extremadura.⁴⁶ Velasco had been one of Philip III's first appointments to the Council of War in 1599 and in 1608 was granted the title of Count of Salazar.⁴⁷ Because of his link to the powerful Velasco family and the Constable of Castile he often received petitions from the Constable's family for special consideration. For example, in 1615 Salazar received a request from the Duchess of Frías, mother of the Constable of Castile, to request a tutor for a younger son who was deaf.⁴⁸ After the Expulsion he became the president of the Council of Finance and was, surprisingly, one of the few historical figures to appear in the fictional *Don Quixote*. Cervantes referred to him as a man who in accomplishing his duty would not be swayed by "prayers, promises, gifts and lamentations." He was so successful in expelling the Moriscos that none were "can stay behind or be concealed, like a hidden root that in times to come will send out shoots and bear poisonous fruit in Spain."⁴⁹

43 Dadson, *Los moriscos*, 953.

44 Dadson, *Los moriscos*, 955.

45 Helen H. Reed, "Mother Love in the Renaissance: The Princess of Éboli's Letters to Her Favorite Son," in *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450–1650* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 2004, 160–164. See also Trevor J. Dadson, "The Duke of Lerma and the Count of Salinas: Politics and Friendship in Early-Seventeenth Century Spain," *European History Quarterly* 25 (1995), 5–38.

46 AGS, Estado 2639, f. 94, no date (before 14 November 1609); official orders to Salazar can also be found in Estado 2638 bis, f. 224, 5 May 1610.

47 Feliciano Barrios, *El Consejo de Estado de la Monarquía Española* (Madrid: Consejo de Estado), 1984, 118, note 28.

48 Susan Plann, *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550–1835* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1997, 38.

49 Miguel de Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo, Don Quijote de La Mancha*, Chapter 66. "El gran don Bernardino de Velasco, conde Salazar, a quien dio Su Majestad cargo de nuestra

In their classic 1978 book, Domínguez Ortíz and Vincent take Salazar's implacable character as conclusive proof of the government's desire to uproot every Morisco "plant."⁵⁰ And yet this desire came up against the compassion and resistance of local protectors. In general, the neighbours, priests and noblemen who testified on behalf of those Moriscos who requested exemptions may very well have held the common prejudices against Moriscos, but chose to support the Moriscos who desired to stay. A Morisco who requested an exemption needed supporters. Those exemptions which reached the King only succeeded because the Moriscos concerned had witnesses who wanted them to stay. The people who helped Moriscos stay or later return from exile had all kinds of reasons to support the exemptions. The historical assumption has usually been that the witnesses were self-interested, protecting their economic interests. Serafín de Tapia wrote about the Moriscos who obtained exemptions from the Expulsion in Ávila. Many of the exempted Moriscos in Ávila were the servants of influential families.⁵¹ Yet in all these cases the Old Christians, self-interested as they were, knew the individual Morisco and warned the King that he was wrong in this instance. Domínguez Ortíz and Vincent agree, stating "It is undoubtable that many remained, at the least in some districts."⁵² Further, they explained that

The Moriscos from large cities had more opportunity to avoid the expulsion and pass unnoticed, mixed among the lower strata, especially in the Andalusian cities, where the gangs of vagabonds and gypsies must have assimilated not a few of them. As regards the Moriscos of rural areas, without denying that certain lords successfully saved some of their vassals, it appears to me [...] that a fundamental distinction should be made between the non-assimilated Moriscos and those who were on their way to assimilation. The latter tried to stay or return by every means and in not a few cases their tenacity was crowned with success.⁵³

expulsión, no valen ruegos, no promesas, no dádivas, no lástimas [...] Como raíz escondida, que con el tiempo venga después a brotar y a echar frutos venenosas en España." [English versions from translation by E. Grossman, New York, 2003]. For an explanation of Cervantes' satire and possible connotations see David A. Boruchoff, "Cervantes y las leyes de reprehensión cristiana," *Hispanic Review* 63–71 (1995), 39–55.

50 Domínguez and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 247.

51 Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila* (Salamanca: Universidad), 1991, 383–387.

52 Domínguez and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 248.

53 Domínguez and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 264. "Los moriscos de las grandes ciudades tuvieron más oportunidades para esquivar la expulsión y pasar desapercibidos

Their tenacity was rewarded because they had friends. The Moriscos of Talavera de la Reina officially ceased to exist because in the parish registers the priests stopped identifying individuals as Moriscos, and yet “the surnames and people who before were cited as such remained.”⁵⁴ Moriscos did not keep the Church records. Their priests did. The record-keepers protected Moriscos who stayed by eliminating the official marker of difference. They showed “tolerance” for many reasons, among them self-interest, compassion and what John Bossy has called the “moral tradition” of Christianity.⁵⁵

Returnees

Over the five years of the Expulsion and even twenty years later, the king, members of the Council of State and other royal officials discussed the fact that expelled Moriscos were coming back to Spain. Cervantes, famously, includes in *Don Quixote* the story of Ricote, who tells his neighbor, Sancho Panza,

No matter where we are we weep for Spain for, after all, we were born here and it is our native country; nowhere do we find the haven our misfortune longs for and in Barbary and all the places in Africa where we hoped to be received, welcomed and taken in, that is where they most offend and mistreat us. We did not know our good fortune until we lost it, and the greatest desire in almost all of us is to return to Spain; most of those, and there are many of them, who know the language as well I do, abandon their wives and children and return, so great is the love they have for Spain; and now I know and feel the truth of the saying that it is sweet to love one's country.⁵⁶

mezclados entre los bajos estratos, sobre todo en las ciudades andaluzas, donde las bandas de vagabundos y gitanos debieron acoger a no pocos de ellos. En cuanto a los moriscos de zonas rurales, sin negar que algunos señores procuraron, con éxito, conservar una parte de sus vasallos, me parece, de acuerdo con lo expuesto anteriormente, que la distinción fundamental hay que establecerla entre los moriscos no asimilados y los que estaban en vías de asimilación. Estos últimos trataron por todo los medios de quedarse o de volver, y en no pocos casos su tenacidad se vió coronada por el éxito.”

54 Domínguez and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 248.

55 Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2008, 249.

56 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, libro II, Capítulo LIV. English translation by E. Grossman, New York, 2003. “Doquiera que estamos lloremos por España; que, en fin,

Don Quixote is fiction, but Cervantes's details are confirmed in many archival documents. Even Philip III and the Duke of Lerma relented and allowed certain Moriscos to return. In a memorandum to the King, Lerma summarised the petition of Ana de Palencia, an Old Christian married to the Morisco, Francisco de Calleja. The couple had lived in the Alpujarras Mountains southeast of Granada. However, when he was expelled Calleja went to Rome, hoping to return. His father had served in the *tercios* of Don Lope de Figueroa during the Granada rebellion as a translator and guide. His grandfather had been killed and their home burned during the rebellion in Granada. The loyal service of Calleja's ancestors appealed to the king's compassion and by February 26, 1612, the decision to allow him to return was being carried out.⁵⁷

Returning to Spain without permission was very dangerous. In 1613, officials of the king's galleys reported on the number of Moriscos condemned to the galleys after having returned from the Expulsion. Forty-eight were still living. Moriscos returned to widespread areas of Spain and then were caught. Juan Alonso from Osuna, thirty-six years old, was caught in Sanlúcar de Barrameda and condemned to the galleys for life on November 26, 1610. Alonso Díaz, a Morisco from Seville, son of Luis Pérez and twenty-nine years old, was condemned to life on the galleys at the same time as Juan Alonso. Alonso Maracoxi from Seville, who did not know his father but was a known Morisco, was condemned to the galleys for six years on December 20, 1610. Other cities included on the 1613 list included Córdoba, Daimiel, Mérida, Alcántara, Arcos de la Frontera, Huerta de Játiva, Valencia, Novallas, Pastrana, Murcia, Benquerencia, Granada, Madridejos, Alguazas, Almagro, Guadalupe, Alcalá del Río, Utrera, Tortosa, Marchena and El Puerto de Santa María.⁵⁸ The condemned oarsmen mostly came from towns in Andalusia but Extremadura, La Mancha, Castile, Valencia, Aragón, Catalonia and Murcia were also included.

The Moriscos condemned to the galleys returned to Spain and were punished for it. Other Moriscos returned and although investigated by the Inquisition, could be forgiven and allowed to stay and continue their normal

nacimos en ella y es nuestra patria natural. En ninguna parte hallamos el acogimiento que nuestra desventura desea, y en Berbería, y en todas las parte de África donde esperábamos ser recibidos, acogidos y regalados, allí es donde más nos ofenden y maltratan. No hemos conocido el bien hasta que le hemos perdido, y es el deseo tan grande que casi todos tenemos de volver a España, que los más de aquellos, y son muchos, que saben la lengua como yo, se vuelvan a ella, y dejan allá sus mujeres y sus hijos desamparados: tanto es el amor que la tienen; y agora conozco y experimento lo que suele decirse; que es dulce el amor de la patria."

57 AGS, Estado 2747, 17 February 1612.

58 AGS, Estado 2642, fols. 118–119, 9 March 1613.

lives. A decade after the Expulsion, in 1622, the Morisco Juan Gasque appeared before the Holy Office in Toledo. At the time, Gasque was a resident of Villarrubia de los Ojos, although he had been born in Llombay, Valencia. He informed the Inquisitors that he did not know if he was baptized or not, but had learned the Pater Noster and Ave María as a boy in the convent of Santo Domingo. Gasque left Spain because of the Expulsion and while in North Africa he met a renegade Flemish corsair named Hazen. Gasque boarded ship with Hazen for two months, but when the ship was near Portugal he jumped overboard and swam ashore to Faro in the Algarve. The authorities took Gasque to Lisbon, from where the Count of Salinas, Philip IV's Viceroy, brought him to Castile because he wanted to be a Christian. The Inquisitors asked Gasque if he had learned Muslim prayers. He replied that he had not, saying that even when he attended an *iglesia de los moros* he did not pray, only going as an obligation. Gasque did not know how to read or write, so an official signed for him. He was absolved *ad cautelam* and the Commissioner of the Inquisition in Villarrubia was informed that Gasque was a Christian and should be instructed in the Holy Catholic Faith.⁵⁹

In other areas of the Hispanic Monarchy, reports came in of Moriscos sneaking back into the Peninsula. The commanders of the Spanish troops in Tangier and Ceuta worked diligently to prevent Moriscos from returning to Spain from there. Seven hundred Moriscos had been gathering in Tangier.⁶⁰ The Duke of Osuna in Sicily reported to the king on March 7, 1613 that eleven Moriscos had landed at Trapani, saying they were en route from Tunis to Marseille. They were dressed as Christians, however, and Osuna therefore believed that they were returning to Spain. Osuna believed that many Moriscos returned to Spain on French, Dutch and English ships.⁶¹

As Moriscos returned to Spain after the Expulsion, many helpers emerged to maintain the connections inside and outside the Peninsula. In February 1611, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Don Íñigo de Cárdenas, wrote to the Council of State about his Morisco servant, Juan Pérez. According to the ambassador his servant was a good Christian who travelled as a messenger between Paris and Toulouse. Pérez reported to his master that he had met Moriscos on their

59 Dadson, *Los moriscos*, 1121–1122. The case of Juan Gasque, AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1149, fols. 185r–187v. For a similar case of jumping ship and swimming to shore see Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y Moriscos: Los procesos del tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 1978, 140–150. The actual case can be found in the ADC, legajo 437, no. 6169.

60 AGS, Estado 2643, 15 July 1612, also see report from Portugal about Tangier and Ceuta in AGS, Estado 2642, f. 126, 17 May 1612.

61 AGS, Estado 208, 30 April 1613.

way back to Spain, via Toulouse from Tunis. They disguised themselves as Spaniards and Frenchmen and laughed at being afraid of returning to Spain. Don Íñigo asked Pérez if he knew any other Moriscos who were living in Spain. He said "Yes," but that he would not help identify them because they were good Christians.

He was of the opinion that they had done the right thing and he thought that those who had stayed just to stay were Christians and good Catholics, and that those who had stayed to do business in North Africa were traitors and he would uncover them willingly.⁶²

Juan was also encouraged to go to Tunis and spy, but he refused out of great fear. He preferred to join the army in Milan and die as a soldier rather than risk his life in Tunis. In addition, Don Íñigo informed the court about a Morisco who lived in Saint Jean de Luz on the French border who was very wealthy. This man carried out his business between Spain and Tunis, but never entered Spain.

Many Moriscos who returned found it easy to blend back into society. City officials wrote about this problem, explaining that Moriscos were difficult to identify in a mobile and urban society. Pedro de Arriola in Málaga informed the King that he thought many Moriscos had returned from North Africa to his city and because they were so *ladino* and lived in areas where they were not known they were able to escape detection. He believed that the returnees were mostly from Andalusia and Granada and coming back on French ships. He based this assumption on the fact that in these migrant neighborhoods he had not seen a sign of *tocino*, pork fat, or even a glass of wine, both forbidden by Islamic law.⁶³ Similarly, the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, Viceroy in Portugal during the Expulsion, wrote about the Moriscos who had taken refuge in Lisbon, pretending to be Old Christians. Lisbon was such a large place that Moriscos who were so *ladinos* [fluent in Spanish or Portuguese] could only be discovered with great difficulty. He believed that many Moriscos from Extremadura had escaped to Portugal.⁶⁴ In both these reports, we cannot know

62 AGS, Estado K 1464 A. "Era de opinión que habían hecho bien y entendía que los que se habían quedado por solo quedarse que eran cristianos y buenos católicos, que los que se habían quedado por tratar en Berbería eran traidores, que los descubría esos de muy buena gana." See also Gregorio Marañón, *Expulsión y Diáspora de los Moriscos Españoles*, Madrid, 2004, Apéndice III, 115–117. Juan Pérez de Castillo, 56 or 58 years old in 1611, was born in Archidona. His wife was Isabel Díaz. He had five children, Francisco, Beatriz, Catalina, Mariana and Gerónima.

63 AGS, Estado 226, 22 November 1610.

64 AGS, Estado 2641, f. 211, 24 October 1611.

for certain that Moriscos actually had returned to live in Málaga or Lisbon. However, the informers worried about the Moriscos' ability to speak, act and be so much like the other inhabitants of towns and cities.

In later generations, periodic trials and fears that pockets of secret Muslims still remained motivated reports and counter reports about Moriscos who had returned. In 1634, Pedro Fajardo-Zúñiga-Requesens y Pimentel, the fifth Marquis of los Vélez, wrote about the Moriscos of Ricote. He drew from a report written eight years earlier in 1626 by a royal secretary, Geronimo de Medinilla. Los Vélez also drew his facts from the papers of his own father, the fourth Marquis of los Vélez, who had himself supervised the Expulsion from Murcia. The fifth Marquis explained that all the Granadan Moriscos left Ricote and went to North Africa. The Count of Salazar came with further orders to expel the Mudejar Moriscos, who mostly went to Italy and France. Salazar had been so thorough in his enforcement of the decree that Old Christians who lived in the same villages had to petition him to have their status recognised because many of them had inter-married with Moriscos. Many of those who had been expelled returned. Salazar captured some and sentenced them to the galleys. However, in 1626, with the payment of the *millones*, Philip IV agreed that there would be no more prosecutions against the Mudejar Moriscos who returned. Since then they had lived in peace, not committing terrible crimes or scandals. Los Vélez believed that they were good Christians. More importantly, the Marquis excoriated Medinilla's report which held that the Moriscos of Ricote corresponded with Moriscos in Algeria. Vélez argued that they were only carrying out regular business with the Moriscos from Ricote who had moved there legitimately.⁶⁵

Even into the eighteenth century, visitors looked for Muslim clues, reinforcing their assumptions of Spanish culture. Henry Swinburne, an eighteenth-century English Catholic traveller, wrote up his opinion of remaining "Moors" in the kingdom of Granada. While visiting Granada in 1774–1775, he heard that 360 families had been accused of secret "Mohammadism" in 1726 and that the Inquisition had confiscated 12 million crowns. While visiting the village of Darro, near Guadix, he believed he had found descendants of Moriscos because they were distinguished by "plump faces, small bright eyes, little noses and projecting under jaws." He also explained that they were "extremely humble and smooth-tongued." He saw vestiges of Moorish manners and culture because they "bathe in the summer or after plentiful harvests or when receiving good news they yell and scream tremendously."⁶⁶ Swinburne and other

65 AGS, Estado 2653, 17 October 1634.

66 Henry Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain in the Years 1775 and 1776*, London, 1779, 168–170.

Romantics saw Muslim influence in rather unsensible ways and we need not accept their hindsight reports. Yet there is no doubt that some Moriscos stayed and others returned.

Conclusion

Bernard Vincent warns that great caution should be exercised in estimating the number of Moriscos who stayed or returned after 1609.⁶⁷ Those who remained in Spain after 1614 were not representative of the Moriscos as a whole. Lapeyre in 1959 assumed, on the basis of Inquisition records of the 1590s and early 1600s, that the numbers were very small. Indeed, he wrote that “the expulsion was carried out with such efficiency and exactness that from this point of view, the expulsion of the Moriscos does not seem the act of a decadent state.”⁶⁸ The Expulsion was the act of a still-powerful Hispanic monarchy, but we mistakenly depict the Early Modern state as too efficient, powerful or tyrannical if we overlook the individuals and circumstances of local areas where Moriscos did stay and did return. Moriscos outside the Peninsula became the agents of continued Morisco identity and history, in Morocco, Tunis, Algiers or Istanbul. Nevertheless, the Moriscos who stayed in their homes or returned after being expelled no longer carried national burdens of difference, much less Muslim identity, and their presence testified to local arrangements and associations that remind us of a less-than- hegemonic Spain. The Hispanic Monarchy was a composite state where Moriscos were part of “the competing aspirations towards unity and diversity that have remained a constant of European history.”⁶⁹

67 Bernard Vincent, in conference, 3 September 2009, “tener mucha cautela.”

68 Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de L'Espagne Morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN), 1959, 213. Spanish translation 2009, 228: “Desde ese punto de vista la expulsión de los moriscos no parece la realización de un estado en decadencia.”

69 See the J.H. Elliott's chapter “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” in *Spain, Europe & the wider world, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2009, 24.

PART 2

The Morisco Diaspora



The Moriscos Outside Spain

Routes and Financing

Jorge Gil Herrera and Luis F. Bernabé Pons

It is starting to become a commonplace to talk of the imbalance which exists between the bibliography on the Moriscos in Spain and the studies devoted to their fortunes outside the Iberian Peninsula. The existence of an extensive bibliography on the Moriscos in their country of origin is certainly undeniable. However, it is also true that a certain amount of work on the Moriscos outside Spain has now been done, especially for the period after the General Expulsion of 1609–1614. Even if we admit that many puzzles have yet to be solved and many themes to be analyzed, it can be said that there is now good scholarly coverage of the Moriscos who went to Tunisia and Morocco. The situation in Algeria and Turkey is still in need of specialized work; for other areas such as Libya, Egypt etc, a certain number of articles exist but a very great deal remains to be done.¹

A recent article in the journal *Al-Qanṭara* on the passage through France of various Moriscos who eventually reached Tunisia,² forces us to recognize that we still know very little about the movements of Moriscos in the period between their expulsion from Spain and their settlement in various new areas. The article covers certain organisational peculiarities of the Moriscos in France immediately after 1609, but our lack of knowledge becomes especially significant if we widen the chronological net to include Morisco departures over the course of the sixteenth century.

The Moriscos were retained in their places of origin or residence by certain regulations, and this led many of them to feel the urge to flee over a period which lasted until the time of their definitive expulsion from Spain. But the Moriscos had nonetheless been leaving Spain throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For the whole of the period there often existed a kind of parallel reality, involving an exchange of news, messages, plans or people between Spain and places like Algiers, where thousands of Moriscos were

1 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “Las emigraciones moriscas al Magreb: balance bibliográfico y perspectivas,” in *Relaciones Hispano-Marroquíes: Una Vecindad en Construcción* (Madrid: Ediciones de Oriente y Mediterráneo), 2006, 63–100.

2 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “Notas para la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29–2 (2008), 307–332.

residing by the mid-sixteenth century. However, beyond individual items of information, generally concerning the embarking of Moriscos on Berber ships, certain departures noted by the authorities, a number of intercepted epistolary correspondences or the biography of some individuals such as Aḥmad al-Ḥaġarī or Ahmed Bejarano,³ all that we know for certain is that such departures continually occurred. Why and how they happened are questions which have yet to be fully researched.

The pages that follow will try to present a number of general research avenues concerning the departure of Moriscos from Spain before and after the General Expulsions decreed by Philip III. They will do this by examining a series of cases, some of them well-known and others much less familiar. These cases form part of a much wider research effort aimed at studying the process of gradual Morisco departure from Spain throughout the sixteenth century, the mere outlining of which would take us far beyond the limits of this chapter. Although throughout the century we find a series of individual and collective departures which display a wide range of features, interests and fortunes, this range seems to have reached its greatest extent in the thirty years between 1590 and 1620, and was of course crowned by the general banishment of 1609–1614. In the years immediately before 1609 the Pyrenees became a huge passageway towards France for the large number of Moriscos who were able to pay for the journey, which necessarily required the employment of an expert guide. It is also the case that during the great wave of banished Moriscos who travelled northwards after 1610, people and wealth took separate paths. It will, further, be seen that a series of Moriscos who had previously gone to France were able to settle there and play a bridging role in the organization and financing of the movements of their expelled coreligionists.

The Passage of Persons

Tens of thousands of Valencian Moriscos left Spain from the Mediterranean ports, but the other main route for fleeing Moriscos was through France. Crossing the border over the Pyrenees was the natural path for the Aragonese Moriscos who wanted to emigrate to Islamic territories and it was also used from the mid-sixteenth century onwards by groups of Valencian and Granadan Moriscos. The final destination of most of these Moriscos was Istanbul.

3 Pieter S. Van Koningsveld, Qâsim Al-Samarrai, Gerard A. Wieggers, eds, *Aḥmad ibn Qâsim al-Ḥaġarī (d. after 1640). Kitâb Nâsir al-Dîn 'ala 'l-qawm al-kâfirîn (The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidel)* (Madrid: CSIC-Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional), 1997.

Before the General Expulsion, the Moriscos had three possibilities once they had crossed the Pyrenees. The first was to travel to Saint Jean de Luz on the Atlantic coast and to sail from there to Morocco. The second was to head for one of the Mediterranean ports (often Marseille) in order to make their way towards North Africa, usually with the intention of settling in Algiers or Tunis. The third was to travel overland to Venice and from there go on to Constantinople.

The most frequently chosen of these routes was the one which looks the longest if the final intention was to settle in North Africa. This route was taken for reasons of safety. Leaving Spain and travelling directly to a Muslim country meant severe punishments for those who were intercepted trying to do so, and this made the route through France more attractive, since those who went that way were not committing an apparent crime. This route therefore saw, from the first years of the seventeenth century, and especially in the three years before the Expulsion,⁴ the last great wave of fleeing Moriscos. It became the route most frequently used by Moriscos fleeing the Iberian Peninsula, regardless of their origin or final destination.

The route to Saint Jean de Luz was first used in the 1550s, especially by *judeoconversos* [descendants of Jewish converts to Christianity] fleeing the Peninsula. There are numerous recorded cases throughout the century of such *judeoconversos* trying to make clandestine crossings into south-west France, where by the end of the century they had a significant colony in control of trade and contraband in the region. The case of Salvador Alvarez, a "Portuguese" from Bayonne and resident in Seville who was accused at some time before 1571 of "passing Jews from Portugal and Castile into France and Italy,"⁵ provides a good example of how the networks must have worked.

The Moriscos started to use this same route just before the Expulsion and during the years that it lasted, and in doing so they took advantage of the existing infrastructure of the *judeoconverso* colony. In 1612, the Morisco spy Gabriel Carmona Venegas⁶ wrote an *aviso* on the state of affairs in France. In it he said that one Antonio López and his family possessed a building in Madrid which

4 AGS, Guerra Antigua, Leg. 721. Proof of the mass exodus is provided by the reply made by the *corregidor* of Toledo to Philip III on 4 October 1608, in which he told the king that of the 1747 Morisco inhabitants recorded as living in Toledo in 1598, 762 were now missing.

5 BA, 49-IV-26 n° 24. This auto de fe of the Seville Inquisition is undated, but it contains various elements which enable us to date it before the arrival of the Granadan Moriscos.

6 Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, "Un espía morisco al servicio de Felipe III," *Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: 30 años de Mudejarismo, memoria y futuro (1975-2005)* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses), 2007, 155-168.

housed the “spies” who helped Moriscos to escape and take their capital with them. This same Antonio López, from the town of Ágreda (described by Carmona as a “cave of Moriscos and Jews”), “was in France four years before Your Majesty published the laws against the Moriscos, moving the households of the very wealthy Moriscos who lived in Baeza, and he took a very great amount of wealth over to France in a hidden fashion, and he was himself one of those who took money there.” His father Juan López “took over twenty-six thousand gold escudos belonging to a Morisco from Ávila called Diego de Oficieros...and from another from Toledo called Rodrigo Salcedo, who was at court,” he took ten thousand escudos. He also wrote that the wealthiest Moriscos and their money from “Ávila, Pastrana, Toledo, Baeza, Ocaña and many other places...”⁷ had been taken to France. We will return later to other interesting items of information recorded by this important Morisco spy.

As has been said, once they arrived in south-west France the Moriscos could embark in the port of La Rochelle if their intended destination was Morocco or go towards the ports of the Mediterranean if they wanted to head for Tunis or Algiers. It was also possible to travel directly to Marseille from Aragón. When it became too dangerous to depart from the eastern coasts, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Moriscos started to opt for crossing the border across the Pyrenees through the mountains of Aragón. The first reports of such movements came in 1602, when Juan Vivas, Spanish ambassador in Genoa, wrote to the king (3 September) to inform him that he had heard from Marseille “that Moriscos from Valencia and Catalonia go there in order to go on and meet in Algiers, so that all the community can be found in that town.”⁸ The next report on record dates from the period of the last wave of Morisco departures before the Expulsion, and in this case was written by the Duke of Escalona. The Duke wrote from Sicily on 4 January 1608 to tell the king that he had been warned from Tunis “that at the start of last December there had arrived at that port a French ship carrying more than 150 Moriscos from Valencia and Alicante, and that same ship was waiting there to go back for another 300 whom it had been arranged to bring on another journey, and I thought I ought to warn Your Majesty so that You could give the orders deemed necessary for the observation and safety of those waters.”⁹ On 13 March he wrote again to say that

7 AGS, Estado, Leg. 245 doc. 51–53. See also the contribution to this volume by Mercedes García-Arenal.

8 AGS, Estado, Leg. 1431 doc. 207: “que allí acuden moriscos de Valencia i Cataluña para yrse i corresponderse en Argel como lo hazen, allando en aquella villa toda la comunidad.”

9 AGS, Estado, Leg. 1163 doc. 3: “que a los principios de diciembre pasado avía llegado en aquel puerto un vaxel francés en que vinieron más de ciento i cincuenta moriscos de la parte de

Moriscos were continuing to arrive in France and “not only from the kingdom of Valencia but also from Aragón and those Granadans who are spread out across Castile. I humbly beseech Your Majesty to bring an end to this because the inconvenience grows daily.” The same information also reached the *Comendador Mayor* of León in his correspondence of 13 March with Juan Vivas, the Spanish ambassador in Venice. The *Comendador* suggested that a reply be sent to Vivas, and that if the Moriscos were to go to Venice, orders should be given to arrest them “saying that it is on account of secret matters in the service of Your Majesty.”¹⁰

On 29 March 1608 the Council of Portugal sent on information from an eyewitness who had seen the disembarkment of Moriscos in North Africa: “When I was being held captive in Tunis a French ship arrived whose captain was called Francisco Casacho and it carried more than 200 men, women and children; I myself embarked on that same ship for France, and after arriving I saw the departure of another English ship full with more than 250 or 300 Moriscos destined for Tunis and I also heard that more than 400 or 500 Moriscos had crossed the border from Aragón to France and were waiting for a ship to take them away.” This witness also said that the Moriscos took all their money with them and that in the ports from which they left for France they were allowed to pass “in exchange for money.”¹¹ He also seems to denounce the fact that a Morisco infrastructure had been set up in Marseille. The anonymous witness reported that in Marseille a certain Morisco, by the name of Age Abreim, had reached an arrangement with the French authorities to allow Moriscos to enter the country and leave from there for Barbary.¹²

It can be seen, then, that in the years before the Expulsion there were already a number of Moriscos living in Marseille and the south of France who had

Valencia i Alicante y que el mismo baxel se quedava previniendo para volver por otros trescientos que dexó concertados de traer en otro viage, de que me ha parecido avisar a Vmg para que se sirva de dar las órdenes que le parecieren necesarias en la guardia i seguridad de aquellas costas.”

- 10 AGS, Estado, Leg. 2025 doc. 98. This may have been exactly the same group of Moriscos, since the information given on them is remarkably similar: “En carta de 13 de marzo escribí a V.m.d., el embajador de Don Juan de Vivas que aquellos días avian continuado a yr moriscos de España a Francia, y no son sólo del Reyno de Valencia sino también de Aragón y Granada, de los que están esparcidos por Castilla, y le parece se debe poner remedio antes que crezca más el ynconveniente.”
- 11 The *aljamiado* manuscript 774 of the Bibliothèque National de France recommends: “En Jaka manifestaréis el oro” [You will show them your gold in Jaka/Jaca].
- 12 RAH, ms. 9/6436. Cited by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1985, 178.

relations with the local authorities and whose aim was to help the recently arrived travel on to their final destinations.

In order to cross the mountain passes of the Pyrenees a certain infrastructure was needed; the Moriscos also required someone on the other side of the border to show them which way to go. At the very least, the fleeing Moriscos needed directions and a map indicating the route to follow once they had arrived in France. All of this is confirmed by two cases of which we have some knowledge.

The first of these cases concerns the capture of an Aragonese Morisco who worked as a guide for a group of Moriscos from Villafeliche. A guide or *pasador* was absolutely vital for all those who wanted to cross the Pyrenees.¹³ The *Maestre de Campo* of Jaca informed the king that Francisco Monje, the group's guide, had been arrested because "there were great suspicions because some persons had seen him at different times in that kingdom" and because when first captured he had denied his Morisco origins.¹⁴

In his declaration Francisco Monje said that he was an inhabitant of Villafeliche and was a shoemaker aged about sixty. He said that he had left very early in the morning with Jerónimo Rubio, who can perhaps be identified with Mohamed Rubio, the owner and no doubt sponsor of manuscript D 565 held at the Library of the University of Bologna.¹⁵ After a journey of fourteen leagues they arrived at a village "the name of which he could not remember and they were joined by another three Moriscos, Diego Calvo, Carlos Munta and Juan de Villanueva."¹⁶ When they reached Pamplona, Juan de Villanueva went on as far as the town of Maya and bribed the officer at the garrison there to allow them to cross the border. Once the arrangements had been made, Juan de Villanueva

13 AGS, Guerra y Marina, Leg. 721. The arrest was made by chance: the *Maestre de Campo* of Jaca, who had him detained, was on the trail of four spies, one of them a Valencian, two Moriscos and another French.

14 AGS, Guerra y Marina, Leg. 706.

15 See, on the manuscript, Juan Penella, "Introduction au manuscrit D.565 de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Bologne," in *Études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid-Tunis: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales – Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura), 1973, 258–263; José F. Cutillas Ferrer, *Crónica y relación de la esclarecida descendencia Xarifa (Un maqal chií en castellano escrito por un morisco exiliado del siglo XVII)* (Alicante: Universidad), 1999; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "El Qadi Iyad en la literatura aljamiado-morisca," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998), 201–218.

16 One *legua* or league is the distance covered in an hour by a man on foot or horse. A Castilian *legua* is about 5.8 kilometres. That is to say, the town must have been some 80 kilometres from Villafeliche.

sent a Frenchman who was in the town to pick up the rest of the group. The bribe of 10 escudos for the garrison officer and one for each of the soldiers was paid by Jerónimo Rubio, chief organizer of the operation. It seems reasonable to conclude that bribery must have been a common practice.

Francisco Monje confessed that they reached the town of Maya on the day of St. Lazarus, and from there went on to Oloron, where they “stayed at the inn of Cortaga’s widow.” Days later he returned to Spain with Diego Calvo and Juan de Villanueva, who collected their respective families and that of Jerónimo Rubio. They then went back once more to Maya, where they again paid the necessary toll to continue their journey. In Oloron they met with Jerónimo Rubio, and the following day went on to Toulouse, with the exception of Francisco Monje, who was arrested on his way back to Villafeliche, close to the Tower of Espelunca, in mid-April 1608.

The routes and stopping-points mentioned by these Moriscos are the same as those detailed in the *aljamiado* document mentioned above, i.e. number 774 in the Bibliothèque National collection, which includes an itinerary for travelling to Istanbul from the Pyrenees.¹⁷ Not only does this *aljamiado* text provide the potential traveller with an itinerary from Jaca to Estambul via Venice, it also gives a series of practical tips for passing unnoticed along the route. Luce López-Baralt has dated the text earlier than 1556, a judgement based on internal evidence given that in one part of the manuscript the traveller is warned against passing through Milan, described as one of the “lands of the emperor.”

Among the belongings confiscated from José Monje were the following: “Morisco coins of the size of a *real* with two holes on the sides, three sealed letters, two bulls from this year’s crusade, and two passports from His Holiness’s nuncio, one of which stated that Juan Villanueva and his wife were going to Rome, and the other for Carlos Munta, and of the three letters one was for Domingo Gomes, a notary from Villafeliche, and two for Calatayud inscribed: one for my brother-in-law may God save him in Calatayud and the other for my father and sisters may God save them in Calatayud.”

After being tortured, Monje confessed that the “billets and bulls were for two brothers called Lope de Munta and Juan de Munta, inhabitants of Villafeliche,” and that it was Juan Villanueva, Lope de Munta’s father-in-law, who had given them to him. He had also been instructed to tell the senders of

17 Luce López-Baralt and Awilda Irizarry, “Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI (Los manuscritos aljamiados 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París y T-16 de la Real Academia de la Historia),” in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Oviedo-Madrid: Universidad-Gredos), 1985, II: 547–582; see also Joseph Lincoln, “An itinerary for Morisco refugees from 16th century Spain,” *Geographical Review* 129 (1939), 283–487.

the letters that Rubio and the others were waiting for them in Toulouse. José Monje would again have been the man entrusted with taking them to the French city.

The second of the cases to be presented here reveals the existence of a more complex network which made it possible to organize the clandestine departures of Moriscos from various different parts of the Peninsula. In October 1608 the Archbishop of Zaragoza again wrote to Philip III to inform him of fresh arrests of Moriscos who had tried to cross the border into France. In this case the guide and the group he accompanied were all captured and held at the Castle of Santa Elena. Another group of Moriscos who were waiting for the guide at a meeting-point in a *mesón* or inn were also arrested by the Inquisition.

According to the chief officer at the Torre de Santa Elena, who had supervised the arrest of these Moriscos, "there came to that Tower a certain number of ailing Moriscos with the aim of going to heal themselves in some baths known as Aguas Cautas, which are five or six leagues from the Tower by the entrance to Gascony and where many people from the kingdom, both men and women, often go to be healed." A few days later other Moriscos came back from the direction of the baths accompanied by the same guide, Francisco Ortal, who "pretended to be a servant of the Marquis of Caracena."¹⁸ A week later the officer received news, via a French carrier, that the said Ortal was helping Moriscos from one side of the border to the other, and that he had at that time just taken a group to Coarrazze¹⁹ whose leader was called Diego Picado de Labuelas.²⁰ The next time Ortal passed by he was arrested. Interrogations revealed that the Mesón del Ángel inn in Zaragoza was the meeting-point established by the guide and the Morisco families who wanted to cross the border. According to a statement made by Francisco Ortal, the first time he had taken Moriscos over to France had been in August 1607, and he had since done

18 Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión. Estudio histórico-crítico* (Granada: Universidad), 1992, II: 490–491.

19 López-Baralt and Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios." A few kilometres from Pau, and mentioned in the *aljamiado* document 711 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

20 AGS, Guerra Antigua, Leg. 721. After the rumpus caused by the arrest of Francisco Monje, as we will see, the officer answered cautiously and told the French messenger "que los naturales del reino pueden pasar a Francia cuando quieran siempre y cuando no vayan a caballo ni lleven mercancías prohibidas [that natives of the realm can cross over into France whenever they want, if they are not on horseback and do not carry forbidden merchandise with them]" By the time Francisco Ortal crossed the border again on 4 October 1608, the Monje case was in the hands of the Inquisition, and the first alarm bells had started to ring concerning the excessive number of Moriscos who were crossing the border. This made his arrest almost inevitable.

the same on several occasions. He added that the group he was accompanying when he had been arrested had told him that if everything went well he was to return to the inn to collect other families, because there were “four or five other households ready to move to France.” These families were from Seville and Jerez de la Frontera.²¹

It was also discovered that one of the Moriscos who had gone into France the first time that Francisco Ortal had accompanied them over the border was from Ocaña and that he had since returned to Spain to collect his wealth. The description Ortal gave of this Morisco, whose name was Luis Muñoz, enabled the officer of the tower to send men out to make his arrest, since Muñoz was “easily recognisable by his marks and how remarkably ugly he was.” Muñoz was found to be carrying 30,000 *reales*, a very considerable amount of money which undoubtedly represented the wealth of several different families.

The Passage of Money

The series of general expulsions of Moriscos which began in 1609 was to test all of the Moriscos' survival strategies in the early seventeenth century. The expulsions also led to attempts to save whatever they could, since the royal commands, in spite of an initial period of tolerance, eventually forbade Moriscos from taking money and material goods out of Spain. These strict prohibitions – and the frequently dishonourable actions to which they gave rise – lay behind the well-known images of thousands of Moriscos arriving in northern Africa and France with little more than the clothes they stood up in, and having to depend on the charity of wealthier Moriscos or the goodwill of local authorities. However, the complete picture was actually more complex. The Spanish authorities had a certain interest in promoting such images as a way of showing the divine punishments handed out to the Moriscos for their treasonable behaviour and lack of piety. There were numerous cases of Moriscos who not

21 Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, II: 491. The captured group was made up of two men, three women and two children. The men were called Andrés and Diego de Castro and according to their declarations, Francisco Ortal himself had gone to Madrid to tell them about the healing powers of the *aguas cautas*, and this was the reason why they decided to go to France. Whatever the truth of this, the network seems to have been fully operational by the time this group of Moriscos was captured, for the news had reached various parts of the Peninsula. Two of the Morisco households expected in the Mesón del Ángel at the time that the arrests were made came from Jerez de la Frontera and Seville, which again shows how swiftly information flowed among the elites of the different Morisco communities.

only managed to get away with their lives and wealth, but even managed to thrive in their new lives outside Spain. Cases like those of the aforementioned Ahmed Bejarano, who was part of the inner circle around the sultan Muley Zaydān, or the adviser to Richelieu, the Aragonese Alonso López,²² or Mustafá de Cárdenas from Jaén,²³ the great landowner and slave-trader in Tunis, disprove the long-lived idea that all was dark and sombre, although it has to be recognized that the stories of these lives were barely known in Spain.

It seems common sense to suppose that the wealthiest Moriscos must have tried and in many cases managed to safeguard their monetary goods from rapacious Christians, and this is supported by a great deal of evidence. To cite just one fairly well-known case, the forty Granadan Morisco merchants who were assaulted in January 1610 during a sea voyage to Tunis by the ship's captain Anthoron Estienne denounced to the French consul that they had been robbed of no less than one hundred thousand gold escudos, an amount which seems to indicate that their outward journey was intended to be a definitive one.²⁴ There are very many references in the records to attempts to smuggle such sums of money out of Spain.

Recent studies have highlighted the importance in the flight of Morisco capital of collaboration with Portuguese *judeoconversos* who had settled in Spain and France. According to a number of the king's spies based in the south of France, the *judeoconversos* collected their money and jewels from Castilian Moriscos, who were persuaded that it would otherwise be confiscated from them by the authorities at mountain passes or stopping-places such as Burgos. Once they had the capital, the *portugueses* would take it to Irún, from where agents would transport it to France and hand it on to other *judeoconversos*, who in turn delivered it to the original Morisco owners. In exchange for a substantial commission, which ranged from 20% to 40%, the *portugueses* were able to safeguard Morisco money through use of their extensive network of commercial relations.

This sort of collaboration generally worked to the satisfaction of both sides, although on occasions the agent entrusted with the task of taking the capital to France did not keep his word and succumbed to the temptation of keeping the

22 Robert Sauzet, "Alonso Lopez, procureur des Morisques aragonais et agent de Richelieu (1582–1649)," in *Actes du IIe Congrès International sur: Chrétiens et Musulmans à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi), 1997, 213–219.

23 John D. Latham, "Mustafá de Cárdenas et l'apport des morisques à la société tunisienne du XVIII^e siècle," in *Études sur les Morisques Andalous* (Tunis: Ministère des affaires culturelles), 1983, 157–178.

24 Louis Cardaillac, "Procès pour abus contre les morisques en Languedoc," in *Études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, 103–113.

money for himself. Such was the case, for example, of the famous *judeoconverso* contractor Juan Núñez Saravia,²⁵ who promised to hand over in Saint Jean de Luz 100,000 ducats made up of gold doubloons, jewels and pearls belonging to Moriscos from Madrid, Toledo, Guadalajara, Ávila and Pastrana but who kept everything for himself when the time came. Those who were affected by this action reclaimed the money from Saravia's father and brothers, as well as his Morisco guarantor, Francisco de Valencia, and in the first instance they managed to negotiate the return of 50,000 ducats.²⁶ The same occurred in the case of Fernando Gómez Lobo, a resident in Madrid who was also to be taken to court by Moriscos in the year of the Expulsion, no doubt because he had kept for himself the goods they had entrusted to him to be returned in Saint Jean de Luz. In addition to all this, some attempts to transport goods ended in failure: this is what occurred to Francisco Toledano, a Morisco from the Puerta Cerrada area of Madrid, whose capital and that of other companions, up to a total value of 18,000 ducats, was seized by the authorities in Navarre.

Juan Núñez Saravia and Fernando Gómez Lobo were also involved (this was the reason why they were under the observation of government spies) in the large network created by a group of *judeoconvertos* to introduce fake *vellón* coinage into Spain which was then exchanged for silver *reales*. Between 1606 and 1619 this network succeeded in moving no less than 39 million false ducats into Castile over the border from France, and to this must be added the sums brought into the country through the ports of Andalusia, Valencia and Barcelona. The situation was denounced to the authorities by a former member of the network, the *judeoconverso* merchant Bartolomé Méndez Trancoso, and confirmed by two spies in the pay of Philip III, the English trader Jorge Coton (George Cotton) and the Morisco from La Mancha Gabriel Carmona Venegas, who also passed on information about the leading Moriscos who played an important role in the lives of the exiles in France.²⁷ These three men all fell victim to the enmity felt towards them by the *judeoconvertos* at court, and the harsh fates they endured – the Englishman was murdered and the other two were pursued by the forces of justice – show the power and influence of the network involved.

25 On Saravia, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "El proceso inquisitorial de Juan Núñez Saravia," *Hispania* 61 (1955), 559–581; Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, *La minoría judeoconversa en la época del Conde Duque de Olivares: auge y ocaso de Juan Núñez Saravia (1585–1639)*. PhD diss, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2004.

26 Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, "Contrabando, moneda y espionaje (el negocio del vellón: 1606–1620)," *Hispania* 57/3, 197 (1997), 1081–1105.

27 See the documentary appendix for Gabriel Carmona's letter warning about the activities of these Moriscos.

The network of traffickers used a series of routes which had proven to be the safest ways to get money out of Spain and, conversely, to bring forged coinage into Castile. This network mainly operated through the Basque maritime ports (Deva, Zumaya, Guetaria, Fuenterrabía, among others) to export both legal and illegal merchandise. In general the land routes were determined by the location of the customs guards placed at the various passes. One of the most important routes went through Navarre: numerous references allude to Pamplona as a way-stage where all manner of traffickers would spend the night, and the town therefore possessed a receiving infrastructure of some importance. From there the travellers entered into contact with their connections in France and moved on towards the south-west of that country, especially Bastide, Saint Jean de Luz, Bayonne and Biarritz. Infrequently used roads were placed under special surveillance, including the one leading to and from San Salvador de Urdax, which was watched over by the monks of the local monastery, acting under the direct instructions of the authorities.²⁸

Moriscos also played an active role in this wave of clandestine flight of capital, and especially in the process of smuggling false currency into Spain from France. Méndez Trancoso spoke in his testimony of certain Moriscos (his own servants, Luis and Probencio; the muleteer Alonso Moreno; Almazán, a Morisco from Guadalajara who was a servant of the Duke of Infantado) who had taken part in clandestine journeys.²⁹ For his part, the spy Lorenzo Suárez was to offer in his reports a full list of the *portugueses* who were removing money from Castile and he further warned the authorities that many expelled Moriscos returned to Spain via Fuenterrabía to collect money they had left hidden in the country. These Moriscos were able to return because they possessed certain documents bearing the forged signature of the Count of Salazar produced by a Morisco from Almagro. This was by no means the only case involving the forgery of safe-conducts.³⁰

By considering these means of moving capital it becomes possible to start tackling a subject which, as far as we know, has hardly been dealt with by historians, i.e. the issue of how much money and wealth the Moriscos managed to take out of Spain and use beyond its borders. This is a subject which needs to be studied within the context of the Moriscos' relations with the authorities who helped them in their new places of settlement and that of the social and economic success which some Morisco figures managed to enjoy in their final destinations. It is also necessary to place this subject in the context of the

28 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 62, exp. 5, fol. 244v.

29 Ibid. fol. 144v.

30 Bernabé Pons, "Notas," 310.

international relations which the Moriscos managed to establish and the extent of their influence within such relations as a Muslim minority.³¹

One of the most striking structural aspects of this theme of the Moriscos who left for France (and other places) with their wealth is that in the south of France they associated with figures of a very high social and economic standing in the years immediately before and after the Expulsion. By linking their own interests to those of the *judeoconversos* who had been settled in the country for some time, some Moriscos were able to set up an infrastructure of social and economic support for Moriscos which acted as a safety net for certain Moriscos of high standing.

Southern France during this period saw the appearance of names as well-known and as important in the history of the Moriscos as the member of the Chapiz family who acted as a depositor of Morisco capital in Toulouse; or the second husband of Cándida Compañero, the Granadan Alonso Muley, who according to the enraged words of Pedro Aznar Cardona had settled in Marseille by 1611, alongside his father-in-law Miguel Granada de Épila and the famous Doctor Calavera.³² Another Muley was to act as the official representative of dispossessed Moriscos at the French consulate in Tunis;³³ in the same way, the well-known Morisco Jerónimo Enríquez negotiated directly with Istanbul and France to control the destinies of many Moriscos. On the Aragonese side, apart from the intricate commercial networks built up by the Compañero/Zafar family, some of the leading names were those of Tristán Océn, Pedro Vivera or, as mentioned above, Alonso López, delegates of the Aragonese Moriscos or, in the case of the last of these men, an individual who enjoyed great success in Parisian circles of influence.

Others who coincided in the south of France as authorities among the Moriscos in the years after the Expulsion were those who years later were to rule the fates of the Morisco community in Tunis as “sheikhs of the Andalusians”: Luis Zapata (later recruited by the viceroy of Sicily as a spy and rescuer of

31 Leonard P. Harvey, “The Moriscos and their International Relations,” in *L'Expulsió dels Moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià. Congrés Internacional 380è Aniversari de l'Expulsió dels Moriscos* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 135–139.

32 Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos españoles y suma de las excelencias christianas de nuestro Rey Don Felipe el Catholico Tercero* (Huesca: Pedro Cabarte), 1612, II:53. Carmen Ansón, “Diego de Rojas y Alonso Muley Enríquez y Merín de Fez: ilustres esposos de Cándida Compañero,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 18 (2003–2007), 9–37.

33 Mikel de Epalza, “Moriscos y andalusíes en Túnez en el siglo XVII,” *Al-Andalus* 34–2 (1969), 247–327.

slaves) and Mustafá de Cárdenas, who under the name Diego appeared as organiser of the various transformations of the Moriscos gathered in France.

For the time being, the questions of how the Moriscos in France and Italy organised themselves before travelling to North Africa and the reasons why a particular series of individuals assumed positions of authority among them must belong to the realm of hypothesis. It is very likely that one of the reasons is a consequence of the very success of these networks: some of these Morisco representatives were men of noble birth or considerable wealth who had managed to hold on to their riches outside Spain. Given that figures like Cárdenas, from the great trading family from Baeza, or Zapata, have received more coverage, it may now be profitable to focus our attention on three other figures who are revealed by several sources to have been highly important for their ability to foresee the fate of the exiled Moriscos. These men certainly deserve to be studied in greater depth.

The first of these figures is Francisco de Valencia, identified by Spanish spies as a vital figure in his role as "general procurator" among the Moriscos abroad. Valencia was the guarantor of the Portuguese *judeoconversos* who removed their money from Spain, and Moriscos with complaints about such transactions addressed themselves to him. Valencia had very good relations with the sultan Muley Zaydán, whom he supported in the war against his own brothers, and he had important business dealings in trade between France and Morocco, where he was able to send ships laden with gunpowder, arms and munition. Valencia was a resident in both Morocco and Saint Jean de Luz, and a great deal of the money which the Moriscos of Castile took out of the country seems to have passed through his hands. He is constantly cited in the sources as one of the most influential and powerful men among the Moriscos in the French ports and the one to whom Moriscos turned whenever they were in need of assistance.

The second figure, Jerónimo Enríquez, is described in the sources which we have consulted as the "procurator general of the Moriscos." Born in what is now Mancha Real, he was living in both Bayonne and Marseille when the king's spies began to take notice of him. This Granadan Morisco seems to have had direct contacts with Istanbul and sultan Ahmet I, who was urged by Enríquez to assist the expelled Moriscos. Indeed, it seems to have been as a result of his initiative that the Ottoman authorities started to undertake the policy in France and Italy of attempting to safeguard the movements of Moriscos and of helping them to settle peacefully in Tunis. Sources point to him as the man responsible for directing the correspondence which the Moriscos remaining in Spain addressed to their coreligionists abroad, thereby turning himself into a figure of supreme authority for the Moriscos in France.

The third man, Manuel Enríquez, alias Mehemet Chelebi, a Morisco described as being from the kingdom of Granada or Murcia, may have been a member of a Granadan family settled in Murcia, like the famous Hispano-Tunisian Morisco Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi'. Chelebi lived in Venice and by engaging in business with "renegade merchants from Spain" there, was able to enter into contact with a large number of the Moriscos who passed through the city. Chelebi was constant in his efforts to arouse the expelled Moriscos, encouraging them to enrol in the Ottoman army and at the same time firing off invitations to the Turkish sultan to send ships to take the 80,000 Moriscos who had settled in Barbary back to Spain. The Spanish authorities attributed much significance to the activities of Chelebi/Enríquez: in 1610 Alonso de la Cueva made a bald proposal to the king, suggesting "getting rid of that man, which could be done easily by one of the means available there."³⁴

Of all those who concerned themselves with the fortunes of the Moriscos outside Spain, these three men seem to have played particularly important roles. Other names emerge from surviving records as being in charge of groups of Moriscos in Agde or Marseille, or carrying out specific tasks in their favour. But these three men all feature in the sources as figures of authority and special influence among the Moriscos, and in the cases of Valencia and Chelebi, it is easy to perceive a marked ill-will towards Spain which led the first to favour military interventions by Morocco and the second to lean towards the Turks. Unfortunately, it is not currently possible to offer much more information than that which can be gleaned more or less directly from the surviving sources. It is worth underlining, as in the case of Zapata and Cárdenas, that all three men were merchants and were therefore able to move easily in the commercial circuits of the Jews and *judeoconversos* as well as French, Dutch and Moroccan traders. In addition, at least two of the three belonged to Granadan families, like other figures mentioned in this article. Although we can do no more than imagine a family relation between the two Enríquez-s, it should be remembered that the large Granadan Enríquez family had huge power and influence in Spain throughout the sixteenth century.

Many of the extensive and powerful Granadan, Castilian and Aragonese Morisco families remained important after the exile. This may have been, firstly, a result of their ability to foresee a General Expulsion and anticipate its effects; in other cases it could have been down to their influence when it came to overcoming legal hurdles designed to prevent them removing their wealth from the country. Finally, others were able to design and develop

34 AGS, Estado, Leg. 1929, fol. 12 r.

infrastructures abroad which served as bridgeheads in times of trouble. The network of Spanish spies in southern France, which knew about many of their movements, informed of their activities in France and their travels towards North Africa and Istanbul, where many of the most powerful Moriscos seem to have directed themselves.³⁵

As we said earlier, the continual flow of Moriscos throughout the sixteenth century, which culminated in the mass exile of 1609–1615, built a kind of parallel reality into the circumstances of the Moriscos which has to be taken into account. Indeed, many of the Moriscos who were harried from Spain in 1609 ended up being harboured in the Maghreb by descendants of those Moriscos who had fled from the Peninsula years or decades earlier. Others, by contrast, had to fight for a place already conquered by Moriscos who had arrived before them. Many of those who had already left kept in touch with their places of origin, and in various parts of Spain the Moriscos were perfectly well informed about events in Algiers, or the well-being of relatives and friends living there. Some tried to return in clandestine fashion to collect what they had left behind or to re-settle as discreetly as possible; others returned aboard corsair ships to raid their former coasts and take more coreligionists with them; most tried to settle in their new countries as well as they could.

The exiled Moriscos suffered many vicissitudes, as do all those who are forced into exile, and in the case of those who had become New Christians we are beginning to learn something about some of the events which occurred. It was clearly not the same for a Morisco obliged to leave for Algiers with most of his neighbours one Mediterranean summer's evening as for another who already had trade dealings with France or Morocco. There was a huge difference in the kind of exile experienced by those bearing a surname like Muley or Enríquez and that suffered by others with a name like Barón. Some had money, influence and assistance outside Spain; others had to find ways of removing themselves from danger or of waiting until the authorities made decisions concerning their fate. Whatever their individual stories, the lives of the Moriscos did not come to a halt when they left Spain.

35 The spy Gabriel de Carmona mentions as one of the "powerful" Moriscos who had gone to settle in Istanbul a certain Luis de Valdivia from Valladolid, Francisco Toledano, Lasarte, the Bejaranos and some Moriscos from Pastrana. Aḥmad al-Ḥaḡarī gives more details in a letter to some of these Istanbul Moriscos, originally dated May 1612. See Jaime Oliver Asín, "Aḥmad al-Hayari Bejarano. Apuntes biográficos de un morisco notable residente en Marruecos," in *Conferencias y apuntes inéditos* (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional), 1996, 151–164.

Documents

*Archivo General de Simancas, Sección Estado, Leg. 627.*³⁶

“Lo que auisa Lorenzo Suárez, vezino desta villa de Madrid, por dos cartas que dél se ha reçeuido: sus fechas de San Juan de Lus de 23 de febrero de 1612 y de 15 de junio siguiente.

Dize que en França an cargado algunos navíos los moriscos hechando en ellos por lastre pólvora y plomo hecho balas y cañones de mosquetes, y que algunos dellos fueron hechos en España, los quales lleuaron gente granada de Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid, Pastrana, Salamanca y Valladolid, fletando para Venençia y de allí a Túnez y Costantinopla, donde ay notiçia que los reçien muy bien, y que tienen allí personas que procure (*sic*) sus comodidades; y destas partes tienen correspondençia con un Jerónimo Henríquez, procurador de los desta naçión, que asiste en Vayona, y con Francisco de Valençia, morisco que asiste en San Juan de Lus, y ellos con los que ay en estos Reynos de Castilla, para lo qual envían con libertad moriscos a las partes que se les ofreçe. Y de todo esto es causa el amparo que han tenido en los portugueses para pasar el dinero y joyas que han sacado de España ocultamente, de los quales auisa sus nombres y señas por la relaçión que va ynclusa en ésta.

Que por aquel puerto de San Juan de Lus y por Fuente Rauía se an buelto muchos moriscos, algunos con çédulas falsas que un Francisco el Gordo morisco, vezino de Almagro, les daua por preçio de trescientos reales falseando la firma del Conde de Salazar y de su secretario; y otros con la notiçia que tienen del poco rigor que las justiçias ordinarias usa con ellos, y en particular las de lugares de señoríos; algunos para quedarse en España, y otros para acauar de sacar el dinero que en ella dejaron escondido y en guarda donde eran naturales; y de algunos que tuuo notiçia donde yuan a biuir auisa que sean prendidos y castigados.

Que el dinero que han lleuado algunos portugueses lo entregauan a Martín Sabato de Olazábal, vezino de Yrún, en una cassa que tiene fuera de la villa; y della lo sacaua el dicho Sabato y lo entregaua y lleua con un primo suyo y sus hijos fuera del reyno a Antonio Méndez Cardoso y Francisco Núñez, personas diputadas por los portugueses para la entrega del dinero, oro y joyas que se sacaua del reyno ocultamente. Y quéjase de la Justicia y soldados de aquel puerto, del poco recato que tiene en las cosas del seruiçio de Su Majestad, y por esta causa sacan gran cantidad de moneda, assí de haziendas

36 Punctuation and use of accents have been modernised.

de moriscos como de portugueses, la qual lleuan a Turquía, de que se yncurren muchos daños.

Que el modo que tienen para sus correspondencias es enviar las cartas a San Juan de Luz a un Fauían Maroto morisco, que fue vezino de Áuila, y de allí las encamina al dicho Jerónimo Henríquez a Vayona, que sirven de procuradores de los desta naçión. Y el Jerónimo Henríquez las embía a Venençia a dos judíos que se llaman Habrahán Çacuto y Abrahán Muguión, que están en aquella çiudad consignados para estas correspondencias, y de allí las encaminan a Túnez y Costantinopla, y por el consiguiente vienen las respuestas y envían cartas a los que se an quedado en estos reynos para que auisen de todo lo que se trata y (¿?), por donde resulta daño.

Por una carta que se reciuó que hiua escripta su fecha de España de veynte y siete de enero de este año de seisçientos y doze, embiado a Francisco Toledano, vezino desta villa de Madrid, le auisa de ayer reçeuido dos cartas suyas y le pide le vaya auisando dónde va y que los espere, aquellos saldrán muy presto, y hivan siguiendo sus pasos de aquí a Marsella y de allí a Roma; y este lenguaxe de decir Roma se entiende a Costantinopla, por donde se presume hir todos a Beruería. Y dize que para que se borre la fama que ha corrido que el dicho Toledano y los Vejaranos y otros moriscos ricos se auían hido a Costantinopla, que escriua dos u tres cartas a amigos suyos puniendo la fecha de Marsella de Françia, porque aunque no han de perder ellos ni ganar, por la buena reputaçión de los que están litigando en la Junta.

Por carta de dos de agosto de 612 auisa el dicho Lorenzo Suárez ha un Fernán Franco que está de asiento aquí, que biue a la calle de San Luis, a ssido parte y él por su persona y Diego Gómez Ontenudo (¿) su padre para pasar mucha hazienda de moriscos vezinos de Pastrana y Áuila.

Y en la misma carta dize cómo han escrito de Costantinopla que han llegado aquella çiudad Francisco Toledano y los Vexaranos y Lasarte; llegaron muy prósperos y que en nombre de todos los desta naçión dieron petición el dicho Toledano y Luis de Valdivia y Gaspar de Raya y un Álvaro de Mendoza al Gran Turco sobre los agrauios de España y que les concedió todo lo que fue pedido en su petición, y esto auisaron a Gerónimo Enríquez, su procurador, que está en Marsella.

Lo que auisa Grauiel de Carmona morisco, vezino de las Çinco Villas de Campo de Calatrava, por carta de 13 de Julio de 1612.

Dize que sus padres y agüelos siruieron muchos años a la Corona de Castilla estando en el castillo de Briba, al tiempo de la rebelión, y algunos murieron allí y sirbiendo y peleando con los moriscos; y que deseando el continuar este

mismo camino, aunque después de ser espelido destes reynos con los demás de su naçión quiso pasar a servir a Flandes, y que en San Juan de Luz le detubo un morisco que se llama Francisco de Valençia y le persuadió que dejase aquella jornada y le dio quenta de que él era procurador general de los moriscos y los embarcaua para Túnez; que le ayudase y le pagaría muy bien; y juntamente con esto le dio quenta de que estaba cargando un navío de pólvora y plomo y alcabuzes y mosquetes para llevar a Berbería. Y él azetó ayudalle, pareçiéndole que por este camino podría hazer seruiçio a su Majestad, y luego fue a Fuenterrauía de noche y dio auiso al Maese de Campo Gonzalo de Luna y Mora para que le abise a su Majestad para que se procurase tomar este navío, y que él lo dispondría de manera que no lleuase soldados, y refiere que todo lo cumplió assí, aunque después no tubo efecto; y es çierto que dio este auiso en el Consejo de Guerra al Maese de Campo, y que no pudieron juntarse las fuerças para tomar este navío tan a tiempo como fueron neçesarias; y dize también que ofreció matar este Francisco de Valencia morisco que trataua de llevar armas a Túnez y de otras muchas cossas contra el seruiçio de su Majestad.

Auisa en esta última carta que todavía ay grandes tratos contra el seruiçio de Su Majestad y que an pasado muchos moriscos de los más poderosos a Costantinopla, donde an sido muy bien acogidos, y nombra un Luis de Balduia, natural de Valladolid, y dize que están otros de Pastrana que tienen correspondencia con Venençia y en muchos puertos de Francia y España. Y en Marsella tienen un morisco que se llama Jerónimo Enríquez, natural de la Manchuela de Xaén, que haze allí officio de su procurador y correspondiente; y éste envía las cartas a San Juan de Lus a los Valençias y a Faiuán de Ontiveros, de los antiguos de Áuila, los quales reparten las cartas y auisos por toda España con los correspondientes que tienen, particularmente Francisco Toledano y los demás autoridades que de Madrid y Guadalajara y Pastrana salieron y que para comunicarse mejor an hecho falsear la firma del Conde de Salazar y de su secretario, y la de los consejeros y alcaldes, con que libremente van por donde quieren, y bienen y ban de Berbería muchos cada día, y ahora ban aprestando otro nauío de armas como el pasado. Quéjase mucho de Juan de Arnaláez, correo mayor de Yrún, de lo que fauoreze esta jente por razón de unos judíos portugueses que son los que les an passado el dinero, y de quien se fian en todos sus tratos. Envía una carta en aráuigo que ba aquí traducida y otra de Jerónimo Henríquez que será bien ver a la letra.

AGS, *Estado 1494*

Doc. 15

Venecia. Don Alonso de la Cueva a 15 de octubre de 1610

En esta ciudad reside algunos años ha un Mehemet Chelebi, morisco del Reyno de Murcia,³⁷ que allá se llamaba Manuel Henríquez. A mucho tiempo que se hizo turco y atiende a factorías de mercaderes renegados de España que están en la Borna y otras partes sujetas al turco; y juntamente debe ser espía porque es muy plático, y profesa su secta y ser contrario al servicio de Vuesa Majestad con más veras que ninguno otro y agora a sido mucha parte para que vengan aquí muchos moriscos de los de Aragón y Castilla que aportaron a Italia, y los va persuadiendo que se vayan a Turquía como lo hacen, aunque la mayor parte dellos tenían intensión de quedarse, diciéndoles que se hagan soldados del turco para quitalle en la guerra contra Vuesa Majestad; y así mismo han venido y vienen a él todas las pólizas de cambio de dinero que sacan de España, que hasta agora me certifican que pasan de 200 mil ducados los que an passado por su mano. Éste a dicho a un amigo suyo que me ha avisado dello que los moriscos que fueron a Berbería y particularmente a Túnez y Argel en numero de mas de 80 mil hombres tratan de que los turcos les den baxeles en que pasar a España a hacer la guerra a Vuesa Majestad y recuperar según dicen sus tierras, presuponiendo que si desembarcasen una vez como piensan hacerlo fácilmente sería dificultosa la resistencia por ser grande la cantidad y gente desesperada del maltratamiento que dice han recibido; y aunque es cossa que trae consigo tantas dificultades, y parece más querer hacer demostración de mal ánimo que pensar que pueda tener effecto, me parecido dar cuenta dello a Vuesa Majestad considerando que ay cosa que no se pueda temer especialmente de gente que el despecho y la ignorancia les podría hacer arrojar a alguna resolución que, aunque desesperada, pusiese en peligro o por lo menos en cuydado los reynos de Vuesa Majestad. Es tan dañoso este Mehemet Chelebi contra nuestra Religión y al Servicio de Vuesa Majestad que tuviera por conveniente hacerle quitar de por medio, aviendo mucho en esta ciudad con que hacerlo sin que se entienda de más de que la Republica no tendría queja alguna dello; y no solamente entiendo que sería lícito, pero que se ganaría mucho con Dios por ser notorio de lesa Majestad Divina y humana y continuar en sus maldades con tanto fervor y diligencia como si importara la salvacion. Vuesa Majestad se servirá de mandar lo que mas fuere de su real servicio que guarde Dios a Vuesa Majestad.”

37 In the Simancas *legajo*, Estado 1929, in a summary of this letter, it is, however, stated that Enríquez/Chelebi was originally from the kingdom of Granada.

The Moriscos in France after the Expulsion

Notes for the History of a Minority

Youssef El Alaoui

The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain did not pass unnoticed among those living at the time, not only in Muslim countries¹ but also in Christian ones like France, which would come to play, very unwillingly, a secondary role in the tragedy.

Cardinal Richelieu, in his memoirs, mentions the event in the year 1610. In four pages he offers us the view of an outsider who, though he was not yet leading the country – he would become the all-powerful prime minister and favourite of Louis XIII from 1624 to 1642 – seems to have been very well informed and aware of the Moriscos' history (although he would inflate, like

1 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qanṭara* 29–2 (2008), 307–332, esp. 7–8. We can illustrate the concern of the Ottoman authorities for the fate of the exiled Moriscos with this description of an embarkation of Moriscos at Agde under the supervision of an Ottoman ambassador: "All these Moriscos are naturally sly, using all sorts of frauds, tricks and subversions: they put no trust in strangers and show little charity to one another. The Sieur d'Augier was well aware of this at Agde, where the largest embarkation took place. Hachy-Ybrahim Mutafaracca, the deputy ambassador of the Grand Turk in France, arrived there in early August to observe the conditions under which the said Moriscos were being deported; and having witnessed the embarkation of four thousand of them, and learned of the good treatment that they all had received from the officers of His Most Christian Majesty, he departed for Barbary to give orders for their reception there" ("Tous ces Morisques sont naturellement subtils, usans de toutes sortes de fraudes, de supercheries et trahisons: ils ne gardent point la foy aux estrangers, sont peu charitables entr'eux-mesmes: ce que le sieur d'Augier reconût assez à Agde où le plus grand embarquement s'est fait: et où au commencement du mois d'Aoust arriva Hachy-Ybrahim Mutafaracca député Ambassadeur du grand Turc en France, pour apprendre l'estat de l'embarquement desdits Morisques, lequel ayant veu embarquer quatre mil d'iceux, et appris le bon traitement que tous en général avoient receu des commissaires de sa Majesté très chrestienne, il s'en alla en Barbarie donner ordre à les y faire recevoir"): in Pierre D'Avity, *Les estats, empires, royaumes et principautez du monde* (Geneve: J.A.&S. de Tournes), 1665, 145. See also Gerard Wiegers, who notes "the growing tendency in the Ottoman policies noticed by al-Hajarî in Paris: to consider them [the Moriscos] Ottoman subjects in need of and entitled to protection": in "Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos during the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36–2 (2010), 151.

many others, the number of the expelled, placing it at 800,000). For Richelieu, what took place in 1610 was “the most rash and barbarous advice that the history of all previous centuries has recorded”: he refers, of course, to the Expulsion of the Moriscos, who, he claims, were cast out of their native country after having been abused, despised and treated as slaves. He compares this Expulsion or transmigration to the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, concluding that the fate of the Moriscos was even more cruel: for whereas the Jews had asked to be allowed to return to their own land, the Moriscos were being expelled from theirs:

We can count more than eight hundred thousand of these people, so that this transmigration was no less than that of the Jews from Egypt; there being however these two differences between the two, that in the first case the Hebrews forced the Egyptians to let them leave, while in the second the Moriscos were forced to depart; in the first, the Hebrews left a foreign land in order to sacrifice to God and arrived in a fertile one that had been promised to them, while in the second the Moriscos left their native land to pass into an unknown one where they would have to live as strangers, and in great danger of abandoning the true worship of God.

In a climate of hostility between the two powers, this would be an occasion for France, “which is famed in all the world as a refuge for the afflicted,” to show its generosity and piety by welcoming those who professed the Catholic faith and facilitating passage to Islamic lands for those who preferred to cleave to their ancestral religion.²

2 “Le plus hardi et le plus barbare conseil dont l’histoire de tous les siècles précédens fasse mention”; “On fait compte de plus de huit cent mille de ces gens; de sorte que cette transmigration ne fut pas moindre que celle des Juifs hors d’Égypte; y ayant toutefois ces deux différences entre les deux, qu’en celle-là les hébreux contraignoient les Egyptiens de les laisser aller, en celle-ci les Morisques sont contraints de sortir; en celle-là les Hébreux s’en vont d’une terre étrangère pour sacrifier à Dieu, et passer en une abondante qui leur étoit promise; en celle-ci les Morisques sortent de leur pays natal pour passer en une terre inconnue, où ils doivent vivre comme étrangers, non sans grand hasard d’abandonner le vrai culte de Dieu”; “[la France], qui est réputé[e] par tout le monde l’asile des afligés”: “Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu,” edited by M. Petitot in *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l’Histoire de France*, XXI (Paris: Foucault), 1823, 231–234: [231] “Nonetheless before this year [1610] is over, I cannot help but mention that it produced in Spain the most rash and barbarous advice that the history of all previous centuries has recorded, one that gave France the opportunity to give proof of both its humanity and its piety.”

Although there are few contemporary accounts of the events, Spain's action continued to be judged in a negative light, as we see in the authors who dealt with the Expulsion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, returning to the same sources over and over. The historian Henri Martin, for example,

“Spain was full of Moriscos, who were so called because they descended from father to son from the Moors, who in former times had conquered it and ruled it for seven hundred years.

“The ill treatment that they received, and the scorn that they suffered from the Old Christians, caused most of them to preserve in secret their ancestors' impiety and false religion against God, on account of the particular hatred that they felt toward men. [232] As they were treated like slaves, they sought the means of gaining their freedom; and because they were suspected of this all their arms were taken away, especially in the Kingdoms of Granada and Valencia, where nearly all the population was infected with this poison; they were not even allowed to carry knives, unless these were blunted.

“Spain's Council [of State], bearing in mind that the late King [Philip II] had long taken up the cause against them, feared at the same time that these people would seize the occasion to light the spark of civil war in the heart of their country. To prevent this plan – which was not without foundation – the Catholic King issued, at the beginning of this year, a command that all of them, with their wives and children, depart from Spain within the space of thirty days; during that time they were permitted to sell all their moveable property and take its price with them, not in money but in allowable goods, while all their real estate would be confiscated by the King and added to his domain.

“Those who lived close to the sea took passage for Barbary, and for the purpose, all the foreign ships that were then in the ports were seized; the rest set out for the French border, in order to pass through the King's lands.

“It is impossible to describe the pity inspired by these poor people, stripped of all their belongings, banished from the land of their birth; those who were Christians, and they were not few in number, deserved even greater compassion for being sent, [233] like the others, to Barbary, where they could not help but be in clear danger of adopting the Mohammedan religion against their will.

“You would see women with an infant at their breast, a rosary in their hands, dissolved in tears and tearing their hair from despair at their wretched state, calling for help on Jesus Christ and the Virgin, whom they were being forced to abandon.

“The Duke of Medina [Sidonia], admiral of the Andalusian coast, notified the Council of State of this deplorable situation; but he was commanded anew to spare neither age, nor sex, nor condition, the reasons of State forcing him to deport the good along with the bad. The Duke was forced to obey against his will, saying aloud that it was easy to order from afar a measure that could not be carried out without great sorrow.

“We can count more than eight hundred thousand of these people; so that this transmigration was no less than that of the Jews from Egypt; there being however these two differences between the two, that in the first case the Hebrews forced the Egyptians to let them leave, while in the second the Moriscos were forced to depart; in the first, the Hebrews left a foreign land in order to sacrifice to God and arrived in a fertile one that had been promised to them, while in the second the Moriscos left their native land to pass into an unknown one

dedicated several pages of his 1857 history of France to the Morisco drama: employing, like Richelieu, a Biblical simile, he thought that

we have to return to the conquests of the ancient East, to vanquished peoples who were dragged from their homes *en masse*, to the Babylonian captivity, to find scenes comparable to the one that Europe witnessed in

where they would have to live as strangers, and in great danger of abandoning the true worship of God.

“King Henry [IV] the Great, hearing that many of these poor people were traveling the roads of his kingdom, which [234] is famed in all the world as a refuge for the afflicted, moved by pity for their suffering, issued a decree requiring that his lieutenants and officers inform them, at the border, that those who wished to follow the Catholic religion and declare it before the bishop of Bayonne would then be allowed to remain in his States on this side of the Garonne and Dordogne Rivers; there they would be received if they made profession of their faith before the bishop of the diocese in which they wished to reside.

“As for those who wished to live in the sect of Mohammed, they would be provided with the ships needed to take them to Barbary.

“The death of this great prince prevented his decree from being carried out, but the queen took it on herself to see it done.” ([231] “Cependant avant que clore cette année [1610], je ne puis que je ne rapporte qu'elle produisit en Espagne le plus hardi et le plus barbare conseil dont l'histoire de tous les siècles précédens fasse mention; ce qui donna lieu à la France de rendre un témoignage de son humanité et de sa piété tout ensemble.

L'Espagne étoit remplie de Morisques, qui étoient ainsi appelés, parce que de père en fils ils descendoient des Mores, qui l'avoient autrefois subjuguée et commandée sept cents ans durant.

Le mauvais traitement qu'ils recevoient, et le mépris, et le mépris qu'ils souffroient des vieux chrétiens, firent que la plus grande part d'entre eux conservèrent secrètement l'impiété et fausse religion de leurs ancêtres contre Dieu, pour la haine particulière qu'ils avoient contre les hommes. [232] Étant traités comme esclaves, ils cherchent les moyens de se mettre en liberté; le soupçon qu'on en a, fait qu'on leur ôte toutes leurs armes, et particulièrement aux royaumes de Grenade et de Valence, où tout le peuple étoit presque infecté de ce venin; il ne leur étoit même pas permis de porter des couteaux, s'ils n'étoient épointés.

Le Conseil d'Espagne, considérant que le feu roi s'engageoit en une grande entreprise contre eux, eut en même temps appréhension que ces peuples prissent cette occasion d'allumer une guerre civile dans le cœur de leurs États. Pour prévenir ce dessein qui n'étoit pas sans fondement, le Roi Catholique fit, au commencement de cette année, un commandement à tous ces gens-là de sortir d'Espagne, avec leurs femmes et leurs enfans, dans trente jours pour tout délai, pendant lesquels il leur étoit permis de vendre tous les meubles, et en porter avec eux le prix, non en argent, mais en marchandises du pays non défendues, tous leurs immeubles demeurant confisqués au Roi et réunis à son domaine.

Ceux qui étoient près de la mer s'embarquèrent pour passer en Barbarie, et, pour ce sujet, tous les vaisseaux étrangers qui étoient dans leurs ports furent arrêtés; les autres prirent le chemin de la frontière de la France pour passer par les États du Roi.

the seventeenth century! The responsibility for this great assault on humanity falls entirely on Spanish Catholicism: the Papacy refused to associate itself with it. So implacable against domestic enemies, against heretics, [Spain] did not feel the same fury against the enemy from without, Islam. The Spanish Court could not persuade Paul V to join in condemning an entire people.³

Il est impossible de représenter la pitié que faisoit ce pauvre peuple, dépouillé de tous ses biens, banni du pays de sa naissance; ceux qui étoient chrétiens, qui n'étoient pas en petit nombre, étoient encore dignes d'une plus grande compassion, pour être envoyés, [233] comme les autres, en Barbarie, où ils ne pouvoient qu'être en péril évident de reprendre contre leur gré la religion mahométane.

On voyait les femmes avec leurs enfans à la mamelle, les chapelets en leur main, qui fondoient en larmes et s'arrachent les cheveux de désespoir de leur misère, et appeler Jésus-Christ et la Vierge, qu'on les contraignoit d'abandonner, à leur aide.

Le duc de Medina, amiral de la côte d'Andalousie, donna avis au Conseil d'Espagne de cette déplorable désolation; mais il reçut un nouveau commandement de n'épargner âge, sexe, ni condition, la raison d'État contraignant à faire partir les bons avec les méchants; ce qui obligea le duc à obéir, contre son gré, disant hautement qu'il étoit bien aisé de commander de loin ce qu'il étoit impossible d'exécuter sans compassion extrême.

On fait compte de plus de huit cent mille de ces gens; de sorte que cette transmigration ne fut pas moindre que celle des Juifs hors d'Égypte; y ayant toutefois ces deux différences entre les deux, qu'en celle-là les hébreux contraigneroient les Egyptiens de les laisser aller, en celle-ci les Morisques sont contraints de sortir; en celle-là les Hébreux s'en vont d'une terre étrangère pour sacrifier à Dieu, et passer en une abondante qui leur étoit promise; en celle-ci les Morisques sortent de leur pays natal pour passer en une terre inconnue, où ils doivent vivre comme étrangers, non sans grand hasard d'abandonner le vrai culte de Dieu.

Le roi Henri-le-Grand, ayant avis que plusieurs de ces pauvres gens s'achemionoient en son royaume, qui [234] est réputé par tout le monde l'asile des affligés, touché de compassion de leur misère, fit publier une ordonnance qui obligeoit ses lieutenants et officiers à leur faire entendre, sur la frontière, que ceux qui voudroient vivre en la religion catholique, en faisant profession devant l'évêque de Bayonne, auroient ensuite permission de demeurer en ses États, au-deçà des rivières de Garonne et Dordogne, où ils seroient reçus faisant apparôître à l'évêque du diocèse où ils voudroient s'habituer, de l'acte de leur profession de foi.

Et quant aux autres qui voudroient vivre en la secte de Mahomet, on leur pourvoiroit de vaisseaux nécessaires pour les faire passer en Barbarie.

La mort de ce grand prince prévint l'exécution de son ordonnance, mais la reine la fit exécuter avec soin.”)

See also <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3642or.image.r=richelieu.fl29.langFR.pagination>, 86–89.

3 “Il faut remonter aux antiques révolutions de l'Orient, à ces nations vaincues qu'on traînait tout entières hors de leurs foyers, à la captivité de Babylone, pour trouver des spectacles semblables à celui que vit l'Europe du XVIIe siècle! La responsabilité de ce grand attentat

This would be the overall tone of the few works published about the Moriscos, particularly in the nineteenth century.

Moving from fact to fiction with Cervantes, who knew the Moriscos well, we find in Part II of *Don Quixote* that Ricote says to Sancho, in a famous speech:

As I was saying, I left our village, went to France, and though they made us welcome there, I wanted to see everything. I traveled to Italy, and came to Germany, and there it seemed to me I could live in greater freedom because the inhabitants don't worry about subtleties: each man lives as he chooses, because in most places there is freedom of conscience.

He goes on to speak of his plan to dig up his buried treasure and to find his wife and daughter “and find a way to take them to a French port, and from there to Germany.” He concludes, “What amazes me is not knowing why my wife and daughter went to Barbary instead of France, where they could have lived as Christians.”⁴

According to Philippe Berger,⁵ this chapter on the theme of the Expulsion would have been written around 1614 – that is, after Henry IV's death in 1610 and Marie de Medici's shift to a policy that advocated removing all the Moriscos from France.

What was the reality of France's “welcome,” and what do we know about the Moriscos' ability to “live as Christians” there? We shall see that both assertions need to be qualified, like the claim about freedom of conscience in Germany.

Juan Goytisolo, in an opinion piece titled “*Moriscos, la historia incómoda* [Moriscos, an Inconvenient History]”, remarks on the Ricote citation with these words: “Freedom of conscience! As an aside, and without emphasis, the

contre l'humanité porte exclusivement sur le catholicisme espagnol; la papauté refusa de s'y associer. Si implacable envers les ennemis domestiques, envers les hérétiques, elle n'avait pas le même acharnement contre l'ennemi du dehors, contre l'islamisme. La cour d'Espagne ne put obtenir que Paul V visât la sentence de proscription de tout un peuple”: Henri Martin, *Histoire de France depuis les temps reculés jusqu'en 1789*, X (Paris: Furne), 1857, 560.

4 “Salí, como digo, de nuestro pueblo, entré en Francia, y aunque allí nos hacían buen acogimiento, quise verlo todo. Pasé a Italia y llegué a Alemania [...] [donde] cada uno vive como quiere porque en la mayor parte della se vive con libertad de conciencia”; “dar traza como traerlas a algún puerto de Francia, y desde allí llevarlas a Alemania”; “y lo que me tiene admirado es no saber por qué se fue mi mujer y mi hija antes a Berbería que a Francia, adonde podía vivir como cristiana”: Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: HarperCollins), 2003, 813–814.

5 Philippe Berger, “Encore Cervantès et les morisques,” in *Siglos dorados. Homenaje a Agustín Redondo*, vol. I (Madrid: Castalia), 2004, 120.

author of *Don Quixote* here exposes the crux of the matter. The sentinels of the Holy Office were always on the alert, but a good reader would need no further words.⁶ Luce López-Baralt, in discussing the picture that Cervantes paints of Ricote in the cited passage, thinks that “when Cervantes writes about the Spanish Moriscos, whom he knew intimately, he is usually not very far from historical truth.”⁷ She is referring above all to his knowledge of the Moriscos’ world and especially of its clandestine underworld. Roland Labarre, who dissents from Márquez Villanueva’s (and, we might add, Goytisolo’s) interpretation of Ricote’s “freedom of conscience” phrase, believes that “to claim that it has the same positive meaning here that Protestants gave to it, and that it still connotes, requires ignoring its undoubted criticism of the lack of delicacy – that is, of religious scruples – of the Germans; in any case we must accept that the intent of the phrase was pejorative, never forgetting that Cervantes was writing for the subjects of the Catholic Monarch.”⁸

What, then, was the truth about that supposed freedom of conscience in Germany (in the United Provinces there was, in fact, a form of tolerance from the late sixteenth century onward), in the context of the confessionalisation⁹ of the European monarchies after the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and especially

6 “¡Libertad de conciencia! De refilón, y como quien no quiere la cosa, el autor del Quijote pone el dedo en la llaga. Los despiertos centinelas del Santo Oficio eran todo oídos pero a buen relector sobran más palabras”: *El País*, 15 March 2009. See also Goytisolo’s review of Francisco Márquez Villanueva’s *Moros, moriscos y turcos en Cervantes* (Barcelona: Bellaterra), 2010, in “Cervantes y el mundo musulmán,” *El País*, 21 August 2010.

7 “Cuando Cervantes escribe sobre los moriscos españoles, que conoce tan de cerca, no suele estar lejos de la verdad histórica”: Luce López-Baralt, *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España* (Madrid: Trotta), 2009, 396.

8 “Mantener que tendría aquí el sentido favorable que le atribuían los protestantes y le ha quedado hoy, supone por lo menos que no se haga caso de la alusión indudablemente crítica a la falta de delicadezas –o sea escrúpulos religiosos– en los alemanes, y, de todos modos, la evidencia de su significado peyorativo se impone por poco que no se olvide que Cervantes escribió para los súbditos del Rey Católico”: Roland Labarre, “Tres antiparadojas sobre Cervantes,” *Crítica* 54 (1992), 113–121, esp. 118–119. See Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “Cervantes y el islam: una revisión historiográfica,” in *Cervantes entre las dos orillas* (Alicante: Universidad), 2006, 21–58, esp. 47–58.

9 See Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, *Felipe II y el clero secular. La aplicación del Concilio de Trento* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V), 2000, 373–380 (on the application of this concept to the Spanish situation); Ronald Po-Chia Hsia, “Disciplina social y catolicismo en la Europa de los siglos XVI y XVII,” *Manuscrits*, 25 (2007), 29–43; Claire Gantet, “Le Saint-Empire,” in *L’Europe en conflits. Les affrontements religieux et la genèse de l’Europe moderne vers 1500-vers 1650* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires), 2008, 61–78; Christophe Duhamelle, “La ‘confessionalisation’ en Allemagne,”

after the Council of Trent (1563)? We believe that we should adopt a nuanced view of the extent of tolerance and freedom of conscience in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As the work of Joseph Leclerc suggests, in the sixteenth century following the Peace of Augsburg, there was freedom of worship in Germany for sovereign rulers but not for their subjects:¹⁰ the prevailing principle was *cujus regio, ejus religio*. The German Counter-Reformation was marked by intense literary activity in the politico-religious sphere, but few works promoted tolerance (in the sense of concession or permissiveness in matters of religious liberty), and their influence was limited. Leclerc tells us that the mass of public opinion – whether Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist – did not accept religious diversity in the State. In this context the idea of an agreement among the three confessions did not prevail (except in Bohemia and Brandenburg, where local agreements were made),¹¹ and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) did not help matters. Wolfgang Kaiser maintains that confessional Europe, rather than opening a space for religious freedom or tolerance in the modern sense, created a restrictive framework¹² for Jews and Muslims.¹³ As we can infer from these studies, Ricote's wife – whether she was a good Catholic or not – would have found it hard to settle not only in Germany but even in France, as we shall see below. But first we should try to answer a number of questions that arise when we propose to write a “history” of the Moriscos in France. How many Moriscos passed through France? What were the conditions of their reception, by the authorities and by the local population? How many settled there, and how many merely traversed France on their way to North Africa or Turkey?

From today's perspective we can affirm that the Moriscos did not leave any significant traces in French historiography. Works on the Moriscos in France

in *Des religions dans la ville. Ressort et stratégies de coexistence dans l'Europe des XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 2010), 201–206.

10 Joseph Leclerc, *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* (Paris: Aubier), 1955, I:257.

11 *Ibid.*, 282 and 296.

12 Wolfgang Kaiser, “Sans issue?,” in *L'Europe en conflits*, 427.

13 *Ibid.*, 428. David do Paço, “Coexister dans la diversité religieuse des villes de l'Europe moderne, XVe–XVIIIe siècle,” in *Des religions dans la ville*, op. cit., 14, describes this Europe of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries as “a tolerant Europe, that is a place where one tolerated the other for lack of an alternative; where one made the other pay for being what he was, whether by imposing a special tax or by physical violence” (“une Europe tolérante, c'est-à-dire où l'on souffre l'autre, à défaut de pouvoir faire autrement, dans laquelle on fait payer à cet autre ce qu'il est, que ce soit par le biais d'un impôt spécial ou par celui d'une violence physique”), although he insists that one must bear in mind the diversity of situations and contexts.

are few: by Henri Lapeyre,¹⁴ who provides data on the number of Moriscos who entered France; Bonifacio de Echegaray,¹⁵ a member of the Basque language academy, who followed the footsteps of the Moriscos in the French Basque country; Louis Cardaillac,¹⁶ who studied their passage through Languedoc; Osmin Ricau,¹⁷ Robert Sauzet,¹⁸ and Pierre Santoni¹⁹ for the Moriscos in Provence. These authors use the very few published sources on the topic, particularly Francisque Michel²⁰ and Jules Mathorez,²¹ who rely in turn on the even fewer contemporary accounts of the events: the *Mercure Français*²² (from 1605), the memoirs of the Duke of La Force,²³ Pierre Davity (1665),²⁴ and a few local histories like those written about Marseille²⁵ in the seventeenth

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- 14 Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN), 1959, 100–103, 152–153, 159–162, 186–187, 251.
- 15 Bonifacio de Echegaray, “Se establecieron los moriscos en el País Vasco de Francia?,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 47–1 (1945), 92–102.
- 16 Louis Cardaillac, *Le passage des Morisques en Languedoc* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry), 1970; *ibid.*, “À propos du passage des Morisques par le Languedoc. Réflexion sur l’expulsion,” in *Questionnement des formes. Questionnement du sens* (Montpellier: Éditions du CERS – Université), 1997, 567–577.
- 17 Osmin Ricau, “L’Expulsion des Morisques espagnols en 1610: ses conséquences dans le Midi français,” *Pyrénées* 103–104 (1975), 249–262 and 361–371.
- 18 Robert Sauzet, “Alonso López, procureur des Morisques Aragonais et agent de Richelieu (1582–1649),” in *Actes du II Congrès International Chrétiens et musulmans à l’époque de la Renaissance* (Zaghuan: Fondation Temimi), 1997, 213–219.
- 19 Pierre Santoni, “Le passage des Morisques en Provence (1610–1613),” in *Provence Historique* 46–185 (1996), 366–367.
- 20 Francisque Michel, *Histoire des races maudites de la France et de l’Espagne* (Paris: A. Frank), 1847.
- 21 Jules Mathorez, *Les étrangers en France sous l’Ancien Régime* (Paris: Champion), 1919.
- 22 Online at <http://mercurefrancois.ehess.fr/>.
- 23 La Force, *Mémoires authentiques de Jacques Nompars de Caumont, Duc de La Force*, vol. I (Paris: Charpentier), 1843.
- 24 D’Avity, *Les estats*, 145–148.
- 25 Antoine de Ruffi, *Histoire de la ville de Marseille* (Marseille: H. Martel), 1696, 454–455. [Online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1249419.r=ruffi.langFR>]. These are the few lines on the passage of the Moriscos: “In the same year [1610] two Flemish vessels touched at the islands off Marseille, laden with a thousand Granadans, men, women and children; they had embarked at Seville by order of the king of Spain, who had expelled them from his kingdom. One of the ships foundered after its passengers disembarked. Most of them were lodged in old infirmaries, and since a few of them died every day, and it was feared that they might be dying of plague, it was decided to send them away. Several ships were hired to take them to Bône, Tabarka and other North African ports” (“En la même année [1610] deux vaisseaux flamans abordèrent aux isles de Marseille, chargés de mille

century, and about the Pyrenees,²⁶ Bayonne,²⁷ Biarritz²⁸ and Montpellier²⁹ in the nineteenth. The value of these works resides in their recourse to a variety of archives – municipal, departmental, ecclesiastic and notarial – of the principal regions or cities involved: Saint Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Pau, Bordeaux,

Grenatins, tant hommes que femmes et enfans, ils s'embarquèrent à Séville par commandement du roi d'Espagne qui les avoit chassés de ses États un de ces vaisseaux fit naufrage après leur débarquement, ils furent logés la plûpart aux infirmeries vieilles, et parce qu'il en mouroit tous les jours quelques-uns, et qu'on appréhendoit que cela ne causât la peste, on résolut de les congédier, on loua quelques navires qui les portèrent à Bonne, à Tabarque, et à d'autres ports de Barbarie").

- 26 V. Chausenque, *Les Pyrénées ou voyage pédestre dans toutes les régions de ces montagnes*, vol. I (Agen: Noubel), 1854, 72–73: "In traversing the sterile moorlands of Béarn and Guyenne one cannot forget that in 1610 the Moors, chased out of Spain, asked the king of France for permission to settle in those regions, but received nothing but the most impolitic of refusals. Without ports or fortified positions they could not have become dangerous; and this wretched remnant of a people, at one time the most enlightened in Europe, who had dug canals, opened roads, dredged lakes, drained marshes, stabilised dunes and transformed sand into fertile fields, would have guaranteed the fertility of a vast swath of land that is now practically a desert. Our enemy Africa received this rejected people, with their courage, their capital and their industry" ("En parcourant les landes stériles du Béarn et de la Guienne, on ne peut oublier qu'en 1610 les Maures, chassés d'Espagne demandèrent au roi de France d'habiter ces landes et qu'ils n'éprouvèrent que le plus impolitique des refus. Sans ports, sans positions militaires ils n'eussent pu devenir dangereux; et ces malheureux débris d'un peuple, qui fut un temps le plus éclairé de l'Europe, en creusant des canaux, ouvrant des routes, évacuant les lacs, desséchants les marais, fixant les dunes, et changeant à la longue des sables en terres fertiles, eussent assuré la fertilité d'une vaste étendue de pays, qui est resté presque désert. Ainsi repoussé, l'Afrique ennemie les reçut avec leur courage, leurs capitaux et leur industrie").

- 27 V. Dubarat and P. Haristoy, *Études historiques et religieuses du Diocèse de Bayonne* (Pau: Vignancour), 1897, 520. On the Moriscos, this work offers only a document of 1610 that deals with their transit through the area:

"Expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain (1610). In this same year the king of Spain emptied his kingdoms of Valencia and Aranoa [*sic*: Aragón?] of all the Moriscos, about seventy thousand households in number; they were to cross into France, some at one place, some at another, especially through Navarre under the direction of the Sieur de Gramont, governor of Bayonne; others through the Ossau or Aspa Valleys, both young and old. And the said young ones, just like the old, paid XV *retals* of passage apiece, the strong paying for the weak, beside several abusive hidden costs [?; *estremis couvertes*] which one and all render, together with the fees for tolls, border crossings and the foreigners' tax [*forana*] that they are required to pay and change their coins with the money-changers of the present land of Béarn, even though the said Moriscos do not know or understand the rate of exchange. The Moriscos hold to the damnable Mohammedan sect and hope to go on to Algiers, where people live under that same Mohammedan error and sect.

Toulouse, Aix-en-Provence, Agde, Marseille and other small communities through which the Moriscos passed after their exile from Spain.

Today the Internet gives us access to a great many digitalized documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (e.g., certificates of baptism, marriage and death) from the departmental archives of Les Landes, Gironde, Bouches du Rhône, and Hérault,³⁰ although it may be difficult to exploit these in search of Moriscos. Santoni draws attention to a series of important sources that would be worth exploring: the Parliament of Aix, and notarial collections in Aix, Arles and Toulon.³¹

Francisque Michel, Cardaillac and Santoni are the scholars who have contributed the most to the study of this minority group in France, presenting research questions and provisional conclusions that overlap and, though they are not definitive, form a necessary starting point for developing a history of the Moriscos in France. That history's duration was brief: some 40 years, if we begin with the first contacts with French authorities in the 1580s, when the Moriscos were trying to persuade them to invade Spain, up to the time when these Spaniards vanish from the documentary record. (We do not count here

"In the same year 1610 the king of Spain caused all the Moriscos to be expelled from his lands, and many troops of them passed through this Aspa Valley in the months of July, August and September, heading for Toulouse and Marseille" ("Expulsion des Morisques en Espagne [1610] Lo medix an, lo rey d'España fe boeytar sons rejaumes de Balentia et Aranoa totz los Moriscos en nombre de septante mille casadas ou envyron qui s'en passan en France, los ungs per ung quartier, los autres per autre, notament per Navarre, jus l'appuy deu sr de Gramont, governur de Bayona; autres per la bal d'Ossau et autres per aqueste val d'Aspa, los totz petitz et grans; et losd. petitz, comme los grans, pagan XV reyaus de passage chacun et lo fort per lo feble, oultre plusors estremis couvertes [?] que ungs et aultres los fen ranson, ensempls los dretz de peage, port et forana qui son constretz pagar et cambiar lors monedas aus mestes rendadors de las monedas deu present pays de Bearn, nonobstant que losd. Moriscos ignorassan tals cambys et cessassan entendre tals cambys. Losd. Moriscos thienen la ley damnable : Mahomyca et aspiran se anar en Urgel ou Argel [Alger], ond viven en semblable secta et error Mahomica.

"Lo medix an 1610, lo rey d'Espanha fe boeytar totz los Moriscos de sas terras et forssa troppas en passan per aqueste vallee d'Aspa aus mes de julhet, aoust et septembre, tyrantz a Tholose et à Marseille": Arch. comm. de Borse, BB 1, f. 15v.

- 28 L. André, ed., *De Biarritz en Espagne. Aperçus pittoresques et historiques* (Bayonne: L. André), 1864, 61–70.
- 29 Charles d'Aigrefeuille, *Histoire de la ville de Montpellier depuis son origine jusqu'à notre temps* (Montpellier: C. Coulet), 1877, book XVII, 29–30; book XVIII, 38–39.
- 30 Departmental archives online: <http://www.guide-genealogie.com/guide/internet.html#archives>.
- 31 Santoni, "Le passage," 336.

the many Moriscos who entered France in the sixteenth century only to leave it on their way to the Ottoman Empire, the Maghreb or Mecca.) But such a history can be written for some French cities or regions, particularly in the south.

The history in France of Moriscos, particularly Aragonese and Andalusians, who were cast out of Spain unfolded in the short interval between 1610 and 1614, the years when they appear repeatedly in the documents. Most of them would have left France, or been expelled from it in turn, between 1610 and 1611. After the latter date they are recorded sporadically until the 1630s, perhaps representing the tip of an iceberg whose size we are now unable to calculate.

The geographic location of this minority group would be concentrated south of a line drawn from Bordeaux and its environs (Francisque Michel speaks of traces of Moors or Moriscos in the Department of Charente, between Bordeaux and Angoulême³²) to Cannes. But they may well have had a presence in cities to the north of the Dordogne (Paris, Rouen), or have been living in those areas even before the Expulsion.

Morisco contacts with France in search of support for a military invasion of Spain had begun in 1587 and continued up to 1608. In the words of Bishop Hardouin de Péréfixe of Rodez (in the Midi-Pyrenees), "Now [the Moriscos] having returned in this year of 1608 to beg [King Henry IV] to accept their proposals and offers at once [...]: he gave them to understand very clearly that his position as Most Christian King did not permit him to take up their defense so long as the Peace of Vervins remained in force."³³ This treaty, signed in May 1598 between Philip II and Henry IV, had ended the war between Spain and France and left the Netherlands in the hands of Isabel Clara Eugenia, Philip II's daughter and wife to the Archduke Albert. The French monarch was constrained to respect it, but if the Spaniards did not, *il auroit juste sujet de les recevoir sous sa protection* [he would have just cause to receive them (the Moriscos) under his protection]. The Moriscos ultimately appealed to the king of England, who proved just as deaf to their requests.³⁴

32 Michel, *Histoire des races*, II: 318.

33 "Or estant revenus en cette année mil six cens huit pour le solliciter [Enrique IV] instamment d'accepter leurs propositions et leurs offres [...]: il leur fit entendre nettement que la qualité de Roy Tres-Chrestien qu'il portoit, ne luy permettoit pas de prendre leur défense, tandis que la Paix de Vervin subsisteroit": Péréfixe de Beaumont, *Histoire du roy Henry le Grand* (Amsterdam: Elzevier), 1661, 441–442.

34 Proof of contacts between Moriscos and the English is found in Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid: J. Martín Alegría), 1857, 240: [16 April 1605] "In Valencia many Moriscos have been imprisoned on account of certain letters sent by the King of England, found among the papers

According to Péréfixe there were a million Moriscos in Spain, of whom some 150,000 had passed through Saint Jean de Luz, while others had arrived by sea at various French ports. The bishop is critical of the Spanish, but also of the French for the poor reception that they gave the exiles: “but to tell the truth, those who arrived by land were hardly better treated by the French than the others had been by the Spanish: for while crossing Les Landes they were almost all robbed, and their wives and daughters raped; so that, finding so little security in a country where they had hoped to take refuge, they embarked with the King’s permission from the ports of Languedoc and crossed to Africa.”³⁵ Some remained in Bordeaux and even farther to the north-east, in Rouen.

Sully, minister to Henry IV (1553–1610), summarises in his memoirs³⁶ the negotiations that took place between Moriscos and French Protestants before Henry’s accession to the throne in 1589. That monarch planned to make allies of the Moriscos, “those internal enemies, to be taken into account less because of their number than because of the lively resentment that they still felt by virtue of their oppression.” The Moriscos hoped to mount a general revolt, financed entirely by themselves, with French military aid (they asked for a general and officers to lead them); in exchange they requested asylum in France, promising to convert to Protestantism:

of the late queen [Elizabeth I]; these were written to him by Moriscos who asked for his help if they should rebel, promising that they would allow him to sack the city if he arrived with his fleet. Many of them have been tortured in an attempt to discover the truth of the affair, and some will be punished as an example to the rest” (“En Valencia se ha hecho prisión de muchos moriscos, y por ciertas cartas que el rey de Inglaterra ha enviado, las cuales se habían hallado entre los papeles de la reina pasada [Isabel I] que le habían escrito los moriscos pidiéndoles favor para levantarse, y que ellos daría orden de que pudiese saquear aquella ciudad, viniendo con su armada. Hase dado tormento a muchos de ellos para averiguar lo que pasaba en este negocio, y no dejaran de castigarse algunos para ejemplo de los demás”). There was also the probability of an alliance among Moriscos, Moroccans and English. See Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada: ensayo de historia social* (Madrid: Istmo), 1976, 224–225, and also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Alianza), 1997, 173–175.

35 “Mais à dire le vray ceux qui vinrent par terre ne furent gueres mieus traittez par les François, que les autres l’avoient esté par les Espagnols: car en traversant les Landes, ils furent presque tous dévalisez, et leurs femmes et filles violées; de sorte que trouvant si peu de seureté dans un país où ils croyoient trouver du refuge, ils s’embarquèrent par la permission du Roy aux ports de Languedoc, et traversèrent en Afrique.” Péréfixe de Beaumont, 1661, 443.

36 Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1559–1641), *Mémoire de Sully, principal ministre de Henri-le-grand* (Paris: J.-F. Bastien), 1788, IV: 519–525.

They appeared so well disposed toward religion that they offered to adopt that of our realm; not, in truth, the Roman religion, for the tyranny of the Inquisition had rendered that second servitude even more unbearable to them than the first, but the reformed Religion. They found that they could conform easily to a worship that was free of images and ceremonies (which they considered idolatrous), and in which almost the sole object was one God, worshipped and invoked equally by all.³⁷

After the Spanish authorities uncovered the plot, the Moriscos appealed once more to the French king to request, this time, that he accept them as his subjects; but once again they received no positive reply.³⁸ Sully concludes by speaking of the number of Moriscos expelled from Spain, some 500,000,

37 “Ces ennemis domestiques, moins considérables encore par leur nombre, que par le vif ressentiment qu'on leur voyoit conserver de leur oppression”; “Ils paroissent de si bonne composition sur la religion, qu'ils offroient d'embrasser celle du royaume; non pas, à la vérité, la religion Romaine, la tyrannie de l'inquisition leur avoit rendu cette seconde servitude encore plus insupportable que la première, mais la Religion réformée. Ils trouvoient qu'ils s'accommoderoient sans peine d'un culte dégagé des images et des cérémonies, qu'ils disoient sentir l'idolâtrie, et dont un seul Dieu également adoré et invoqué de tous, étoit presque l'unique objet”: *Ibid.*, 520–521. In another work, *Les économies royales* (1610), Sully alludes to the possible conversion of the Moriscos to Protestantism and the compatibility between the two religions, claiming that the Moriscos “would rather be prepared to embrace the belief of the reformed Christians, in which they knew that only one God was worshipped, prayed to and invoked; that there were no images among them, so that no idolatry was committed, for that is what they detested the most; and in which very few ceremonies were observed of the type that they could not assent to” (“se disposeroient d'embrasser plutost la créance des chrétiens reformes (en laquelle ils sçavoient qu'un seul Dieu estoit adoré, prié et invoqué, qu'il n'y avoit point d'images parmy eux, ne s'y commettoit aucune idolatrie, qui estoit ce qu'il détestoient le plus, et ne s'y observoit que fort peu de cérémonies ausquelles ils ne se résolussent de s'accommoder”): in *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France. Économies royales*, t. VIII (Paris: Foucault), 1821, 328.

38 *Ibid.*, 523: “Determined to do anything to throw off the Spanish yoke, they asked him to accept them as his subjects on any conditions that he wished. But the same motives that prevented His Majesty from taking the side of the United Provinces openly (in a situation that affected him much more closely) did not allow him to declare himself the liberator of a people who were even more subject to Spain. Further, he would have had to follow them into very distant places, and they were demanding armed vessels: for the center of the revolt was near the coasts of Valencia, Murcia and Granada. And there were several other reasons based on the character of that people, without mentioning the ordinary aspects of any affair that distance always hides, or disguises in part. Because of all this, surely no one could blame His Majesty for not having responded more positively to the

according to him; in a footnote, the editor of the memoirs (J.-F. Bastien, 1788) makes an interesting comment about Henry IV's position, giving one to understand that the same motives that had caused their expulsion stood in the way of their being welcomed.³⁹

Louis Cardaillac pushes the first contacts between Moriscos and French Protestants back to 1575, when they sought, of necessity, allies for an invasion of Spain. He also alludes to conversions of Moriscos to Protestantism, citing a few trials from the archives of the Inquisition tribunal in Toledo.⁴⁰

Werner Thomas⁴¹ cites similar contacts from 1574 onward, and offers interesting data about isolated cases of proselytising by Béarnais Protestants in Morisco villages in Aragón. He mentions the towns of Letux and Lagata (in the Campo de Belchite region), where the Béarnais Juan de Secas offered himself as a preacher in case the Lutherans should invade Spain.⁴²

Both Cardaillac and Werner on the Moriscos, and Victor Segesvary on the broader issue of relations between Islam and the Reformation,⁴³ stress the areas of agreement between the two belief systems (rejection of images, anti-Papism,

desires of the Moorish people" ("Déterminés à tout, pour secouer le joug espagnol, ils le prièrent de les prendre au nombre de ses sujets, à telles conditions qu'il voudroit. Mais les mêmes considérations qui empêchoient sa Majesté de prendre ouvertement le parti des Provinces-Unies dans un intérêt qui le touchoit de beaucoup plus près, lui défendoit aussi de se déclarer le libérateur d'un peuple encore plus particulièrement sujet de l'Espagne, et qu'il falloit de plus chercher dans des lieux fort éloignés, et qui demandoient un armement de mer; car le centre de la révolte étoit du côté de Valence de Murcie et de Grenade sans compter plusieurs autres raisons tirées du caractère de ces peuples, et sans parler des incidens si ordinaires dans les affaires, que l'éloignement cache toujours, ou déguise en partie. Tout cela fait qu'on ne sauroit assurément blâmer sa Majesté de n'avoir pas mieux répondu aux désirs de la nation Maure").

39 Ibid., 525: "One might say that the same reason that caused the Moors to be cast out of Spain also prevented their being received in France. But it seems that it would have been easy to take advantage of their sad situation to make them do anything that one wished" ("On dira que la même raison qui faisoit chasser les Maures de l'Espagne empêchoit aussi qu'on ne les reçût en France. Mais il semble qu'il auroit été facile de profiter de la triste situation où ils se trouvoient, pour les amener à faire tout ce qu'on eût pu désirer d'eux").

40 "Morisques et protestants," in *Morisques et chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)* (Paris: Klincksieck), 1977, 140-142.

41 Thomas Werner, "La complicidad entre protestantes, judíos y moros," in *La represión del protestantismo en España, 1517-1648* (Leuven: University), 2001, 103-110. See also by the same author *Los protestantes y la Inquisición en España en tiempos de la Reforma y Contrarreforma* (Leuven: University), 2001, 364-366.

42 Werner, "La complicidad," 106.

43 Victor Segesvary, *L'islam et la Réforme. Étude sur l'attitude des réformateurs zurichoïses envers l'islam (1510-1550)* (Lausanne: L'Age d'homme), 1977.

criticism of the Sacraments and of clerical abuses, etc.) but nonetheless insist that there was no doctrinal alliance and that the two groups' respective aims continued to be different. For Protestants, the first priority was to reform the Church; for Moriscos, to press Protestant arguments into service for their anti-Christian polemics. We might speak of a sort of strategic sympathy, but in the end Mohammed, like the Pope, still represented the Antichrist for Protestants. There may have been some conversions – we do not know how many – but we can guess from the reaction of Protestant religious authorities that they did not believe Morisco conversions to be sincere. Cardaillac offers the example of the Synod of Vitré in 1617 (not 1677),⁴⁴ which resolved to take measures against abuses by the Moriscos and to control them better:

All Churches are warned to pay close attention to Moors expelled from Spain who move from Church to Church, so that they may not receive them too lightly and may vouch for them only after a close Examination of their Lives and Beliefs: and those who have already been received and have joined a Church should also be examined with care, both as to their level of instruction and especially as to their conduct. And when anyone witnesses in their favour he should mention their baptism and the number of their children, specifying also if the latter have been baptized and at what ages. And such certificates should mention by what signs one may know that these are the same persons.⁴⁵

In spite of everything, at the present state of research Cardaillac's conclusion remains valid: that the conversion of Moriscos to Protestantism was no more than a secondary phenomenon among the events of their exodus.⁴⁶

44 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 145. 1677 is a typographic error, since the last national synod of the Reformed Church took place in 1659. Moreover Cardaillac notes correctly on the following page that the minutes of synods held after 1617 make no reference to Moriscos.

45 "Toutes les Eglises sont averties de prendre soigneusement garde sur les Maures chassés d'Espagne, et courans d'Eglise en Eglise, pour ne les recevoir pas trop légèrement, et on ne leur donnera aucune attestation qu'après un bon Examen de leur Vie et Croiance: et ceux qui sont déjà reçus et demeurent dans quelque Eglise, seront aussi soigneusement examinés, tant pour ce qui concerne leur instruction que sur toute leur conduite, et quand on leur donnera des témoignages, on y fera mention de leur ba[p]tême, et du Nombre de leurs enfans, en spécifiant aussi s'ils ont été ba[p]tisés, et à quel âge, et par quelles marques on pourra reconnoitre que ce sont les mêmes personnes, dont il sera fait mention dans lesdits certificats": Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des Eglises réformées de France* (Hague: Charles Delo), 1710, II: 96–97. [Online at www.gallica.fr].

46 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 146.

Other documents further illustrate these French contacts with Moriscos and the possibility of an alliance with them against Spain. In 1602 the Moriscos of Segorbe⁴⁷ sent a petition to King Henry IV in which they proposed a united front of Spanish Moriscos, Jews and Lutherans who were prepared to revolt: “and other peoples who are in Spain, some of the Religion of Christ and others of the Law of Moses, will line up on the side of France; they are many, although they live in hiding; we know them well and we offer consolation to each other...”⁴⁸ This scheme may explain the warm welcome that the Moriscos received when they crossed the French frontier between January and 15 April 1610. On the latter date a new, more severe order was issued that annulled the earlier one of 22 February. That one had been very favourable to Moriscos who professed Catholicism: they were allowed to settle to the north of the Garonne and Dordogne Rivers (the authorities were wary of having them too close to the Spanish border), while any others had to leave the country via the Mediterranean ports. The quotation from Ricote (see above) must have referred to this period of time, because the decree of 15 April forbade entry to any more Moriscos and made clear that none could remain in France no matter how sincere they appeared in their Christianity: “to force those who are there to leave and cross to Barbary.”⁴⁹ Even before Henry IV’s death on 14 May 1610 the policy toward the Moriscos had changed, and things would not improve under the regent Marie de Medici.

The Parliament of Toulouse (June 1610), the Parliament of Provence (December 1610), and the cities of Bordeaux (1611, 1612 and 1613) and Marseille would take similar measures designed to expel all the Moriscos, in an atmosphere that had grown tense through fear of epidemics and through the difficulties of harbouring so many individuals (with the consequent begging, looting, manifest signs of Muslim identity, etc.). For instance, the Parliament of Provence on 4 December 1610 took steps to banish Moriscos living in the region because “the great majority are Mohammedans, and such a race of people should not live among Christians.”⁵⁰

47 La Force, *Mémoires*, I: 345.

48 “Et d’autres nations qu’il y a en Espagne, qui sont de la Religion du Christ et d’autres de la Loi de Moïse, se rangeront du parti de la France, et ceux-ci sont nombreux quoiqu’ils vivent fort cachés; nous les connoissons bien, et nous nous consolons les uns les autres...”: “Mémoire adressé à Henri IV par les Morisques d’Espagne,” in Henri Baraude, *Lopez, agent financier et confident de Richelieu* (Paris: Revue Mondiale), 1933, 183–188.

49 “Pour ceux qui y sont de les faire sortir et passer en Barbarye”: Ricau, “L’Expulsion,” 259.

50 “La plus grande partie sont maumétistes, que telle race de gens ne doivent habiter parmi les chrétiens”: Michel, *Histoire des races*, 86.

How to explain the change? This was a situation similar to that of the previous year, 1609, when the Moriscos of Valencia were sent to Oran: Mikel de Epalza has called this operation, which had been very well organised at the Peninsular end, a *chupuza* [botched affair].⁵¹ Osmin Ricau speaks of the “criminal casualness and lack of foresight of Cardinal [sic] Lerma and King Philip III in casting onto the roads these crowds of unfortunate fugitives [...] without the least regard for their fate in a foreign land, especially after the shock of an incursion so numerous that it would entirely overwhelm the capacities of reception and victualling of the invaded provinces.”⁵² In the absence of any agreement by the local authorities, who had made no preparations at all, the impoverished local Berber inhabitants – who were already suffering through a severe drought – acted aggressively toward the newcomers.

When the Moriscos entered France the Spanish authorities were equally careless, but French officials allowed entry at first because they were taken by surprise (17,000 Granadans crossed between February and April 1610); they closed the frontier temporarily in June 1610, requiring some 14,000 Moriscos to return to Los Alfaques, and then reopened it in September 1610 so as to avoid even worse consequences.⁵³ Local populations reacted badly for the same

51 Mikel de Epalza, “Los moriscos y sus descendientes, después de la expulsión (después del cuadro del desembarco en Orán),” in *La expulsión de los moriscos* (Valencia: Bancaja), 1998, 43–70.

52 “[La] légèreté et imprévoyance criminelles du cardinal de Lerma et du roi Philippe III jetant sur les chemins des foules de malheureux fugitifs [...] sans se préoccuper nullement de leur destin en pays étranger, surtout dans la surprise d’une irruption si nombreuse qu’elle allait dépasser grandement les capacités d’accueil et de nourriture des provinces envahies”: Ricau, “L’Expulsion,” 262.

53 Cabrera, *Relaciones*, 410 (3 July 1610): “The Moriscos have begun to be removed from Aragón and given permission to travel overland to France; some 14,000 of them arrived at the border crossing at Canfranc, where they learned that the Queen of France had proclaimed that no Morisco would enter her realm, on pain of death; for they were in great need, and she did not want her kingdom overrun with beggars and paupers. This happened after some towns had already expended more than 40,000 *ducados* for permission to enter France, in addition to the tariffs they had paid on their belongings at the borders, and fees to the officers. Then they had to turn back to Los Alfaques to board ship for Barbary, which is a long journey; and on descending the mountains they began to take sick and die, and it was feared that with the heat of summer some plague would arise in the galleys and ships, if great haste were not made to embark them and take them away” (“Hánse comenzado á sacar los moriscos de Aragón, y darles permisión que puedan pasar por tierra á Francia, de los cuales han venido como 14,000 al puerto de Canfranc, donde supieron que la Reina de Francia había hecho pregonar que ningún morisco

reasons as the natives of Oran: drought, lack of food for so many exiles, feelings of insecurity (accompanied by many complaints about the behaviour of the Granadans), fear of epidemics, and rejection of the Moriscos' religious practices.⁵⁴

Documentary sources contain instances of abuse by ordinary French people, by ships' captains and sailors who were in charge of transport, and by some officials like Pierre d'Augier, who was responsible for embarking the Moriscos at Perpignan. But the Moriscos had the option of denouncing those abuses, so that a number of lawsuits were brought and the French authorities imposed severe sanctions, including even the death penalty, on the guilty.

French historians of the time and in the nineteenth century estimated the number of expelled Moriscos at between 400,000⁵⁵ and one million; the *Mercure François*, for instance, spoke of 900,000. A translation of the Expulsion decree of 12 January 1610 against the Moriscos of Andalusia, Castile and Murcia, published in Paris by François du Carroy's press in 1611, bears on its cover the

entrarse en su reino, so pena de la vida, porque iban muy necesitados, y no quería dar lugar se hiciese su reino de mendigos y pobres, lo cual les sucedió después de haber pagado algunos lugares por la licencia para ir á Francia mas de 40,000 ducados, y lo que habían pagado de derechos en los puertos de lo que llevaban, y á los comisarios que los guiaban; y así habían de dar la vuelta á los Alfaques para embarcarse para Berbería, que hay buena travesía; y al bajar de la montaña comenzaban a enfermar y morir, y podía temerse con los grandes calores no se encendiese alguna peste en las galeras y navíos, sino se pone grande diligencia en embarcarlos y llevarlos”).

54 D'Avity, *Les estats*, 146: “To hasten the passage of the said Moriscos to Barbary, on account of the complaint made by the inhabitants of Provence and Languedoc about the inconvenience of the Moriscos' presence, and the danger of contagion through the poverty to which they were reduced (the hospitals of Marseille being full of them); Their Majesties, as I said, sent in response the Sieur d'Aymar, charging him with ridding those lands entirely of Moriscos and seeing that they were escorted and sent to Barbary; not allowing any harm or injury to be done to them, and making sure that everything be done to calm the natives of the said Provinces” (“Pour faire haster le passage desdits Morisques en Barbarie, à cause de la plainte que faisoient les habitans de Provence, et du Languedoc, touchans l'incommodité du séjour desdits Morisques, et le danger de contagion par la misère où estoient réduits plusieurs d'iceux Morisques, dont les Hospitaux de Marseille estoient remplis: leurs Majestez, dis-je, envoyèrent le sieur d'Aymar des requestes, avec commission de délivrer entièrement lesdits païs de tant de Morisques et les faire conduire et passer en Barbarie, sans qu'il leur fust fait aucun tort ny iniure, et regarder à ce que le tout se fist au repos des habitans desdites Provinces”).

55 Fernand Mourret, *Histoire générale de l'Église. L'ancien régime (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Bloud et Gay), 1928–1933, 73.

figure of over 900,000 expelled.⁵⁶ We have seen that Richelieu believed them to number about 800,000. For Francisque Michel they totaled one million, of whom 15% or about 150,000 would have passed through France. E. Castelot puts the figure at about 500,000.⁵⁷

It was only with the studies of Lapeyre, Cardailiac and Santoni that more realistic numbers would be offered: according to these writers, between 50,000 and 60,000 Moriscos would have traversed France, that is to say, between 15% and 20% of all those expelled. These figures approximate those proposed by d'Augier,⁵⁸ the officer in charge of embarking the Moriscos in Provence. We cannot know with certainty how many stayed in France: perhaps the Catalans – some 3000 –, some rich Sevillian families and the occasional adventurer.

The Jealous Granadan, the Transvestite Morisco and the Chameleon

Because, as we have noted, the history of the Moriscos in France was very short – some 40 non-continuous years, from the first contacts in the 1580s up to the 1630s – and left few traces in the documentary record, we may choose to follow the footsteps of a few individuals who had prominence or attracted our attention because they were singled out in a particular source.

Gregorio Marañón⁵⁹ offers a list of Moriscos who remained in France and might have had some socio-economic relevance: the wealthy Juan Burra, of Huesca, in Toulouse; Lope Alexandre and Baltasar Barbastro. In Marseille he

56 *Edict du Roy d'Espagne sur l'expulsion et bannissement de plus de neuf cens mille personnes Morisques de son Royaume, qui machinoient de mettre l'Espagne entre les mains et en la puissance des Turcs et Sarrazins* (Paris: F. du Carroy), 1611.

57 E. Castelot, "L'expulsion des morisques d'Espagne," *Journal des économistes* 7–4 (1904), 17.

58 Santoni, "Le passage," 355–356. Francisque Michel, describing the Morisco Alfonso López's suit against d'Augier, writes that "he also produced certificates showing that he had conveyed and caused to be conveyed 60,000 Moriscos in safety across Languedoc, and that he had seen them embarked at the port of Agde with great care and foresight and carried to Barbary, with their belongings and in total safety" ("il produit aussi quelques certificats portant qu'il avait conduit et fait conduire en sûreté à travers le Languedoc, soixante mille Morisques, qu'il les avait fait débarquer au port d'Agde avec beaucoup de soin et de prévoyance et transporter en Barbarie, avec leurs biens, en toute sûreté"): Michel, *Histoire des races*, 84.

59 Gregorio Marañón, *Expulsión y diáspora de los moriscos españoles* (Madrid: Santillana, Fundación Gregorio Marañón), 2004, 79–80.

claims the presence of “cientos de ellos muy ricos [hundreds of very rich ones]” like Manuel Granada de Épila from Aragón, Alonso Muley and a certain Fierro from Lérída. Santoni cites other wealthy Moriscos who certainly stayed in France, and who played an important role as intermediaries between the French authorities and Moriscos who were crossing the border: Diego de Cárdenas and Jerónimo Enriquez in Marseille.⁶⁰

We would like to highlight here the stories of three Moriscos, two of them anecdotes that bear retelling, and the third as fascinating as a novel.

Charles d'Aigrefeuille devotes just a few paragraphs of his *Histoire de Montpellier* to the Moriscos' transit through Languedoc,⁶¹ informing us indirectly of the presence of Moriscos in Montpellier before and after their passage and Expulsion. In Book XVIII, Chapter 1, he tells the story of a Morisco gardener from Granada who had taken refuge in Lunel (about 21 km. to the southwest of Montpellier) and who played a leading role in an event that aroused the whole region in 1614.

This gardener, who was 45 years old and lived in a small house in the village, took in one day another Morisco from Granada who, passing through with his wife and son, had asked for shelter. The host was glad to oblige, for “he developed from the first a violent passion for his guest's wife.” In the course of the stay the wife rejected his determined advances on several occasions, until in his frustration the gardener conceived the dastardly plan of eliminating the husband, “the only check on his desires.” Inviting him out into the fields, he murdered him (“he killed him with knife-blows and hid him as well as he could in a ditch”). On the host's returning home, the son questioned him about the bloodstains on his shirt; our Morisco ended by confessing his crime, but threatened the son with the same fate if he told anyone about it.

The wife, concerned about her husband's absence, asked where he was, to which our Morisco replied that “he had gone to Montpellier to see other members of his nation.” The host continued to harass the wife and, in the face of her continued rejection, confessed his crime to her; he begged her to marry him and ended by forcing himself upon her (“and whether willingly or by force, he made her submit to his passion”). Then he petitioned a judge in Lunel to let him marry her, since her husband had disappeared. The judge agreed, but as the couple were on their way to church a man appeared who was wearing the dead man's clothes; asked how he had got them, he claimed to have bought

60 Santoni, “Le passage,” 365–368.

61 Charles d'Aigrefeuille, *Histoire de la ville de Montpellier depuis son origine jusqu'à notre temps* [1737], (Montpellier: C. Coulet), 1875–1882, 38–39; 29–30 relate the passage of the Moriscos.

them from some shepherds who had found a dead body in the fields. Witnesses remembered having seen that same clothing on the woman's first husband. In the ensuing alarm, the judge suspended the wedding and transferred the case to the criminal court in Montpellier.

Arrested and imprisoned, the host continued to deny his crime until, under torture, he confessed and was executed in April 1614 ("but the pain of the questioning to which he was subjected caused him to tell the truth at last: and he was condemned to die on the wheel in the City Hall square, the sentence being carried out in the month of April 1614").⁶²

This episode, to which the author devotes the same number of pages as to the Moriscos' passage through the region, gives us indirectly some interesting information about the fate of the group in France. The year 1614 fell after the decree that required Moriscos to leave the country, and after local authorities had adopted many measures to expel them (with a few exceptions for those who professed the Christian faith before Church authorities). Yet there were still Moriscos residing in Montpellier and its environs: the text says about the murdered husband that "he had gone to Montpellier to see other members of his nation." Our protagonist seems to have "professed" the Catholic faith, since after obtaining the judge's permission he was preparing to marry in the Church. We do not know when he had arrived in Lunel, but he must have been there since the early Expulsion years: the text speaks of him as an exile ("this man, a refugee in Lunel, cultivated a garden there"), and all we know of him is what he himself stated at his trial, that he was "a man of forty-five [...] who had seen [...] so many things and had experienced many changes of fortune."⁶³

The *Mercurie François*,⁶⁴ an ancestor of our modern press and one of the main sources of contemporary information about the Moriscos in France, offers another interesting story that illustrates their presence there even before the Expulsion.

An issue of the *Mercurie* for 1613 begins with a series of outlandish stories (about the giant Theutobochus whose bones, "discovered" by charlatans to

62 "Il conçut dès lors une violente passion pour la femme de son hôte"; "le seul obstacle à ses désirs"; "il le tue à coups de couteau et le cache le mieux qu'il peut dans une fosse"; "il étoit allé à Montpellier voir quelques-uns de sa nation"; "et de gré ou de force il la fit consentir à sa passion"; mais les douleurs de la question, où il fut appliqué l'obligèrent enfin d'avouer la vérité; et il fut condamné à mourir sur une rouë, dans la place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville: ce qui fut exécuté au mois d'avril 1614."

63 "Cet homme, réfugié à Lunel, y cultivoit un jardin"; "un homme de quarante-cinq ans [...] qui avoit vû [...] tant de choses e éprouvé l'une et l'autre fortune."

64 Jean Richer, ed., *Le Mercurie François* (Paris: J. Richer) 1613, 1613 III: 274.

perpetrate a fraud, proved to be non-human fossils; about another deceiver who claimed to be a hermaphrodite but was unmasked through the intervention of the famous anatomist Jean Riolan, junior). The publication then relates that there was a twenty-five-year-old Morisca hermaphrodite living in Paris under the name of Marion Manuel.⁶⁵ In view of the public scandal, that same Riolan and several other physicians from Paris's faculty of medicine tried to examine her, but as she resisted, they called on the authorities to intervene. We learn from the interrogation after her arrest that she had lived in Paris for ten years (i.e., since 1603) as a servant: *elle servoit deux Demoiselles logées ensemble* [she served two young Ladies who lived together].

The medical examination yielded a firm result: Marion was not only not a hermaphrodite, but was only pretending to be a woman.⁶⁶ The doctors discovered an uncircumcised member. Its owner was imprisoned and obliged to assume a man's clothing *et le garder tousiours sur peine de la vie* [and to wear it always, on penalty of death]. There is no reference to whether he was banished.

Aside from the morbid fascination of this sort of anecdote, we must admit that the story of a transvestite Morisco is an interesting one. We do not know, and perhaps will never know, how and why a young man of fifteen arrived in Paris before the Expulsion decrees and lived there for ten years disguised as a woman, at a time when such behaviour usually brought the death sentence. But we have here a perfect illustration of the different strategies that Moriscos adopted in order to survive.

Another more prominent personage, the Aragonese Morisco Alfonso López,⁶⁷ does provide us with solid information about the strategies that he

65 Ibid., 274: "There was a Morisca aged twenty-five years, with well-formed [traits of] both sexes, which she employed; she used to go about Paris dressed as a girl, recognized by everyone as a Hermaphrodite, and little children would point at her and call her by that name."

66 *Mercuré François*, III:275: "but the wily 'Morisca,' using his craft, withdrew his testicles into his groin and hid them together with his penis behind crossed hands: and with his fingers (the thumb and index finger of each hand) made his scrotum into the form of a vulva or cleft..." ("mais la moresque rusée, usant de son artifice, retira ses testicules dans les aines, et les cachoit avec sa verge dans le creux de ses mains: et de ses doigts, [qui sont le pouce et l'indicatif de chaque main] figuroit ses bourçes en façon de vulve, ou fente...") The doctors discovered the trick, and "perceived his virile member, which was of a thickness and length corresponding to his age, while his hanging testicles were the size of hen's eggs" ("apperçurent son membre viril prominent avec une grosseur et longueur competente à l'aage, et ses testicules pendants gros comme des œufs de poule").

67 See Youssef El Alaoui and Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Sur les traces d'Alfonso Lopez, créature morisque de Richelieu," in *L'expulsion des Morisques. Quand? Pourquoi? Comment?*,

developed in his adopted country of France. This fascinating individual lived from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, so that we can view through the lens of his experience the reigns of Philip III and his *valido* [favourite] Lerma, Philip IV and his favourite, Olivares, the France of Henry IV and his minister Concini, that of Louis XIII and Richelieu, and even the first years of the reign of Louis XIV and Mazarin.

Our protagonist moved within an atmosphere of political and military antagonism between Spain and France, against a background of acute Hispanophobia during his first years in France during the reign of Henry IV;⁶⁸ under Richelieu this fear became more discreet, if not less hostile. Hispanophobia in France was mirrored by Francophobia in Spain. These tensions can be explained by France's longstanding opposition to the Hapsburgs and by Spain's position as the dominant superpower in Europe. Because of Spain's military, economic and financial power, claims Joseph Pérez, it "is sometimes admired; more often it is feared; it is criticised; its arrogance, its excesses, its crimes are denounced. Why is Spain reproached? Because of its will to power and its desire to dictate the law to the rest of Europe."⁶⁹ This image of Spain arose from international circumstances and was not truly

international congress organized by Bernard Vincent (EHESS), 2–3 July 2009, Colegio de España, Paris [in press].

- 68 A fine example is a work by Antoine Arnaud (1560–1619), *Coppie de l'Anti-espagnol, fait à Paris. Deffendu par les rebelles de Sa Maiesté par Ant. Arnauld* (Lyon: P. Ferdelat), 1594, 12–14; after attacking the cruelty of Spanish *bouchers* [butchers] in the Indies, he predicts that the French will never let themselves be ruled by these *Maranes* [swine], i.e., *Marranos*, half Moors and half Jews: "What, are these Swine to be our Kings, our Princes? Shall a French gentleman bow the knee by a Spaniard's command? Shall France be caught in the snares of this King of Majorca, this half-Moor, half-Jew, half-Sarracen? [...] Oh, rather let the earth split open, let the sea overflow its bounds, we shall die without being able to command otherwise [...]" ("Quoy? que ces Maranes soyent noz Roys! noz Princes! que le Gentil-homme François fléchisse souz le commandement Espagnol? que la France soit adioustée entre les filtres de ce Roy de Maiorque, de ce demi More, demi Juif, demi Sarrazin? [...] O que plustost la terre s'ouvre, que la mer rompe ses rempars, nous mourrons sans y pouvoir donner ordre [...]").
- 69 "On admire parfois l'Espagne; plus souvent on la craint; on la critique; on dénonce son arrogance, ses excès, ses crimes. Que reproche-t-on à l'Espagne? Sa volonté de puissance et sa prétention à dicter la loi à l'Europe": Joseph Pérez, "Les rapports culturels entre la France et l'Espagne (XVI–XVII siècle)," in *Les Monarchies française et espagnole du milieu du XVIe siècle à 1714* (Paris: Editions du Temps), 2000, 314. See "Francophobie et hispanophobie" in Alain Hugon, *Au service du roi catholique. "Honorables ambassadeurs" et "divins espions." Représentation diplomatique et service secret dans les relations hispano-françaises de 1598 à 1635* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez), 2004, 54–63.

universal, since detestation of its power was combined with cultural attraction and a certain ambiguous admiration.⁷⁰

This ambiguity is reflected in a work by a *converso* [Jewish convert] doctor and friend of our Alfonso López, Dr. Carlos García: *La oposición y conjunción de los dos grandes luminaires de la tierra. Obra apacible y curiosa en la cual se trata de la dichosa Alianza de Francia y España. Con la Antipathía entre Españoles y Franceses* [Opposition and Conjunction of the Two Great Luminaries of the Earth. A Pleasant and Curious Work on the Fortunate Alliance of France and Spain. With the Antipathy Between the Spanish and the French] (Paris, 1617), better known under its short title *Antipatía entre españoles y franceses*. It was written to celebrate the imminent reconciliation of the two powers through the marriage of the future Louis XIII to the Spanish *infanta* Anne of Austria in 1615. Carlos García recalls in the work the historical reasons for the two nations' discord and mutual antipathy, and ends by praising the *rapprochement* that the marriage would bring; yet the text was employed afterward rather as a proof that the two nations were irreconcilable. For Pelorson, García's testimony was the most direct and concrete evidence of the continued Hispanophobia suffered by the Hispano-Portuguese community in Paris in 1617.⁷¹

To understand our Alfonso López we must be aware of the atmosphere of hostility and rejection toward Moriscos in Spain, and of xenophobia toward Spaniards in France. Another important element was the context of the Spanish exiles in Paris. This was both political – in the circle that surrounded Philip II's secretary Antonio Pérez (1591–1611), a circle that Alfonso López frequented in Paris – and religious: Paris housed a community of Spanish and Portuguese *conversos* in which Alfonso López had close and deep contacts and even friends. He also kept company with some Moriscos (employees of his, for example) whom historians have not identified.

All of these groups were marked by ambiguity in their loyalty to Spain: some felt resentment or hatred of their native country, while others dreamed of returning to it one day. Therefore it would be more accurate to call them anti-Hapsburg rather than anti-Spanish. Their nostalgia for Spain would lead them

70 Henry Méchoulan, "L'Espagne dans le miroir des textes français," in *L'État baroque. Regards sur la pensée politique de la France du premier XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Vrin), 1985, 424 ff. For examples of Francophobia in Spanish texts see Asensio Gutiérrez, *La France et les Français dans la littérature espagnole. Un aspect de la xénophobie en Espagne (1598–1665)* (Saint-Etienne: Université), 1977: Chapter 2 deals with relations between Spaniards and French immigrants, and with the negative image of the latter in Spain ("Activité des Français en Espagne," 45–92).

71 Jean-Marc Pelorson, "Le docteur Carlos García et la colonie hispano-portugaise de Paris (1613–1619)," *Bulletin Hispanique* 71 (1969), 518–574.

to work as informers or spies for both sides, in the hope of a future return. John Elliott and Alain Hugon believe that Alfonso López was a double agent,⁷² although at present nothing in his history allows us to confirm the fact. Had he been one, in any case, it could only have been with Richelieu's approval, for López was entirely the Cardinal's creature.

There are few studies dedicated to Alfonso López: the best documented is still Henri Baraude's *Lopez, agent financier et confident de Richelieu*.⁷³ Julio Caro Baroja dedicates a chapter to him with the title "*El último abencerraje*."⁷⁴ An article by Françoise Hildesheimer⁷⁵ and another by Sauzet⁷⁶ complete the picture. A number of studies give him a few lines or, at best, a page or two;⁷⁷ but these repeat, even reproducing the same errors, the work of Henri Baraude and the sources he drew on (e.g., Tallemant des Réaux's *Historiettes*,⁷⁸ La Force's *Mémoires*,⁷⁹ and Richelieu).⁸⁰

Many of these works make the questionable assumption that López was a Jew or a *converso*. Francisque Michel's interesting study sheds light on the origin of that confusion: in Volume II of his *Histoire des races maudites de la France et de l'Espagne* [History of the Cursed Races of France and Spain] the author devotes several pages to the Expulsion of the Moriscos and their passage through France, and four pages (81–85) to López, whom he presents as a Morisco, but adds: "In Paris, even persons of above-average condition confuse Mohammedanism with Judaism and take Lopez for a Jew, although he was a

72 John Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 116, 145; Hugon, *Au service*, 193, 375.

73 Baraude, *Lopez*.

74 Caro Baroja, *Vidas poco paralelas (con perdón de Plutarco)* (Madrid: Turner), 1981, 51–68.

75 Françoise Hildesheimer "Une créature de Richelieu: Alphonse Lopez, le *Seigneur Hebreo*" in *Les juifs au regard de l'Histoire* (Paris: Picard), 1985, 293–299.

76 Robert Sauzet "Alonso Lopez, procureur des Morisques Aragonais et agent de Richelieu (1582–1649)," in *Actes du II Congrès International Chrétiens et musulmans à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Zaghuan: Fondation Temimi), 1997, 213–219.

77 For instance the posthumous work of Marañón, *Expulsión y diáspora*, 85–88; Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *Entre el Islam y el Occidente: Vida de Samuel Pallache, judío de Fez* (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 1999, 158–161 [English translation: *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins), 2003, 116–119]; and Pelorson, "Le docteur."

78 Tallemant des Réaux, *Les historiettes de Tallemant Des Réaux: mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Levasseur), 1834–1835, II: 38–40.

79 La Force, *Mémoires*, vol. I.

80 Martial Avenel (ed.), *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'État du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale), 1853–1874.

Mohammedan. Is it not ironic that Moriscos should come from Spain only to be treated as Marranos? D'Aigrefeuille tells us that this label remained attached to families of that race [Moriscos] who settled in Languedoc."⁸¹

Another writer, Jules Mathorez (1919), also devotes a few pages to López in *Les étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Foreigners in France under the Ancien Régime)⁸² and likewise considers him a Morisco.

More recently, Pierre Santoni has provided clear proof of López's Morisco origins and identifies him specifically as an Aragonese from the province of Zaragoza.⁸³ Gregorio Marañón thought that he was from Granada, but this opinion is based solely on our protagonist's claim to be descended from the family of the Abencerrajes. The available documentary evidence makes him an Aragonese born in 1572 or 1582 who died in Paris on 21 October 1649 (thus, at the age of either 67 or 77).

We first hear of Alfonso López in 1602–1604: in those years he appears in documents of the Duke of La Force, Governor of Béarn,⁸⁴ as a negotiator and intermediary between the French authorities and the Moriscos. At this point he enters history as the *procureur/procurador* [agent or representative] of the Aragonese Moriscos who hoped to mount, with French help, an internal rebellion in Spain combined with an invasion from the north.⁸⁵ His arrival in France, as in the case of the two Moriscos we discussed earlier, preceded the decree of Expulsion from Spain.

Our Morisco appears once again in the course of his people's transit through southern France, and we can then follow him until his death in Paris. His biography still contains large lacunae between the date of his birth, 1572 or 1582, and the moment in 1610 when he can be securely placed in Toulouse: there he was managing the arrangements for the Moriscos' embarkation and defending their interests against abuses by the local people and some of their authorities. We do not know for certain just how he came to serve as the Moriscos' representative. He is called, unflatteringly, the *soy disant procureur* [self-styled agent] in documents published by Cardaillac from López's lawsuit against

81 "À Paris même des gens d'un rang au-dessus du vulgaire confondaient le mahométisme avec le judaïsme, voulant faire passer Lopez pour un juif, lui qui était mahométan. Et puis ne suffisait-il pas que les Morisques vinsent d'Espagne pour être traités de Marranes? D'Aigrefeuille nous apprend que cette désignation reste définitivement aux familles issues de cette race qui s'établirent en Languedoc": Michel, *Histoire des races*, II: 94–95.

82 Jules Mathorez, *Les étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Champion), 1919, I: 168–171.

83 Santoni, "Le passage," 366–367.

84 La Force, *Mémoires*, I: 379–380.

85 "Mémoire adressé à Henri IV par les Morisques d'Espagne," in Baraude, *Lopez*, 183–188.

Pierre d'Augier, the officer in charge of embarking the Moriscos in Perpignan: he had accused the Frenchman of stealing money from him and his charges.⁸⁶ But according to Francisque Michel, López was chosen for his post (together with two other men, Pedro Biberio and Tristán Oscén) by Morisco notables.⁸⁷ Santoni describes, on the basis of unpublished documents, the process of naming several representatives of the Moriscos.⁸⁸

This was the first rung of the ladder that would lead him to stardom and fame: at the time his legitimacy in the eyes of the French authorities rested only on the fact that he belonged to the Morisco community, but his path to the summit would distance him from that community. He owed his ascent not to it – although he would use it as a springboard – but rather to the strategies that he employed and, above all, to the relationships that he forged with key individuals who would open the doors to Paris and the Court. In the course of defending the Moriscos' interests against d'Augier he had met the Marquis of Rambouillet, the French Ambassador to Spain (1618–1629), who introduced him at Court and made him known to the king's favourite, Concini, and above all to Concini's wife Leonora Galigai, who was the queen's confidante.

In Paris he settled in the Rue Saint-Honoré, in the capital's liveliest neighbourhood, the site of intense artisanal, commercial and financial activity and home also to a community of converts with whom he would become intimately connected.

López also took advantage of Louis XIII's marriage to the Spanish *infanta* Anne of Austria in 1615 as a means of entering Hispanophile circles at Court. Paradoxically, the fact of being a Spaniard (as he is described in the documents) would open those doors to him. As a member of a group expelled from Spain for being considered not Spanish (that is, not Catholic), but regarded as a Spaniard and presenting himself as such in a Hispanophobic France, he found his identity as a Morisco – rejected in his own country – valued, with some limitations, in his land of exile. There his Morisco origin placed him among the enemies of Spain, a fundamental factor at a time when both powers were struggling to achieve hegemony in Europe. We should not

86 “Summary of the suit pending before the King's Privy Council between Jean d'Augier [...]. Against Alonce Loppe [*sic*], who calls himself the agent for the Moriscos of the land of Aragón [...]” (“Sommaire du procès pendant au privé conseil du Roy entre Jean d'Augier [...]. Contre Alonce Loppe soy disant procureur des Morisques au pays d'Aragón [...]”), in Baraude, *Lopez*, 196.

87 Michel, *Histoire des races*, 81.

88 Santoni, “Le passage,” 365–367.

forget, however, that Moriscos could settle in France, even temporarily, only if they were Christians.⁸⁹

As to his religious beliefs – and in spite of speculations about his Judaism – López, like many of his Morisco compatriots, seems to have practiced an outward Christianity. He boasted of eating pork frequently; but one of our chief sources about him, Tallemant des Réaux (whose father was his neighbor) tells us that “I nearly split my sides laughing, because my father lived nearby, to see him eating pork almost every day. No one considered him a better Christian because of that.”⁹⁰

This is one of the most interesting facets of the spectacular career of this man, who eventually became the counselor, confidant and spy of Richelieu and one of the richest men in Paris (owner of jewels, gold, works of art, luxurious furnishings, etc.). Richelieu even entrusted him with strategic missions, among them the purchase of warships and arms in Holland, and a report on the reconstruction of the port of Le Havre whose general outline was followed later by Colbert in 1671.⁹¹ We also find him as the chief promoter for building the city of Richelieu, between Tours and Poitiers, a project that arose from a whim of the Cardinal’s beginning in 1631.⁹² All this shows that our protagonist was able, through his relationships but also through his own merits, to rise to the summit of seventeenth-century French society under the protection of the all-powerful Richelieu.

It would be interesting to analyse the strategies that López and other Moriscos developed for integrating into a society in which, as descendants of both Moors and Spaniards, they were doubly foreign. López would succeed better than most, however: he obtained French nationality in 1630–1631 and eventually rose to noble rank.

Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wieggers believe that López, who in France was taken to be either a Spanish Jew or a Morisco, serves as a good example of both groups of exiles from his native land. His highly unusual

89 Michel, *Histoire des races*, 92–94; Santoni, “Le passage,” 371–376; *ibid.*, “Les tournées de François de Beaumont pour l’expulsion des morisques de Provence (janvier-mars 1611),” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 79 (2009), 280–281.

90 “Je me crevois de rire, car mon père étoit son voisin, de le voir manger du pourceaux quasi tous les jours. On ne l’en croyoit pas meilleur chrétien pour cela”: Tallemant, *Les historiettes*, 46.

91 Philippe Barrey, “Les débuts de la grande industrie havraise,” in *Recueil des publications de la Société Havraise d’Études Diverses* A83 (1916), 34–35.

92 Baraude, *Lopez*, 108; P. Raveau, “Un détail inédit de la construction de la ville de Richelieu,” *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l’Ouest*, 3 s., t.V (1919), 260–273.

career shows how skilfully some descendants of both Jews and Moors trod a path of cultural ambiguity.

The three Morisco characters we have profiled were real persons, but their lives contained elements of the best fiction. As Luce López-Baralt has observed,⁹³ Cervantes's Ricote, although he was imaginary, represented well those Moriscos who moved in and out of Spain before, during and after the Expulsion: supported by networks of solidarity that we are just beginning to identify, they illustrate the Morisco drama in their own way and stand for exiles of all times and places who have had to create new lives far from their homes. Some managed on their own, while others took advantage of a variety of networks created by the Expulsion. It would be worthwhile to explore more fully the following topics: *conversos* of Jewish origin who helped Moriscos to take their property in secret out of the country and into France; Morisco networks in France both before and after the Expulsion;⁹⁴ collaboration between Moriscos and *conversos*⁹⁵ and between Moriscos and Protestants (by widening the paths first traced by Cardaillac); and remarkable individual Moriscos. These are the lines of inquiry that will be most fruitful for the history of the Moriscos in France.

The story of the Spanish Moriscos had its epilogue in Europe; in France it included these tales about the jealous man from Granada, the transvestite in Paris, and that fascinating chameleon, Alfonso López.

93 López-Baralt, *La literatura*, 395–397.

94 López-Baralt, *La literatura*, 395–442, analyzes secret routes taken both out of and back into Spain by sixteenth-century Moriscos: toward Tunis and Turkey, passing through France and Italy. Her study completes Chapter 2 of Cardaillac's thesis *Le passage des Morisques en Languedoc* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry), 1970, 10–14.

95 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qanṭara* 29–2 (2008), 307–332, esp. 314–326 on France. The author and his co-author Jorge Gil Herrera expand these observations in their contribution to the present volume, a piece which explores the existence of supportive networks of both Moriscos and *conversos* in southern France before the Expulsion; these aided the exiles' transit to their ultimate destinations in the Maghreb. It is one of the most interesting chapters of the Moriscos' history in France, between their respective Expulsions from Spain beginning in 1609 and from France beginning in 1610.

Moriscos in Ottoman Galata, 1609–1620s

*Tijana Krstić**

Introduction: The Ottomans and Moriscos – A Story Still Waiting to be Told

Sixty years ago, Fernand Braudel intuited in his epochal study of the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II that the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires were intimately interdependent, but scholars have been slow to follow up on his suggestion.¹ As a phenomenon that straddled the boundaries between these two empires in the early modern Mediterranean, the Expulsion of the Moriscos from the Iberian Peninsula between 1609 and 1614 and their subsequent dispersion across Europe, North Africa and the Ottoman Empire represents a research topic of particular interest in this context. Nevertheless, to this day, the study of the Moriscos' plight before and after Expulsion continues to be the exclusive concern of historians of the early modern Iberian Peninsula, with little engagement by historians from other related fields. In a world where the nation-state framework for the study of history still reigns supreme despite advances in theory of history of empires and migrations, the Moriscos, especially in their diasporic manifestations, figure as an elusive trans-national and trans-imperial phenomenon which historians outside the field of "Spanish" history have been slow to claim as a subject of research.

Studies of relations between the Moriscos and the Ottomans, the key imperial rival of the Spanish Habsburgs and the polity that Moriscos were accused of secretly supporting as an insidious "fifth column" before their Expulsion from Spain, are particularly few and far between.² Until recently, most of what

* I would like to thank my colleagues Natalie Rothman (for assistance with the translations from Italian), Matt Padrone (for assistance with translations from Spanish), as well as Günhan Börekci and Eric Dursteler for helpful suggestions on primary sources.

1 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin), 1949.

2 The studies include Efdaleddin Bey, "Bir Vesika-ı Müelim," *Tārīh-i Osmānī Encümeni Mecmuası* 1–4 (1910), 201–210; James T. Monroe, "A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire," *Al-Andalus* 31–1 (1966), 281–304; Andrew Hess, "The Moriscos: an Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *American Historical Review* 74–1 (1968), 1–25; Louis Cardaillac, "Le Turc, Suprême Espoir des Morisques," *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Economiques et Sociales, Extrait du cahier Série Histoire* 1–2 (1974), 37–46; Raphaël Carrasco,

was known about Ottoman-Morisco relations concerned early contacts between Spanish Muslims and the Ottoman-sponsored Barbary corsairs in the Western Mediterranean following the fall of Granada, as well as mostly abortive plans on the part of the Ottoman Sultans Süleyman (1520–1566) and Selim II (1566–1574) to provide more decisive military support for the embattled Moriscos as part of the Ottoman bid for military and religious supremacy in the Western Mediterranean.³ This research was later expanded to include the epoch of Sultan Ahmet I (1603–1617), during whose reign the Expulsion transpired, and demonstrated that the Ottoman sultan aimed to ease the hardships of the refugees by sending letters to different European sovereigns asking for the Moriscos' safe passage as well as by ordering tax breaks for the refugees who decided to settle in Tunis, Algiers and Anatolia.⁴ In recent years this information has been supplemented by further documents, both imperial commands and records from the imperial registers of important affairs which document a more extensive Ottoman engagement than previously surmised with the plight of the Spanish Muslims, despite the ultimate failure to provide substantial armed assistance.⁵

“Péril ottoman et solidarité morisque (La tentative de soulèvement desmorisques des années 1577–1583),” *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 25 (1982), 33–50; Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman et le Problème Morisque*, (Zaghouan: CEROMDI), 1989; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegers, “An Appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk Sultan and its Counterpart to the Ottoman Court: Textual Analysis, Context, and Wider Historical Background,” *Al-Qanṭara* 20–1 (1999), 161–190. For further bibliography on specific issues see the notes that follow.

- 3 The most comprehensive work on this topic is Andrew Hess, *A Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University), 1978.
- 4 See Abdeljelil Temimi, “Politique Ottomane face l’implantation et a l’insertion des Morisques en Anatolie,” in *Etudes d’histoire Morisque* (Zaghouan: CEROMDI), 1993, 9–24; id, “Evolution de l’attitude des autorités de la régence de Tunis face à l’accueil des Morisques, à la lumière d’un nouveau firman du Sultan Ottoman,” in *Actes du V^e Symposium international d’Etudes morisques sur Le V^e centenaire de la Chute de Grenade 1492–1992* (Zaghouan: CEROMDI), 1993, II: 711–722. On Ottoman policies for settling the Moriscos see also Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Rahim, “Morisco Settlement in Egypt through the Religious Court Documents of the Ottoman Age,” in *L’expulsió dels moriscos: Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 158–163; and Mustapha Ben Hamouche, “De Grenade à Alger, ou la politique urbaine ottomane face au problème andalou,” *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 11–12 (1995), 31–48.
- 5 See Chakib Benafri, “Endülüs’te Son Müslüman Kalıntısı Morisko’ların Cezayé Goçu Ve Osmani Yardimi,” [“The Migration to Algiers of the Moriscos, the Last Muslims of al-Andalus, and the Ottoman Assistance (1492–1614)”] unpublished M.A. thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe

While there are numerous excellent studies about the Morisco settlement in North Africa, including Tunis and Algiers, which were under Ottoman suzerainty, next to nothing is known about the identity and destiny of the Moriscos who arrived and settled in Ottoman Rumeli and Anatolia from the 1570s and after the Expulsion in 1609. In his classic study on the geographical origins and numbers of the Morisco refugees, Henri Lapeyre suggests that after the Expulsion about 500 Aragonese Moriscos went to Salonika (Thessaloniki in modern Greece), while the same number went to Istanbul, along with another 600 Sevillians.⁶ A surviving itinerary for Morisco refugees seems also to suggest that Salonika was one of the important destinations, since it advises refugees to pass through Venice and there ask for further instructions from Ottoman Muslim merchants (who could be identified by their white turbans). The itinerary states: “You will tell them that you have brothers in Salonika and that you wish to go there.”⁷ Other than this, nothing is now known about the Salonika community of the Moriscos. According to an imperial edict from 1613, other groups of Morisco refugees settled in the provinces of Adana, Uzeyr, Sis, Tarsus and Kars.⁸ So far, researchers have been unable to follow up on the destiny of these settlers either.

Slightly more information has been unearthed about the Moriscos who settled in Istanbul. Ottoman chronicles and other narrative sources, which are typically silent on the topic of the Moriscos, reveal that the majority of the refugees, from the 1570s onwards, settled in the Galata neighborhood of the Ottoman capital⁹ – a topic to which I will return. In his endeavor to reconstruct the Morisco diaspora, Gerard Wiegers recently shed light on the identity of some of the Morisco refugees to Istanbul. Thanks to Wiegers’ investigation into Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī’s¹⁰ contacts with Moriscos in Istanbul we know the

University), 1989; also Lütfi Şeyban, *Mudejares & Sefarades. Endülüslü Müslüman ve Yahudilerin Osmanlı’ya Göçleri* [“Mudejars and Sefards – Migrations of the Andalusian Muslims and Jews to the Ottoman Empire”] (Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık), 2007, 231–328.

6 See Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l’Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN), 1959, 208, note 5. See also Antonio Dominguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1978, 229–230.

7 See J.N. Lincoln, “An Itinerary for Morisco Refugees from Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Geographical Review* 29–3 (1939), 483–487, esp. 485.

8 Abdeljelil Temimi, *Etudes sur l’Histoire Morisque* (Zaghouan), 1993, 36–37.

9 See Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553,” in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren), 1998, 324–327.

10 Aḥmad b. Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn al-faqīh Qāsim ibn al-shaykh al-Ḥaḡarī al-Andalusī (c.1570-d. after 1637) was a Morisco intellectual, translator and diplomat whose life and

names and occupations of some of those settlers in the period immediately after the Expulsion in 1609. First of all, the refugees who were bound for Constantinople seem to have been the richest Moriscos in the diaspora. Among them was one Francisco Toledano, an iron merchant from Madrid, the Bejarano family and the Lasarte family of Guadalajara.¹¹ Imam Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Rāfi‘ was also originally with them, but he then went on to Tunis. In his letter to the Moriscos in Constantinople from Rabi I 1021 (12 May 1612), al-Ḥaḡarī addresses by name a Doctor Perez Bolhaç, a Mr. Baldivia, and a Mr. Tapia. He refers to Moriscos as “the nation” ruled by the Ottoman Sultan.¹²

But what did these and other Morisco refugees do once they arrived in Istanbul? How did they integrate into their new environment, and what professional and political goals did they espouse? How did they adapt to an Ottoman society that was increasingly concerned with Islamic orthodoxy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century? What role did Moriscos play in Ottoman imperial, religious and cultural politics, both in the Mediterranean and domestically, in the “age of confessionalization”?

This paper will focus on the Morisco community that established itself in Ottoman Galata after the Expulsion in 1609. I will try to offer some very preliminary answers to the questions above through a discussion of several incidents recorded in Ottoman and Western sources that provide glimpses into the existing dynamic between the Moriscos and the Ottoman government, as well as between the Moriscos and other communities in the Ottoman capital. This essay is a reflection of preliminary research towards a project which aims to investigate convergences and divergences in the imperial imagination and religious politics of the Spanish and Ottoman empires by focusing on the Moriscos as a crucial yet neglected lynchpin of Mediterranean religio-political trends in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

career spanned Spain, Morocco, France, Netherlands, Tunis and Egypt. See Gerard A. Wiegiers, “A Life Between Europe and the Maghrib,” in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* (Amsterdam: Rodopi), 1992, 87–115.

- 11 Gerard A. Wiegiers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḥmad b. Kāsim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit), 1988, 32; Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 187.
- 12 Wiegiers, *A Learned*, 33. See also id., “Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos During the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36–2 (2010), 141–168.

Sketching the Outlines of the Morisco Community in Galata in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries

Primary sources suggest that most of the Morisco refugees who reached Istanbul from the second half of the sixteenth century settled in Galata – the neighborhood of the Ottoman capital where Genoese and other foreign merchant communities had established themselves alongside local Greek and Jewish populations since Byzantine times. In the sixteenth century, Ottoman Galata was known for its taverns and its diverse human make-up, both admired and feared by Ottoman poets as the domain of “infidels.”¹³ It is here that first the Venetian ambassador (*bailo*) and, later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, other foreign diplomats established their residences.¹⁴ It is also here that the Franciscan, Dominican, Jesuit and Capuchin missions founded their headquarters and embarked on the proselytisation of Ottoman Orthodox Christians (and Muslims, as some sources suggest, although such activity could result in the death penalty).¹⁵

Nevertheless, in his study of Galata, the Ottoman historian Halil İnalçık writes that an Ottoman survey from 1455 reveals that some of the first settlers in this neighbourhood after it was handed over to the Ottomans by the Genoese upon the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 were actually Arabs from Syria. Syrians participated in the Genoese trade between Galata (Pera), Syria and Egypt and traded as far as Lviv (in today’s Ukraine). It is likely, as İnalçık suggests, that these merchants had already settled in Galata in the Genoese period. The pattern of international Muslim settlement in Galata was apparently reinforced after 1534 when Ḥayr al-Dīn Barbarroja Pasha became the admiral of the Ottoman navy and made the Kasim Pasha district of Galata his headquarters, attracting Arab sailors from the Maghreb to settle there as well.¹⁶

Moriscos began to settle in Galata especially after the War of the Alpujarras (1568–71). By the late sixteenth century, foreign residents in Galata began to

13 For intriguing poetic descriptions of Galata by Ottoman poets see Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University), 2005, 63–69.

14 For the background see Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: A. Picard et fils), 1894; Louis Mittler, “The Genoese in Galata: 1453–1682,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10–11 (1979), 71–91, and more recently Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University), 2006.

15 See Belin, *Histoire*, and Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923* (New York: Cambridge University), 1983.

16 See İnalçık, “Ottoman,” 324–327.

report on a significant Morisco presence in their midst. In 1594, *bailo* Matteo Zane wrote: “In Constantinople every day there come together more *Mori* from Spain, who are called *Mondesari*, as if they came only from Granada, but in effect the whole of Spain is contaminated, and as soon as they arrive they raise the turbans to their heads [i.e. make themselves Muslims].”¹⁷ This comment is extremely interesting as it appears from Ottoman sources that the forcibly Christianized Spanish Muslims actually tried to take advantage of Ottoman policies towards converts to Islam – policies that were becoming increasingly central to Ottoman imperial ritual and sultanic legitimacy at the turn of the seventeenth century. One Ottoman document from 1607 (AH 1015), from the reign of Sultan Ahmet I (1603–1617), records the payment to be made to a member of the *Endülüüs ta’ifesi* (the Andalusian community) who is said to have “abandoned everything he had in his own country for the sake of Islam” and to have “come to the religion of Islam.”¹⁸ This document resembles numerous other contemporary documents awarding new clothes (or their cash equivalent) to converts to Islam.¹⁹

As recent studies have shown, the ritual of conversion in the imperial palace as well as circumcision by a surgeon on the premises and the dispensation of new clothes became formalized during Ahmet I’s time. This new visibility of the conversion ritual was part and parcel of the overall imperial policy that was increasingly emphasising sultanic piety and religious orthodoxy – a trend that would intensify towards the middle of the seventeenth century and take on various forms of social disciplining previously unseen in the Ottoman context. I have recently suggested that we have to study Ottoman religious and imperial politics at the turn of the seventeenth century within the broader context of an early modern age of confessionalization, since it had as much to do with contemporary international political and religious developments as with trends within the Ottoman Empire itself.²⁰

17 See Eugenio Alberi, ed., *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al senato durante il secolo decimosesto* (Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina), 1853, III: 390: “Di Spagna concorrono ogni giorno Mori in Constantinople, che si nominano Mondesari, come se uscissero solamente di Granada, ma in effetto tutta la Spagna n’è contaminata, e subito giunti levano il tolpante.”

18 BOA, A-RSK, 10/51.

19 On this practice see Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans. Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730* (Leiden: Brill), 2004.

20 See Tijana Krstić, “Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51–1 (2009), 35–63.

The Ottoman Theatre of Confessional Struggle – Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Moriscos in Galata (1612–1613)

The sources suggest that the Moriscos who migrated to Constantinople took advantage in various ways of increasing confessional polarisation both in the Ottoman Empire and internationally. First of all, we know that they took an active part in the negotiations leading to the capitulation treaty between the Dutch envoy Cornelis Haga and the Ottoman government in 1612. In this process they sought to outplay the ambassadors of other, mainly Catholic nations who tried to undermine Dutch efforts. In a letter to his superiors dated April 7, 1612 Cornelis Haga wrote:

Never could I have believed that this would have given me so much trouble. There is still a great difficulty ahead, for the Capudan Pasha, who was very well disposed, has been removed from his post and so cannot do what he would have done. The Turkish Court changes rapidly and it is difficult to count on support; the only course is to hit on the right moment. The other Ambassadors have been so pressing that they have induced the Turk to make large demands and to enquire minutely into the condition of your Lordships' States. They have taken the opinion of certain nations such as Jews and Moors whom they trust on the ground that they have become Turks. The Moors spoke highly in our favour, and sent some of their leading men to beg me to present their thanks for the benefits and the loyalty shown them by the subjects of our nation, in assisting them to leave Spain for Barbary. They praise our nation to the skies for the magnanimity displayed in the war with Spain. There are a great many of them here who have learned the Turkish law. They beg your Lordships to be kind to those of their nation who go to Holland from France, and to send them here in your ships.²¹

Gerard Wieggers has discovered that one of those Moriscos was the physician Alonso de Luna, (his Muslim name was Muhamad Abulac) – a fascinating personality in his own right – who advocated the Dutch cause in talks with the chief *mufti* or *şeyhülislam* (the chief jurist of the Empire).²²

21 This is an excerpt from the letter by Haga secretly obtained by the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople and sent to England. The full letter in English translation is available at: "Venice: July 1612," Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice: Vol. 12, 1610–1613 (1905), 385–401.

22 See Gerard Wieggers, "The Persistence of Mudejar Islam? Alonso de Luna (Muḥammad Abū'l-Āsī), the *Lead Books*, and the *Gospel of Barnabas*," *Medieval Encounters* 12–13 (2006),

Another contemporary source provides an interesting post-scriptum to Haga's letter. Edward Grimeston, a continuator of Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) for the years 1610–1620, records, immediately after commenting on the conclusion of the Ottoman-Dutch capitulations, a rise in tensions between Jews and Moriscos in Istanbul.²³ He writes that in December 1612 the Jews,

whose long Slavery throughout the World reproacheth their wretched and miserable Obstinacy, received at Pera [Galata], near Constantinople, the weight of a furious Tempest which fell upon them, stirred up against them by the malice of *Morisques Granadines* chased out of Spain, and retired into Levant. These, having by Presents won the favour of the Cadi, or Judge of the Place, who was a Negro, newly settled in that Charge by the Grand Visier Nassuh; they obtained Power from him to thrust all the Jews out of Pera, and to ruine their Synagogues. This Power they executed with all violence: And yet these miserable Jews durst not make their Complaints unto the Magistrate [...]²⁴

Grimeston continues:

The Insolencies of the Morisques transported them farther; for after they had expelled the Jews out of their Dwellings, they threatened to do unto the Christians at Pera as much as had been done to them in Spain; and they bragged, that they would seise upon their Churches, and especially on that of the Franciscan Friars, the which was reasonable fair for the

498–518, esp. 511–512. For an alternative view that contests the role of Alonso de Luna in the production of the Lead Books and the Gospel of Barnabas, see Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Médico, Traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, Cristiano Arábigo de Granada," *Chronica Nova* 32 (2006), 187–231.

23 Richard Knolles, *The Turkish History from the Original of That Nation to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Basset), 1687. Edward Grimeston's role in continuing Knolles' narrative for the years from 1610 to 1620 is still something of a mystery. He was apparently a famous English translator during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) and James I (1603–1625) who translated a number of classical and contemporary histories, especially those of great European kingdoms and empires. He had access to a variety of primary documents in Dutch, French and Italian. He presumably used these documents to compose an original account of events in Ottoman history of the early seventeenth century rather than translating any extant narrative. See G.N. Clark, "Edward Grimeston, the Translator," *The English Historical Review* 43 (1928), 585–598.

24 Knolles, *The Turkish*, 917.

Place. But the French Ambassador, having made his Complaint to the chief Visier, he prohibited them to make any attempts against Christians, upon pain of rigorous punishment. This Prohibition stayed their fury; but they did not forbear in all other occasions to shew the cruel Hatred they owe unto Christians so as through all the Levant, in all Encounters where they came, they did thousand times more mischief than the Turks themselves.

Another contemporary observer by the name of D. Otavio Sapiencia Clerigo, a Jesuit from the kingdom of Sicily, makes similar allegations in his treatise entitled *Nuevo Tratado de Turquia*. Clerigo was enslaved in the Western Mediterranean in 1604 and ransomed in Constantinople in 1609 by the French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Baron de Salignac, who subsequently died in 1610. The new French Ambassador, Achille de Harlay de Sancy (served 1611–1619), took Otavio Sapiencia Clerigo as his chaplain and confessor, in which capacity the latter served until 1616. Clerigo provides some fascinating details about the Moriscos who settled in Constantinople after the Expulsion. Among other details, he substantiates Grimeston's allegations, although he does not mention the incidents against the Galata Jews.

Clerigo prefaces his comments on the struggle for the Catholic churches in Galata by giving a short history of the Ottoman treatment of Catholic churches in this neighbourhood. He tells the story of Mehmet's agreement with the Genoese on the occasion of their surrender of the city after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The author admires the fact that the sultan left all the churches intact, asking the Genoese to grant him only one, that of St Paul (also known as *San Domenico*), which was subsequently turned into a mosque known as the *Arab Camii*. Although some authors have asserted that this church became a mosque only in the late sixteenth century, after Morisco settlement in the city, Clerigo, who was well informed of conditions in the local Catholic community, supports the notion that San Domenico had been a mosque since the fifteenth century.²⁵ He then continues:

...the other churches by God's particular mercy remain there today, and were procured by the Morisco rebels from Spain who went to

25 For the argument on the later conversion date see Fredrick W. Hasluck, "The Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 22 (1916/1917–1917/1918), 157–174. For the most recent summary of the scholarly debate see Howard Crane's commentary to Hafiz Huseyin al-Ayvansarayi's eighteenth-century guide to Istanbul mosques, *The Garden of the Mosques* (Leiden: Brill), 2000, 355, n. 2660.

Constantinople and offered twelve thousand ducats to the Grand Vizier to have them taken from the Catholics so that they could build their mosques in them. But although the Vizier agreed, the Christian ambassadors and those of Germany, France and Venice heard of it and went together to the Vizier and told him that to take the churches from the Catholics was tantamount to an expulsion of all the Christian ambassadors and was a breaching of peace with the Emperor, King and Republic, so that the Vizier desisted in his barbarous intent.²⁶

Although both Grimeston and Clerigo point to the Moriscos as the key culprits in the struggle surrounding the Catholic churches in Galata and the rising inter-confessional tensions in the neighbourhood, the former's account also identifies the Moriscos' "partner in crime," who is described as a Negro – the "Cadi" or judge (Turkish: *kadı*) of Galata. From the Ottoman sources we learn that this man was Mullah Ali or Ali Efendi, who served as the *kadı* of Galata between 1612 and 1615. Ali Efendi had an unusual career for an African (probably Ethiopian) slave in the Ottoman Empire in that he managed to become a member of the Ottoman elite by ascending through the judicial hierarchy rather than through Palace service as a eunuch.²⁷ Apparently, this was not the only occasion on which Ali Efendi caused consternation among *la Magnifica Comunità* of Galata. In a dispatch (*dispacci*) of December 19, 1613 sent to the Venetian Doge and the Senate, the Venetian *bailo* Cristoforo Valier wrote:

26 Otavio Sapiencia Clerigo, *Nuevo Tratado de Turquía con una descripción del sitio, y ciudad de Constantinopla, costumbres del Gran Turco, de su modo de gobierno, de su Palacio, Consejo, martyrios de algunos Martyres, y de otras cosas notables* (Madrid: viuda de Alonso Martín), 1622, folios 54r–55v. "Las Demás Iglesias por particular merced de Dios permanecen oy, las quales los Moriscos rebeldes de España, que aportaron a viuir a Constantinopla procuraron, y ofreciendo doze mil ducados al gran Vecir, que las quitasse a los Católicos, y se las diesse a ellos para hazer sus Mezquitas: mas aunq el Vecir ya lo concedía, los Embaxadores Christianos, como de Alemania, Francia, y Venecia, sabiendolo se fueron juntos, y hizieron instancia al Vecir, diziéndole , que queriendo quitar las Yglesias a los Católicos, era una expulsión de todos les Embaxadores Christianos, quebrando la paz con el Emperador, Rey, y República, con que el Vecir desistió del bárbaro intento."

27 Indeed, he managed to do so as a protégé of Mehmet Aga, the first Chief Black Eunuch of the Ottoman Palace (1575–1591). For Ali Efendi's career see Baki Tezcan, "Dispelling the Darkness: The Politics of 'Race' in the Early Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire in the Light of the Life and Work of Mullah Ali," in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World. A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz* (Madison: University of Wisconsin), 2007, 73–96.

The Cadi of Pera was instructed some time ago to take a description of all the foreign Christian merchants in the city, and from this he proceeded to make an attempt to force them and the dragomans to pay the *carazo* [Turkish *harac*—tax levied on Christian subjects of the sultan] for the new mosque. This plan remained some time in suspense, but on the departure of the king and Grand Vizier it was revived by the Cadi, who informed all the ambassadors and myself that we should direct the merchants of our nations and the dragomans to pay the *carazo*. Seeing the gravity of the situation, all the ambassadors met and agreed to act together in the common interest. The ambassador of England agreed to waive the question of precedence with the ambassador of France. They resolved to go to the Mufti at once. They informed him that the measures taken by the Cadi were contrary to the capitulations, and that the merchants would be obliged to abandon their trade if this was not stopped. The Mufti replied that to demand the *carazo* of those who had lived long in the country was just and reasonable and he was not aware that our merchants were exempted by the capitulations, and even if they were it would be contrary to law. Merchants were not obliged to stay more than a year, but if they did they ought to pay tribute. Similar impositions were made in other places in Christendom, particularly in Venice...*The Mufti still insisted, and said that if the merchants went Spaniards would come in their place* [my emphasis], and even if they did not Constantinople would manage very well with her own people. He also declared that if a merchant happened to die, he would claim all his property for the king.

In the end, Valier adds:

This affair is of great moment, as the consequences will affect merchants at Cairo, Aleppo and other places. The ambassadors and I are acting together to offer the utmost possible resistance and we are using every effort to avoid violence.²⁸

As these and other sources suggest, Ali Efendi was not one to shy away from causing an international diplomatic crisis. Despite the intercession of Halil Pasha, the Grand Admiral of the Ottoman Navy, on behalf of the European ambassadors, he persisted in the strict application of Ottoman law. However, what strikes one as interesting in the Venetian *bailo's* report of the

28 From: "Venice: December 1613," *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*: Volume 13, 1613–1615 (1907), 71–78.

conversation with the *mufti* (presumably the *şeyhülislam* Hoca Sadeddinzade Mehmet Efendi) is the latter's comment that the European merchants would be replaced by "Spaniards," which in this context can only be taken to mean Muslim refugees from Spain. Morisco refugees apparently vied for the same niche in the economic life of Galata as the European merchants and the local Jewish community, which was in this period rapidly losing the favor and leverage it had once had at the Ottoman court. That the competition was both economic and religious is also suggested in another contemporary Venetian source. *Bailo* Simón Contarini writes in his report (*relazione*) of 1612:

There are two kinds of Spaniards (*Spagnuoli*), and they continually increase in Constantinople and throughout all the states of the Grand Signor. One is that of the Moors (*Mori*), who escaped and recently were expelled from Spain, who work in various trades, as blacksmiths and others. Many of them also attend to commerce, having carried much from this city [Venice] with some damage to our business: because, remaining in need of money for lodging, clothing and other [necessities] they do not support her [Venice] at all, and so everyone runs away from them to the detriment of our merchants. The other sort is of those Marranos (*Marani*), who for fear of the inquisition of Spain escaped our true religion, and go clandestinely to live as Jews in Constantinople. Both of them incite [lit. excite] the Turks as much as they can to invade Spain, promising great returns in the reigns of Aragón and elsewhere, but they are not listened to, or if listened to, they are not believed. Their cause should be much less embraced by the Turks in the future, when most [literally: in greater number] of these people will have left Spain.²⁹

29 "Due sorti di Spagnuoli sono, e si accrescono contintinualmente in Costantinopoli e per tutti gli Stati del gran Signore. Una i Mori, che fuggirono e ultimamente furono cacciati di Spagna, i quali lavorano di varii mestieri, come di fabbro e di altro, attendendo ancora molti di essi alla mercanzia, avendone portato *massime* questi ultimi da questa città molta con qualche danno del negozio nostro: perchè, restando essi in bisogno di denaro per alloggiare, vestire ed altro non la sostengono punto, e così tutti corron da loro con pregiudizio de' nostri mercanti. L'altra sorte è di quei Marani, che per timore dell'inquisizione di Spagna fuggirono la nostra vera religione, e vanno scopertamente a vivere nel Giudaismo in Costantinopoli. Gli uni e gli altri di costoro eccitano quanto più possono i Turchi a invadere la Spagna, promettendo gran rivolgimenti nei regni di Aragona ed altrove, ma non sono ascoltati, o se ascoltati non creduti. Il che in futuro tanto meno vuol la ragione resti da' Turchi abbracciato, quanto già in maggior numero è uscita quella gente di Spagna." See *Relazione del Nobil Uomo Simon Contarini cavalier ritornato bailo di Costantinopoli l'anno 1612* (Roma: Biblioteca Italiana), 2005.

It is clear that the Venetians were acutely aware of the competition and potential threat of the Morisco settlers, and the *Mufti's* not-so-veiled threat that foreign merchants might be replaced by refugees from Spain suggests that the image of the Moriscos as the Muslim “colonisers” of Galata was not far from the Ottoman authorities’ minds. At this point in history, in 1612, the Ottomans probably did not yet have a clear notion of how many refugees they were to expect but it seems indisputable that they entertained the idea of using them to alter the religious and ethnic makeup of Galata, at least from the late sixteenth century onwards. Indeed, the project of changing the demography of Galata lasted throughout the seventeenth century and accelerated in particular after the Great Fire of 1660 that was used to remove the Jewish, Greek and Catholic residents from the neighbourhood and resettle them, often without any compensation. This project, which became dear to the hearts of the imperial family especially during the reign of Sultan Mehmet IV (1648–1687), entailed the confiscation of churches and an overall Islamization of the area of Galata.³⁰

Moriscos and Catholic Martyrs in Galata, 1616

A further illustration of how the Moriscos who settled in Constantinople after the Expulsion became involved with the Ottomans in the age of confessional politics is provided by a series of incidents resulting in the ‘martyrdom’ of various Catholics of Galata. Otavio Sapiencia Clerigo was a key witness to one such incident which greatly disturbed the Catholic community in Constantinople and likely led to the downgrading of the French ambassador’s influence with the Porte. The Moriscos’ role in these events is both explicitly and implicitly suggested by several authors.

In his *Nuevo Tratado* Clerigo gives a detailed account – a sort of martyrology – of a man named Don Geronymo de Urrea, a native of Zaragoza in Aragón, who arrived in Constantinople in 1609 on important business, after having been “rescued” or ransomed in Algiers (*Argel*).³¹ Being a good Catholic, Don Geronymo wrote to the French Ambassador to the Porte, Monsieur de Salignac, asking for his hospitality. The Ambassador welcomed him into his home and hosted him for four months, as Don Geronymo’s passage to Spain was delayed.

30 See Marc D. Baer, “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004), 159–181.

31 Clerigo is probably suggesting that Don Geronymo was ransomed after being a captive of the Barbary pirates in Algiers.

In the meantime, the Ottoman authorities were informed that the Ambassador harboured a Spaniard in his house and requested that the man be shown at court. After initially denying that he had such a guest, the Ambassador finally sent Don Geronymo to the Grand Vizier, acting on the vizier's assurances that nothing would befall Don Geronymo. However, while at the Palace, Don Geronymo was seized and forcibly converted to Islam. He was given the name Murad and promoted to a position at court.

According to Clerigo, for the following few years Don Geronymo suffered acutely and remained a devout Catholic, secretly keeping in touch with Clerigo as his confessor. Finally, in February 1616, Don Geronymo, a.k.a. Murad, decided to escape and enlisted Clerigo to help him gain passage to Venice. Clerigo writes that Don Geronymo entrusted a Morisco friend with the details of his plan and that the latter betrayed the scheme to the authorities a few days before the escape, specifying that Clerigo – a Jesuit – had masterminded the entire affair. Consequently, Don Geronymo was seized and an arrest warrant was issued for Clerigo, who went into hiding with the help of the French Ambassador (at this point, de Sancy). The Ambassador sacrificed his influence with the Porte to protect Clerigo, who was dressed as a “Turk” and smuggled out of Constantinople in a small boat. Clerigo further writes that Don Geronymo was imprisoned for five months and was finally tried on charges of apostasy by the Ottoman court. Determined to die as a Christian in Constantinople if he could not do so in Christendom, Don Geronymo confessed his Catholic faith, blasphemed against Islam in front of an Ottoman judge, and earned “martyrdom” on July 28, 1616.

It is likely that this affair, in combination with other related events, set the tone for Ottoman policy towards Catholics in Galata for the rest of this year, which was fraught with anti-Catholic – especially anti-Spanish – and anti-imperial incidents. Various sources report that heightened sensitivity to Catholic presence in Constantinople was due to the official visit of the Habsburg Emperor Matthias' envoy Herman Graf Czernin von Chudenitz, which took place in this same year.³² The Emperor's embassy entered Constantinople in June 1616, reportedly preceded by five trumpeters and drummers, and by a standard-bearer carrying a flag depicting Christ on the cross on one side and the Austrian cross on the other, which greatly upset Sultan Ahmet I.³³ Rumours also circulated that there were many people dressed in local Christians' clothes who entered the town with the envoy, as well as that the foreign ambassadors and

32 See the report on the embassy by Czernin's secretary Adam Wenner, *Tagebuch der Kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft nach Konstantinopel, 1616–1618* (Munich: Universität), 1984.

33 See Belin, *Histoire*, 250.

churches in Galata had amassed weapons and were preparing to provoke an uprising among the local Greeks. Even more provocatively, rumours circulated that the foreign residents of Galata were in contact with the Persians and the Cossacks and armies waiting all around Istanbul.³⁴

As the key protector of Catholics in Constantinople, the French Ambassador bore the brunt of anti-Catholic sentiment, which was particularly exacerbated after the appointment of Halil Pasha to the post of Grand Vizier in 1616. The latter was apparently determined to eliminate French influence at the Porte, possibly as a result of de Sancy's intransigence during the affair involving Clerigo and Don Geronymo.³⁵ De Sancy's lack of influence is revealed in an incident at the end of August 1616 which led to the imprisonment of several Jesuits and death of the Patriarchal Vicar of the Catholic community in Galata. In late August, the Jesuits of St. Benedict's were herded into prison under the unlikely pretext that they were in contact with the Ukranian Cossacks and the Habsburg emperor. More gravely, they were accused of spying for the Spanish, giving absolution to renegades, baptizing Muslims, and receiving fugitive slaves and sending them to Christendom.³⁶ In the light of Clerigo's own admission, the last few accusations do not sound that outlandish, and it is possible that the Jesuits were targeted in part as a consequence of the affair with Don Geronymo and Clerigo.

By far the most reliable witnesses to these and other events in Galata were the Venetian *bailos* who in their daily and weekly dispatches to the Venetian senate gave details of goings-on in the Catholic community of Constantinople. On 3 September 1616, *bailo* Almoro Nani sent a *dispacci* stating that the church of San Benedetto had been assaulted by the *Cadi* and *Subassi* (chief officer in charge of policing the neighborhood) of Galata. He also relates that six Jesuits were removed and the rooms were all searched, and word spread that the same was to be done to the church of San Francesco. Instead the perpetrators went

34 See Auguste Carayon, *Relations inédits des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus a Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle* (Poitiers and Paris), 1864, 88–89.

35 There seems to have been a long-lasting feud between de Sancy and Halil Pasha. At the end of 1617 de Sancy was the victim of a very distressing incident. The Grand Vizier Halil Pasha, exasperated by the escape of the Polish prisoner Koreski from the Yedi Kule prison, accused de Sancy of having been his accomplice, tortured several of his secretaries, and held him prisoner for five days. In consequence of these events de Sancy was recalled to France and the Ottoman Government apologised to Louis XIII. See http://oce.catholic.com/index.php?title=Family_of_Harlay. Interestingly, some sources suggest that it was the Venetian *bailo* who furnished the report to Halil Pasha, which points to intra-Catholic fighting for prestige at the Ottoman court. See Frazee, *Catholics*, 83.

36 Carayon, *Relations*, 88–89.

to Santa Maria where they came upon the Patriarchal Vicar Giovanni Battista [Sangallo] da Montebarcchio, who was trying to hide the records (*scrittura*). All the *scrittura* were taken to be read, and the priests were interrogated before Bassa (Halil Pasha) and then taken into the custody of Bassa Caimecam (*kaymakam pasha*) as suspected spies.³⁷

As both the Jesuit sources and Almoró Nani suggest, the French Ambassador, under whose protection the Jesuit order found itself, set out to try to free the prisoners but failed. As a consequence, the Patriarchal Vicar died in prison. Mutual mistrust of the French and the Venetians is revealed in the sources: a letter included in Carayon's compilation of Jesuit correspondence from the Levant suggests that the Venetians coveted the Franciscan church in which the Vicar resided, and schemed to have the French accused of fomenting rebellion against the Sultan.³⁸ However, both the *bailo* and Clerigo, who also reports on this incident, suggest otherwise: the *bailo* states that the cause of the incident might be the *Granatini*, i.e. the Moriscos, and Clerigo is unequivocal in his statement that the "martyrs" were the victims of treason by some Moriscos of Spain who declared them to be the spies of His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain.³⁹

This type of accusation by Moriscos against the Catholic prelates in Galata, whether based on fact or completely unfounded, apparently never grew old. Sources suggest that in 1623 leaders of the Catholic community in Galata opposed the election of a local Catholic prelate on the grounds that he was already labelled by the Moriscos the "ambassador of the pope," which could have led to further confiscation of churches.⁴⁰ These sorts of accusations were accompanied by an apparently concerted effort by the Morisco community to procure the conversion of Catholic churches in Galata into mosques. Apropos of another incident concerning the attempt of the Ottoman authorities to seize Jesuit churches in Galata in January 1635, a source suggests that a Morisco was offering 20,000 piastres to the authorities in return for allowing him to turn the church of St. Francis into a mosque.⁴¹ Although by this point Morisco involvement in the project may have become an "urban myth" among the Catholics of Galata, or the sources may simply be repeating the rumours that circulated on previous similar occasions, the diversity of the sources that point to tensions between Moriscos and various Catholics residing in this particular neighborhood of Constantinople cannot be ignored. Perhaps more surprising are the allegations of frictions between the local Jewish community and the

37 I thank Eric Dursteler for this reference and summary of the SenDsp, busta 81, 387r–389r.

38 Carayon, *Relations*, 89.

39 See *ibid.*, and Sapiencia, *Nueuo tratado*, fol. 55v.

40 Belin, *Histoire*, 170.

41 *Ibid.*, 256.

Moriscos, and this is an issue that needs to be substantiated by further research focusing both on Istanbul and on Salonika.

(A Preliminary) Conclusion

The discussion in this paper reflects the first stage of my research into the story of the Moriscos' settlement in the Ottoman Empire after their Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula between 1609 and 1614.⁴² This research is based primarily on Western European sources authored by contemporary witnesses residing in Constantinople at the time of the Moriscos' arrival. Unlike Ottoman chronicles, which are typically silent on Moriscos beyond sporadic details that concern diplomatic dealings with representatives of the Morisco community before arrival and settlement in the Ottoman Empire, Western sources have been most helpful in suggesting further avenues of research. For instance, they point to the records of the Ottoman Galata court from the tenure of the judge Ali Efendi as a source that might reveal more about the economic and social life of the Morisco refugees in Constantinople. By the same token, in revealing substantial economic and religious competition between Moriscos and Catholics in Galata, Western sources suggest that an important source of information on this aspect of the Morisco story might be the so-called *Ecnebi Defterleri*, or the "Records of the Foreigners" which detail legal and commercial transactions among the inhabitants of Galata. In addition, a variety of Ottoman administrative sources from the period remain to be thoroughly researched for occasional information about various Morisco individuals. Although in some cases the Moriscos are identified in the Ottoman sources as members of the *ta'ife-i mudajjal* (or *mudajjan*; i.e. the community of "those who were allowed to remain" in Arabic) or *Endülüüs ta'ifesi* (in Turkish, "Andalusian community"), there is a possibility that in some cases they are treated in the sources simply as other Muslims and as such rapidly slip under the researcher's radar. In any case, it is only through a dialogue between the Ottoman and Western sources that a more complete picture of the destiny and activity of the Moriscos in their new environment would emerge. For the time being, what appears to be certain is that their story is inseparable from the broader history of the Catholic community in Galata as well as from the European confessional and political struggles transposed and enacted locally in the Ottoman context.

42 Since originally presenting this paper in 2009, my research has uncovered further details on Moriscos in Galata that have been published in "Contesting Subjecthood and Sovereignty in Ottoman Galata in the Age of Confessionalization: The Carazzo Affair, 1613–1617," *Oriente Moderno* 93 (2013): 422–53.

The Moriscos in Morocco

From Granadan Emigration to the Hornacheros of Salé

Mercedes García-Arenal

In Morocco, the Moriscos expelled from Spain between 1610 and 1614 were known, like the compatriots who had preceded them, by the name of “Andalusians” (Arabic *andalusī*, pl. *andalusiyyūn*, i.e. from al-Andalus) and they formed part of an emigration process which had gone on for centuries. Morocco and the Naşrid kingdom of Granada had been the main destinations of the displaced Muslim populations affected by the great Christian territorial conquests in the late Middle Ages, and the emigration which followed the Expulsion of 1610–14 was no more than the final chapter in a continuous and complex process.¹ The aim of this contribution is, then, to show the continuity of a chiefly Granadan process of emigration to Morocco and to highlight the existence of a set of structures created by these emigrants, which were to serve the Moriscos expelled at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Such continuities and structures constituted long-lasting patterns which I will describe in some detail: a leading role was played in them by prophetic predictions and the desire to return to and even re-conquer former Peninsular territories. It is particularly important to emphasise these emigrants’ tendency to form autonomous communities that acted independently of local Moroccan authorities. Equally significant was the influence of the emigrants on certain political decisions made by Moroccan sultans, especially in the areas of political propaganda and diplomacy.

In a brief chapter like this, it is difficult to do justice to the richness and variety of a phenomenon which went on for more than a century. In the first part of it I will deal with the mainly Granadan emigration process and the various ways in which these Granadans settled in Morocco. The second part will cover the organised and clandestine voluntary departures of Castilian and Granadan Moriscos in the years before the official Expulsion decree. The third and final section will consider another group of Moriscos in Morocco: those who arrived after the official Expulsion. Most members of this final group

¹ Muḥammad Razzūq, *Al-Andalusīyyūn wa ḥiğrāthum ilā al-mağrib ḥilāla al-qarnayn 16 wa 17* (Casablanca: Ifriqiya al-şarq), 1989.

I am grateful to Gerard Wiegiers and Daniel Hershenzon for references to sources I have used in writing this chapter, as also for their commentaries and suggestions.

settled within the areas and structures established by their predecessors in exile, but the information we have on this final stage in the emigration story reveals a complex and varied panorama which included Moriscos who were sometimes unwilling or unable to settle into their host country. Some of these Moriscos were fervent Catholics, many attempted to return to the Iberian Peninsula and others were not considered an integral part of the populations of Tetouan, Xauen or Salé for a considerable period of time. The Morisco inhabitants of Salé even negotiated with the Spanish authorities in an attempt to hand over control of the town's port in exchange for the right to return to their home towns in Spain. Taken as a whole, the emigration of Moriscos to Morocco reveals itself to have been a process of great complexity, extent and duration, and one which had clear consequences for the country which received them.

Sixteenth-century Granadan Emigration

From the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, the advancing Christian conquest of Granada produced an exodus of its inhabitants with effects that were to prove highly significant for several regions of North Africa. Such emigration reached one of its peaks after the capture of the city of Granada and the departure for Morocco of the Granadan elites of the Nasrid kingdom. The extent of legal emigration, i.e. the *paso allende* or passing-over to the other side which took place between 1485 and 1501, is hard to quantify. From what is stated by Hernando de Zafra in his letters to the Catholic Monarchs, we learn that some 8000 people left Granada and the Alpujarras region between January 1492, when the *Capitulaciones* officially handing over the city of Granada were signed, and October 1493, when the ruling sultan Boabdil left the city.² But other departures had already been organised, and had been taking place ever since Muḥammad al-Zagal left in the autumn of 1490. The German traveller Hieronymus Münzer, then resident in Granada, estimated that 40,000 people left the city, and this may even have been an under-statement. The possibility of returning to Granada after three years was contemplated in the signed *Capitulaciones*, and a number of important individuals did indeed go back. This included men like "Abrahen Abenazeyte," Zagal's former personal secretary, who under the name of "Hernán Valle" became the lifetime *regidor* [governor] of Guadix; don

2 José Enrique López de Coca, "Granada y el Magreb: la emigración andalusí (1485–1516)," in *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb (siglos xiii–xvi)* (Madrid: CSIC), 1988, 409–452.

Fernando Abdihaque de Fez, who had left with Boabdil; or Hernando Abengalib, who had belonged to the household of the last Naşrid sultan. These and many other individuals returned and converted to Christianity.³

But there was also, both during and after the process of legal emigration, another ongoing process that was clandestine. From the start of the conquest the Castilians had authorised the legal departure of the defeated population after the purchase of a right to leave which could only be afforded by the wealthiest classes. For the rest, such charges and various kinds of indirect pressure by the conquerors made emigration difficult. Clandestine people-trafficking became common after 1500 (particularly after the revolt of the Albaicín neighbourhood of Granada and the conversion decrees of 1502) and was especially intense around the 1570–73 period as a consequence of the War of the Alpujarras.⁴ There are numerous references to departures of Moriscos in Spanish records in the following decade, as well as frequent mention of the attempts made by civil and military authorities to prevent Moriscos from settling in coastal regions.⁵

Once they were in Morocco, the Granadans created from the late fifteenth century onwards a series of structures that were mainly urban and coastal, and made it possible for them to take up corsair and trading activities, as well as the trade in ransomed Christian hostages. A century later, the Moriscos deported by the decree of General Expulsion were also to engage in such activity. The Granadans protected the coast from Christian attacks and harassed borders and garrisons. Above all, they engaged in corsair activity. They did this for monetary gain, since *el corso* was a quasi-commercial trade universally practised throughout the Mediterranean, but they also did it as a means of waging holy war on the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula – the term *ġihād* is often used to describe the work of corsairs in contemporary Arab sources. But one of the

3 López de Coca, “Granada,” 426, and *id.*, “Granada en el siglo XV: las postrimerías nazaries a la luz de la probanza de los infantes don Fernando y don Juan de Granada,” in *Andalucía entre oriente y occidente, (1236–1492): actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía* (Córdoba: Diputación), 1988, 599–642.

4 José Enrique López de Coca, “Esclavos, alfaqueques y mercaderes en la frontera del mar de Alborán (1490–1516),” *Hispania* 38–139 (1978), 275–300, esp. 277.

5 This is true not just of the records in Simancas, but of those in the Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia [ADM]. As an example, see ADM, Leg. 2395. Carta del Rey al Duque, El Escorial, 29 septiembre 1579... “Una carta del 21 del presente se rescibió en que nos avisais de los once moriscos que de un lugar del condado de Niebla se pasaron a Berbería y del ynconbiniente que es que vivan ni estén en puertos de mar, y lo que conbernia que así los moriscos libres como los esclavos, se saquen de los lugares marítimos por los ynconbenientes que dello podrían resultar...”

main reasons for this corsair activity, in the first half of the sixteenth century, was that it was needed as a way of organising the clandestine transportation of Mudejars and Moriscos to North Africa. The “Andalusian” populations involved in such actions, who were mainly of Granadan but also of Valencian origin, showed themselves capable of an intrepidity and bellicosity that was fuelled by the sense of uprootedness produced by wars and resentment towards inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula.

This early process of emigration from Granada was certainly very different from that which occurred in the first years of the seventeenth century, for these emigrants were able to leave Spain in relatively comfortable circumstances. Most importantly, they spoke Arabic and possessed an Arabo-Islamic culture which made it easier for them to adapt to life in Morocco. They nevertheless displayed many of the features on which I intend to focus in the case of the expelled Moriscos: participation in corsair activity and the armies of the sultans, continuous contact with their coreligionaries in the Iberian Peninsula and the organisation of clandestine operations to help these colleagues leave the Peninsula. All of this was mixed with a desire to carve out an independent kingdom in Morocco, although this desire alternated and was combined with attempts to return to the Peninsula in one way or another. These ambitions resulted in various negotiations with Spanish authorities but also in several attempts to influence Moroccan authorities to provide the assistance needed to make a military invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. Morisco attempts to conquer the south of Spain using Morocco as the starting-point for an armed landing in the Peninsula never came to anything, but they did take place, and are recorded from the time of the War of the Alpujarras. Indeed, one of the aims of the Moriscos who took part in this war was to persuade Morocco to collaborate in a Muslim invasion and recovery of the territories of the former kingdom of Granada. Válor and other leaders of the Alpujarras “wrote many letters to many Moorish kings of Barbary begging for their favour and aid, offering them many goods and wealth from the kingdom of Granada and the whole of Spain, which they would receive without much trouble for there were over three hundred thousand Moors in Spain and with their help it would soon be placed in their hands.”⁶ The failure of the uprising of the Alpujarras and the lack of the

6 Juan de Arquellada, *Sumario de prohezas y casos de guerra*, f. 143, *apud* Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La suerte de los vencidos. Estudios y reflexiones sobre la cuestión morisca* (Granada: Universidad), 2009, 111: “escribieron muchas cartas a muchos reyes moros de Beruería pidiéndoles su favor y ayuda, ofreciéndoles muchos bienes y riqueças del Reyno de Granada y de toda España, lo qual abonarían con mucha facilidad porque ellos eran más de trescientos mil moros en España y con su ayuda sería presto puesta en su poder.”

assistance expected from Barbary influenced the positions taken by the exiles in Morocco and at the same time breathed further life into the project of recovering the lost kingdom with Moroccan aid. All of these issues will be discussed in more detail in what follows below. But it is important to emphasize the difference in this sense between the Granadan emigration to Morocco and the Aragonese and Valencian exiles, a difference in strategy and aims that had taken place during their life in the Peninsula: while the uprising of the Granadans during the War of the Alpujarras was meant to reconquer the kingdom of Granada, Valencian and Aragonese uprisings and contacts with the Ottoman Turks were trying to raise a Morisco as their own king under the suzerainty of the Ottomans (a system similar to the one operating in North Africa) and under the Ottoman laws which allowed Jews and Christians to live as such in Islamic lands: “cada uno se salva en su ley.”⁷ I argue that this difference is an important ingredient in the specificity of Morisco emigration and settlement in Morocco.



But let us consider for a moment the political and social situation of the country where the exiled Granadans settled. During the first half of the sixteenth century a small dynasty based in the city of Fez, that of the Wattasids, sought to uphold ancient Marinid splendour and defend itself from or negotiate with the Christian Iberians who captured garrison towns and ports on the coasts of Morocco. The conquest of Fez in the 1540s by Muley Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Sa’dī, a member of what was to become a new dynasty based in Sus, brought the whole territory of Morocco under his control, with borders not unlike those it has today. Muley Muḥammad al-Šayḥ was the first sultan of the Sa’di dynasty, a family which based its legitimate right to power on the fact (or claim) that it descended from the Prophet Muḥammad and was therefore entitled to use the term *Xarife* or *Jerife* (from the Arabic *šarif*), and that it had made the *ḡihād* against Christians an important part of its political propaganda.⁸ This dynasty nonetheless resorted at various times to alliances with the Spanish Crown, especially during the reign of Philip II, as a way of defending itself from Turkish interference. The Ottoman Empire had extended its frontiers as far as Algeria and one of its ambitions was to annex Morocco, or at

7 Rodrigo de Zayas, *Los moriscos y el racismo de estado. Creación, persecución y deportación (1499–1612)* (Córdoba: Almuzara), 2006, 431–432, 478, 485.

8 Mercedes García-Arenal “Mahdi, murabit, sharif: l’avènement de la dynastie Saadienne,” *Studia Islamica* 21 (1990), 77–113.

least take control of ports on its Atlantic coast, an outcome that was feared by both the Sa'dis and Spain. Indeed, Muḥammad al-Šayḥ, who had refused to recognise the sovereignty of Istanbul, later died at the hands of his Turkish guard, who were acting under instructions from the Sublime Porte. The Moroccans also had to defend themselves from Spanish incursions and the Spanish occupation of a number of its major ports, and occasionally resorted to Ottoman aid for this purpose. Several Sa'di candidates for the Moroccan throne were later, during their civil wars, to alternate between seeking the support of Spain and that of the Ottoman Empire.

Portugal also had a history of intervention in Morocco, which had started with the taking of Ceuta in 1415 and continued with the capture or establishment of a series of ports on the Moroccan Atlantic coast, from Ceuta and Tangier to Santa Cruz do cabo de Gue, today Agadir, and Safi – the last two of which were captured between 1503 and 1508. These were the so-called *fronteiras* or towns *d'alem mar* which Portugal used to supply itself with wheat, and as a staging-point on the routes towards the West Indies. The existence of these strongholds in Christian hands (Spain had held Melilla since 1497) produced a feeling of harassment in Morocco, as well as making it impossible for the country to take part in maritime trade. The Moriscos settled, then, in a new border region, that of the coastal towns not occupied by the Portuguese or Spaniards, but situated very close to them. Given that it was impossible for them to play a role in sea trade and build their own fleet, the Moriscos set about fitting out small ships with which to harry other vessels at sea. The Granadans who populated and fortified a series of areas on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco became even more important from the late fifteenth century on.

In northern Morocco the exiles did not have much trouble forming autonomous communities which remained virtually independent for many years and were free to establish their own structures and authorities. The most representative case was that of Tetouan, a town that had been sacked and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1437. A Granadan military leader, al-Manzarī, obtained a licence from the sultan of Fez to re-populate the town with his compatriots, and went about re-building and fortifying it.⁹ It is particularly clear in the case of Tetouan that there was an uninterrupted flow of Granadan and Morisco

9 John Derek Latham, "The Reconstruction and Expansion of Tetuan: The Period of Andalusian Immigration," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb* (Leiden: Brill), 1965, 387–408. Repr. in *From Muslim Spain to Barbary* (London: Variorum), 1986. Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *Al-Mandari el granadino, fundador de Tetuán* (Granada: Caja Provincial de Ahorros), 1988.

emigrants from the moment of its founding until the time of the Expulsion. This is supported, for example, by the documents examined by Guillermo Gozalbes Busto referring to twenty descriptions of ransoms of captives carried out in Tetouan between 1523 and 1677. These records show the survival for more than a century of surnames of Hispanic origin, which mixed with those of the Jews, who were also Hispanic and took part alongside the Moriscos in the ransom trade, and with those of the so-called *renegados* or *elches*, Christians converted to Islam, whose lines of work and ways of life were similar to those of the Moriscos. The money generated by the trade in ransomed captives helped to create a local oligarchy of Granadan origin. Tetouan was described as “inhabited by many trading Jews and Andalusian Moors with the surnames Cárdenas, Cabrerías, Mendozas, Lucas, Paes, Olivares and others who held on to their papers and title deeds in the hope that they could be used to re-possess their estates, which they said were unjustly occupied by the Christians.”¹⁰ The notion of the illegitimacy of the Christian conquest of the kingdom of Granada is one which we will meet again in this chapter, and was often used by the Granadan Moriscos who dreamed of recovering their former territory. Tetouan’s involvement in the maritime expeditions which raided Spanish ships and coasts and took captives who were then ransomed was a constant feature for nearly two hundred years.

Tetouan received foreign (mainly English and Dutch) consuls and agents, and sought to become a kind of city-state, a “free state like Venice or the Netherlands” as the Granadans themselves put it.¹¹ There are various indications that when faced with the impossibility of recovering their old kingdom, the Granadan oligarchy decided that it wanted to carve out a new kingdom for itself in Morocco. Aḥmad Ḥasan, a Granadan who rose to power after the death of al-Manẓarī, established relations via Father Contreras with the Emperor Charles V to propose to him a conquest in his name of the kingdom of Fez, or even the surrender to Spain of the town of Tetouan itself, as a preliminary token ahead of the conquest of northern Morocco.¹² It was not the first time

10 Alejandro Correa da Franca, *Historia de Ceuta*, BNE, ms. 9741 fol 55. v *apud* Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos* (Granada: G. Gozalbes), 1992, 105: “habitada de muchos judíos comerciantes y moros andaluces con los apellidos de Cárdenas, Cabrerías, Mendozas, Lucas, Paes, Olivares y otros que conservan sus papeles y escrituras con la esperanza de que llegue el tiempo en que les sirvan para la posesión de sus haciendas, que dicen les ocupan injustamente los cristianos.”

11 BNE, ms. 3634, f. 9, *apud*, Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos*, 228.

12 Gabriel de Aranda, *Vida del V.P. Fernando de Contreras* (Seville: T. López de Haro), 1692, 507–536; SIHM, Espagne, 95 and ff, 126 and 135 and ff.

that this had occurred nor was it to be the last: in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Sīdī ‘Alī ibn Rašīd, al-Manẓarī’s father-in-law, made contacts with Hernando de Zafra and the Count of Tendilla – by then governors of the city of Granada. Various items of documentary evidence of these contacts have survived, mainly in the correspondence of Tendilla.¹³ The contemporary Portuguese chronicler, Damião de Gois (1502–1574), specifically stated that Ibn Rašīd had offered to assist the Catholic King to conquer Fez on condition that he would be made king of this new realm – a kingdom which would enjoy a vassal status with regard to the Spanish king.¹⁴ These sorts of dealings between Muslims and Christians were typical of a border region, as is well known from the final period of the kingdom of Granada. The border had simply moved southwards. The “Granadan” nature of the situation becomes even more evident when we see that Aḥmad Ḥasan’s request for assistance from Spain related to the internal struggles between the descendants of al-Manẓarī and the Banū Rašīd. The affair was resolved by the capture of Tetouan by the Sa’di Muley ‘Abd Allāh in 1567, an action that was carried out by an army corps of Andalusians headed by a well-known Granadan military leader, al-Duġālī.¹⁵



The best-known and most widely documented case is that of al-Manẓarī, but the pattern was repeated in a number of smaller places. An endless number of minor news items have come down to us as scraps found in the Portuguese and Castilian chronicles of the period. One example is provided by the village of Tazuta, close to Melilla, where according to chronicler Luis del Mármol, “an Andalusian Moor, one of those who passed over from the kingdom of Granada, begged permission of the king of Fez and rebuilt it and populated it with Andalusian Moors he had taken with him and from there he was always

13 See for example, Emilio Meneses, ed., *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia), 1974, II: 36.

14 Damião de Gois, *Crónica do felicíssimo Rei Dom Manuel* [Lisboa, 1566–67] (Coimbra: Universidade), 1926, I: 39. Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos*, 219. Marcel Bataillon, “Le rêve de la conquête de Fès et le sentiment impérial portugais au XVI siècle,” in *Mélanges d’études luso-marocaines dédiés à la mémoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival* (Lisboa-Paris: Institut Français au Portugal), 1945, 257–284 and esp. 259 and ff.

15 Mercedes García-Arenal, “Vidas ejemplares: Sa’id ibn Faray al-Dugali (m. 987/1579) un granadino en Marruecos,” in *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb (siglos XIII–XV)* (Madrid: CSIC), 1988, 453–486.

waging war on the Christians of Melilla and Cazaza.¹⁶ Another example is that of the small port of Azgán, repopulated and fortified by “Andalusians, a warlike people, and they have more than six thousand fighting men and a number of horses and crossbowmen and gunmen on foot.”¹⁷ Similar news survives of Targa,¹⁸ a coastal town close to Xauen, or of Camis Metgara (or al-Ḥamīs)¹⁹ “five leagues from Fez,” and also Sofroy in Cuzt and many other places.²⁰ Recent archaeological digs on the northern Moroccan coast and around a series of coastal towers and fortifications between Xauen, Wadi Law and Abu Aḥmad, show that these towers were built by Granadans in imitation of the system of coastal vigilance of the kingdom of Granada.²¹ The political region of Tetouan and its mountainous backdrop in Xauen extended eastwards along the hills of Jebala, not far from the coast, and between the Portuguese garrison towns of Ceuta and Tangier, where Moriscos were also to settle.

There was also Andalusian settlements on the Atlantic coast, and Portuguese chronicles record a number of minor episodes in the areas around Arzila y Larache. These consisted of attacks by Granadans and Andalusians who had taken it upon themselves to wage small-scale campaigns of attrition and continuous harassment.²²

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- 16 Luis del Mármol, *Primera parte de la descripción general de Affrica, con todos los sucessos de guerras que a auído entre los infieles y el pueblo christiano* (Granada: Rene Rabut), 1573, II: 156 r.: “un moro Andaluz de los que se passaron del reyno de Granada la pidió al rey de Fez y la reedificó y pobló de moros andaluzes que avia llevado consigo y desde allí hazía siempre guerra a los cristianos de Melilla y de Caçaça”; J. Lèon l’Africain, *Description de l’Afrique* (Paris: Maisonneuve), 1956, I: 291.
- 17 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: 167 r.: “Andaluzes, gente bellicosa, y tienen más de seys mil hombres de pelea y algunos cavallos y vallerteros y escopeteros de a pie.”
- 18 C. Gonzalbes Gravioto, “La costa de Ceuta a Tetuán en los siglos XV Y XVI (Notas de toponimia portuguesa),” *Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española de Tetuán* 19–20 (1979), 83. See also André Bazzana, Patrice Cressier, et al., “Première prospection d’archéologie médiévale et islamique dans le Nord du Maroc,” *Bulletin d’Archéologie Marocaine* 15 (1983–84), 367–450, esp. 381.
- 19 Camis Metgara (al-Ḥamīs), Lèon l’Africain, *Description*, I: 178. Mármol, *Primera parte*, II, 83 v-84.
- 20 As Mármol names the little coastal localities difficult to identify nowadays. Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: 162 r.
- 21 Bazzana et al., “Première.”
- 22 In Mazagan and the surrounding area there had been a recorded Morisco or Andalusí presence since 1560 (*apud* Antonio Dias Farinha, *Historia de Mazagão durante o periodo filipino* (Lisboa: Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos), 1970, 76. See also Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais d’Arzila. Crónica inédita do século xvi* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências), 1915, 193.

The phenomenon of repopulation and fortification was not restricted to Morocco, as is shown by the contemporary sources and records mentioning several places on the Algerian coast from Oran and Mars al-Kabīr to Bougie, and which include Tenes, Mostaghanem, Miliana and Algiers itself. The case of Cherchell (Sargel in Spanish records) is the most representative and I believe it will be illustrative to quote Mármol's text on it, because of the way he turns it into an archetype.²³ According to Mármol, Sargel

was unpopulated for more than three hundred years until the Catholic king don Hernando won the city of Granada at the beginning of the year of Our Lord 1492, when many of the Moors who lived in that kingdom passed over to Barbary and some of them started to populate it, repairing only the castle and those houses they found most comfortable to live in and day by day the whole of that plain has been further populated by Mudejars, Andalusians and *Tagarinos* (Mudejars from Aragón), ingenious and brave men who have a lot of very good farming land and great extensions of olive groves and vineyards within the old walls of the town and they have planted many mulberry trees for the breeding of silkworms, which is their main farming activity because the land is very good for it and more than five thousand houses have been built where there are usually more than a thousand gunmen and archers among the inhabitants.

23 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: 211 r.: "Estuvo mas de trescientos años despoblada hasta que aviendo ganado el Catholico rey don Hernando la ciudad de Granada en el principio del año del Señor mil y quatro cientos y noventa y dos, se passaron muchos de los Moros que vivian en aquel Reyno a Berbería y la començaron algunos dellos a poblar reparando solamente el castillo y aquella parte de casas que hallaron mas cómodas para su vivienda y de día en día se ha ydo poblando todo aquel llano de Mudéjares, Andaluzes y Tagarinos, hombres ingeniosos y valientes que tienen muchas y muy buenas tierras de labrar y grandes pagos de olivares y viñas dentro de los muros antiguos y an puesto cantidad de moreras para la cría de la seda que es su principal granjería por que la tierra es muy buena para ella y se an hecho mas de cinco mil casas donde ay de ordinario mas de mil escopeteros y vallerteros de los vecinos." Diego de Haëdo uses similar words on this subject. Referring to the corsair ships which were usually fitted out in Sargel, he writes "los maestros dellos son todos moriscos de Granada, Valencia y Aragón, de los cuales está todo aquel lugar lleno y poblado. Estos son, por la mayor parte los arreases dellos, porque como son todos nacidos en España, son muy platicos en sus puertos, marinas y costas...y entrando en la tierra en habito cristianesco y hablando bien español..." Haëdo believed that much damage was being done by them. Diego de Haëdo, *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (Valladolid), 1602, 91–92. A little further on he adds (95), "de Sargel, miel, pasa, higo" [from Sargel, honey, raisin, fig].

All of the sources containing information on the places where the Andalusians settled confirm their warlike nature and their defence of the coast, as well as a clear agricultural vocation, which mainly manifested itself in a dedication to horticulture and the cultivation of fruit crops, as well as olive trees from which they obtained oil, together with sugar cane, hemp, flax and, above all, silk.²⁴ All of these activities loyally reflected the traditions of Granada. Reports also make constant reference to the re-population of unpopulated and semi-ruinous areas and to the Moriscos' need to defend themselves against local tribes. As I have said, in the first half of the sixteenth century the Moroccan coastline was practically blocked off by Castilian and Portuguese occupation and assailed by the continuous expeditions and raids made by the Christians from their garrison towns or the Peninsula itself. This factor combined with a series of plagues (the most famous and devastating of which took place in about 1521)²⁵ and a sequence of droughts to produce tremendous depopulation throughout northern Morocco, with the subsequent abandonment of a wide area of agricultural land and the intensification of predatory nomadism. The Andalusian contribution was therefore, in all these senses (re-population, defence of the coast, recovery of agricultural areas) the only positive factor to set against an extremely negative set of circumstances. Morocco was then a sparsely populated country, and the Andalusian additions to population must have made a significant impact on the demographics of the region.



However, the Granadans or "Andalusians" in general not only devoted themselves to what Braudel called the "small war" of corsair actions, but also to the kind of military activity carried out by the sultans' armies. The Arabic chronicles contain mention of army corps made up of Andalusian soldiers since the Marinid period.²⁶ These were mainly crossbowmen, who had become harquebusiers and artillerymen by the time of the Wattasids.²⁷ Muḥammad al-Šayḥ,

24 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: 162 r.

25 Bernard Rosenberger and Hamid Triki, "Famines et épidémies au Maroc aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 14 (1973), 109–175.

26 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abšār fi mamālik al-Amšār* (Paris: P. Geuthner), 1927, 147, 205, 214. Luis Seco de Lucena, *Marruecos a comienzos del siglo XV según Ahmad al-Qalqasandī* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí), 1951, 103.

27 The Wattasids of Fez had, according to Diego de Torres, "Modéjares tiradores [Mudejar shooters]" in their army; *Relación del origen y suceso de los Xarifes y del estado de los reinos*

the first Sa'di sultan, undertook a series of attempts to improve and modernise the army which included the recruitment of infantrymen who knew how to handle firearms. Most of these infantrymen were Andalusians.²⁸ But it was al-Šayḥ's son 'Abd Allāh who first resorted to the systematic recruitment of Andalusian emigrants, used by him to form a powerful *ğayš al-nār* (i.e. artillery corps) to which I will refer below.

It was not only the artillery and harquebus units which were taken over by the Andalusians. Siege techniques had been an Andalusian speciality since the thirteenth century,²⁹ as was the manufacture of military devices. Biographical dictionaries include examples like that of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥāğğ al-Išbīlī, a Mudejar from the city of Seville who settled in Fez and was an expert in engineering (*ḥiyāl al-hindasa*) who specialised in war instruments and mechanisms for the transportation and lifting of heavy loads. He founded the *dār al-šinā'a* of Salé during the reign of Ya'qūb al-Manšūr al-Marīnī in the thirteenth century.³⁰ For the siege of Tlemcen, the Marinid sultan received reinforcements of archers and crossbowmen from Granada who were "habituados a los trabajos del asedio [used to working in sieges]".³¹

In the times of Leon Africanus, and also in those of Luis del Mármol (the mid-sixteenth century), the manufacture of crossbows and swords was in the hands of "Granadan and Valencian Mudejars" who also monopolised the dockyard where gunpowder and artillery were made.³² Until the last quarter of the

de Marruecos, Fez y Tarudante (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 1980, 141 and 144. See also SIHM Espagne, I, 79.

28 Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier. A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University), 1978, 56.

29 A. Khaneboubi, *Les premiers sultans mérinides, 1269–1331. Histoire politique et sociale* (Paris: L'Harmattan), 1987, 159. The Magrebis never succeeded in familiarising themselves with the tactic of siege warfare. Diego de Torres (op. cit. n. 18) 288 went on to say at the end of the sixteenth century that the Moors "es gente enemiga de verse cercada [are a people not fond of seeing themselves surrounded]".

30 Aḥmad ibn al-Qāḏī, *Ğadwat al-iqtibās fi dīkr man ḥalla min a'lām madīnat Fās* 2 vols. (Rabat: Dār al-Manšūr, 1973–1974), I, 288.

31 Khaneboubi, *Les premiers*, 161.

32 Leon Africanus, in his description of Fez, mentions when writing of the Qasariyya that there were makers of crossbows who were "Moors from Spain" (Léon l'Africain, *Description*, I: 201). Mármol says of the Qasariyya of Fez (I, 90r) "ay doze tiendas de Mudéjares Granadinos y Valencianos vallesteros [there are twelve crossbow shops run by Granadan and Valencian Mudejars]".

sixteenth century the Andalusian monopoly of artillery (both its manufacture and its use in the army corps) in Morocco seems to have been absolute.³³ This generalisation can probably be extended to cover other parts of the Maghreb, especially Algeria.³⁴

It was the Sa'di sultan 'Abd Allāh, son of and successor to Muḥammad al-Šayḥ, who gave the order in 1563 to the Granadan leader al-Duḡālī, *alcaide* of Tetouan, who had played an important role in a series of famous raids on the coast of Almería, to recruit soldiers in the Andalusian settlements and take them to Marrakech to form an army corps of artillerymen. Once they had gone to Marrakech, the sultan gave them lands on the western side of the fertile plain outside the city, where they sowed the fields, created market gardens and built channels and windmills, as a result of which "their nostalgia for the homeland was assuaged."³⁵ The area they created was given the name Riyāḍ al-zaytūn, which according to Mármol was called "Órgiva la Nueva" [New Órgiva] by its inhabitants, most of whom were originally from the Alpujarras.³⁶ Al-Duḡālī himself, again according to Mármol, had been born in Órgiva³⁷ and was the son of Morisco parents.

Al-Duḡālī formed an army corps of about 4000 Morisco harquebusiers who under his leadership carried out actions that had a very significant bearing on political events in Morocco. In particular, the Morisco troops of al-Duḡālī took part in the battle against Dom Sebastian in 1578 and later, shortly after the battle of Ksar El Kebir, al-Duḡālī and other Morisco leaders attempted a *coup d'état* against the recently named sultan, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The plot was discovered and al-Duḡālī and the other Morisco leaders were decapitated. This attempt by a group of Granadan Moriscos to seize power in Morocco is highly interesting, and seems partly to have been made in defence of the son of 'Abd al-Malik, who had Turkish support, but was mainly designed to create a new Granadan kingdom, perhaps with the aim of gathering together the means to attempt reconquest of the territories of the old Muslim kingdom of Granada.

Aḥmad al-Manṣūr had the rebel Morisco leaders executed and sent many others on an expedition to Sudan, far removed from the Moroccan court, or to

33 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: 92 r.

34 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: 85v. Most of the news concerning the Andalusis which is recorded in the sources associates them with the army. One example of this is the report written by A. Sherley (SIHM, Angleterre, II, 543).

35 al-Fištālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā fi ma'āthir mawālinā al-shurafā'* (Rabat: Matbū'at Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Šu'un al-Islāmiyya wa-l-Thaqāfa), 1973, 42.

36 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: f.33 r.

37 Mármol, *Primera parte*, II: f.79 v.

the coastal regions, but the presence of a significant Granadan population had its influence on the sultan's political propaganda, which was riddled with messianic pretensions and calls for the reconquest of al-Andalus.³⁸

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Aḥmad al-Manṣūr died in late 1603 and after his death, his sons embarked on an armed struggle to dispute succession to the throne. When al-Manṣūr died, one of his sons, Muley Zaydān, was proclaimed sultan in Fez and another, Abū Fāris, in Marrakech. Abū Fāris sent his own son, accompanied by the third brother Muley al-Šayḥ al-Ma'mūn, also a son of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (known as "Muley Xequé" in Spanish records of the period), with an army to Fez, and the defeated Zaydān sought shelter and support in Turkish territory. Unity was not, however, achieved because "Muley Xequé" was then proclaimed sultan in Fez. The country was thus divided into two kingdoms, that of Fez and that of Marrakech, which resembled "city-states" with very little ability to control much more than the territory around their cities.

Initially, Spain was pleased by the occurrence of these Moroccan civil wars, reports of which reached the Council of State periodically after 1604.³⁹ However, the idea that Spain could benefit from the turbulent situation, which was encouraged by the fact that Muley Xequé made a request for assistance, soon turned into a feeling of fear and pressing danger. Muley Zaydān was a source of great concern to Spain because he was the Turkish-backed candidate and also because he sought to make an alliance with the Netherlands.⁴⁰ Indeed, the first Expulsion edict ordering the Moriscos to leave Spain, the one issued in Valencia in 1609, made specific mention of the imminent danger represented by Muley Zaydān as one of the reasons for adopting the measure at that time. This is because Muley Zaydān had inflicted a definitive defeat on Muley Xequé and his son Muley 'Abd Allāh in early 1608, conquering Fez; months later, an expedition led by the Marquis of Santa Cruz had been sent to capture Larache but had ended in failure.⁴¹

38 Mercedes García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur. The beginnings of Modern Morocco* (London: Oneworld), 2009.

39 Many of them were collected together and sent to the Duke of Medina Sidonia. ADM, Legs. 2402, 2406, 2407.

40 Gerard A. Wiegers, "De complexe relatie tussen religie en geweld. De Marokkaanse Sultan Zaydan en de *djihad*" *Leidschrift* 20–21 (2005), 122–139.

41 A detailed account of these events can be seen in Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Rachid el Hour, *Cartas Marruecas. Documentos de Marruecos en archivos españoles (siglos XVI–XVII)* (Madrid: CSIC), 2002, esp. 78 and ff.

The port of Larache was one of the few still in the hands of the Moroccans and had been a source of constant concern to the Spaniards, who had made repeated attempts throughout the reign of Philip II to have it conceded to them without ruining the alliance with Morocco they considered necessary to block Turkish advances. Larache had by then become a shelter for Moroccan and Morisco pirates, and also for pirates from England and the Netherlands, with the subsequent danger this implied for the coasts of southern Spain and, above all, the route to the Indies.

The taking of Larache was seen as a priority for defence against the corsairs and as a means of detaining the possible Morisco revolt in the Peninsula that was so widely feared during these years.⁴² Even more importantly, the danger which Muley Zaydān represented was increased by the fact that towards the end of that same year of 1608 an alliance treaty was being negotiated with the Dutch which was to be signed in 1610.⁴³ The connection between the decision to expel the Moriscos and both the general situation in Morocco and the dangers associated with the rise of Muley Zaydān can also be seen in the way in which records have been filed in the Estado section of the Simancas archive. The documents and their arrangement show the issues discussed in the years leading up to the Expulsion in Council of State meetings. Among the documents referring to Barbary we find reports on the pirates who helped Moriscos to leave, the negotiations towards alliances of one kind or another, and the need to take Larache.

The civil war lasted several years. Once Fez and northern Morocco were taken, Muley Zaydān recruited large numbers of expelled Moriscos for his army, just as his predecessors had done: some 8000 of them according to contemporary sources.⁴⁴ Muley Xequé had done exactly the same, using the Moriscos as cannon fodder.⁴⁵ When he was defeated, Muley Xequé sought

42 A *memorial* of 1607 recommending the king to capture Larache, says among other things, "Teniendo V. Mgd el puerto de Larache ataja todos los acometimientos y socorros de los moros, en Andaluzia Granada y aquellas partes, y las esperanças de leuantamiento y rebelion de los Moriscos, que tratan por los dichos agentes pero no con resolucion hasta procurar alguna mas union entre los principes Moros." AGS, Estado, Leg. 207.

43 Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (Valencia: Francisco Vives y Mora), 1901, vol II and ff. This book contains several documents which reflect the alarm created by the Moroccan alliance with the Dutch Republic and the possible repercussions if an alliance with the Moriscos is added to it.

44 SIHM, France, 1ere série, II, 495.

45 ADM, Leg. 2408. Letter from Alonso de Noronha to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, 1 April 2010, "Muley Xequé trahía en su almahala 8.000 moriscos de los que desembarcaron en Orán, los cuales determina echar delante al enemigo sy lo encontrase."

refuge in Spain, and he also sought the aid he needed to return to Morocco with an army, obtaining it in exchange for the concession of the port of Larache to Philip III. Larache was occupied by the Spaniards in 1610, the very same year of the decree expelling the Castilian Moriscos. These Moriscos therefore arrived in a country devastated by the effects of a long civil war. However, in the records I have just cited, in the years before 1607 and 1608 it can clearly be seen that the Moriscos were already organising their clandestine departures across the Pyrenees well before the Expulsion. The permanent state of alert within Old Christian society is also very clear from these records, as can be seen from an example I will now quote.

Clandestine Morisco Departures in the Years before the Expulsion

In order to show that, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, Morisco emigration to Morocco, especially from the Granada region, was a continuous stream in the years before the Expulsion decree, I would like to cite one specific and well-documented case which reveals the workings of the networks of Morisco solidarity which made clandestine emigration possible. This example shows, above all, the key role played by Granadans in Morisco leadership, as well as the mark left by the War of the Alpujarras and the prestige of its old military leaders among the Granadan Moriscos in Castile. I have chosen this example among many, although others are equally revealing, such as the case of a small boat carrying nineteen Granadan Moriscos living in Seville which was intercepted when trying to cross the Strait of Gibraltar in 1595 – several of the crew members were tried by the Lisbon Inquisition.⁴⁶

I would, then, like to refer now to the affair which arose as a result of declarations made by one Jerónimo de Zúñiga, a 32-year-old sub-lieutenant from Lucena who made a statement in 1608 to the *alcalde* Gregorio López Madera. His declarations form part of a sizeable dossier which I will analyze in some detail, since it constitutes a highly significant “case study.”⁴⁷ The reason the

46 Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, where the trial records of seven of them, accused of being Muslims, are kept. ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, n.º. 4128, 9122, 2974, 4653, 12,095, 13,158, 6316. I am currently studying other similar trial records.

47 AGS, Estado, Leg. 2639. This document has been used and published by Hossein Bouzineb and Gerard A. Wieggers, “Tetuán y la expulsión de los moriscos,” in *Ṭiṭwān ḥilāl al-qarnayn 16 wa 17* (Tetouan: Université ‘Abd al-Malik al-Sa‘di), 1966, 73–108. I have used my own transcription of the document. See also Bernard Vincent “La conspiración morisca. ¿Proyecto o fábula?” *Estudis* 35 (2010), 115–129. I wish to thank Bernard Vincent for sending me a copy of his work before it was published.

statement was made is that while Zúñiga was a prisoner, certain persons had heard him make remarks which revealed that he possessed information that ought to be known to the authorities.

The declaration can be summarised as follows: Jerónimo de Zúñiga was travelling to Granada in August 1608 when he fell ill in Úbeda. In the inn where he was staying, he was attended by a “very lovely” Morisco woman with whom he “wanted to disport himself.” Zúñiga consulted a procuress about the way to establish relations with the woman, whose name was Mencía de Baeza, and the procuress told him that to do this he would have to pass himself off as a Morisco. Zúñiga said that he knew nothing about Moriscos and that he would not know how to pass himself off as one, but the procuress persuaded him that it would be enough for him to pretend to be a member of the Venegas family “descended from the Moorish kings of Granada,” i.e. the famous Granada Venegas family of noble Nasrid origin.⁴⁸ In the words of the archive records, the woman was convinced and “She [Mencía] let it be known among the Moriscos so rapidly that some came to visit him and expressed sorrow for his travails and illness” and wanted to take him to a Morisco surgeon, to which Zúñiga consented for “he had heard that the Moriscos had different ways of healing.” Zúñiga’s statement reveals points which should be highlighted: not only were there Moriscos who were indistinguishable from Old Christians, but an Old Christian could, if he so desired, pass himself off as a Morisco. The declaration also confirms what we learn from other contemporary sources about how Moriscos and Old Christians were able to mix and move together in ambits such as those of acquiring the services of a procuress or a Morisco doctor.

When it became known that Zúñiga was a member of the Venegas family, the local Moriscos started to treat him with great trust and friendliness, and the Moriscos of Quesada and Cazorla even began to write to him “entrusting him with details of all their affairs” and inviting him on several occasions to eat at their homes, sitting on the floor on their carpets “as our grandparents used to do.” On these occasions he ate kid goat and other delicacies, all of them cooked without the addition of ham or any pig’s meat. Moriscos from different towns in the area wrote at least three letters to him, summarised in an appendix attached to Zúñiga’s statement (and headed “To Don Jerónimo de Granada

48 Mercedes García-Arenal, “El entorno de los Plomos: historiografía y linaje,” *Al-Qanṭara* 24 (2003), 295–326. There is a longer version in M. Barrios, and M. García-Arenal, eds., *Los Plomos del Sacromonte: invención y tesoro* (Valencia: Universitat), 2006. Bernard Vincent, “L’histoire d’une déchéance: la famille des Fez Muley à Grenade au XVI siècle,” *Les Cahiers du criar* 21, *Hommage à Alain Milhou* (2003), 69–79.

Venegas”), in which they urged him to go and cure himself among them. Particularly insistent on this point was Martín de Ávila, a seller of spices from Quesada, because “he said he was married to a woman who descended from the said Venegas and was also said to be a first cousin of Don Fernando de Valor, who rose against the Christians in the Alpujarras.” The trust and respect shown by the Moriscos towards Zúñiga, who now went by the name of Don Jerónimo de Granada Venegas, was encouraged by his tales of life as a soldier in Ceuta, Flanders and France. The Moriscos were greatly interested in the information he gave them about these places, since they knew “that in France there was no Inquisition and they each lived in the law which he desired, but they resolved that for all law the best thing was to live among one’s own,” and that “for he who wants to be a Moor” the best thing was to go to Barbary. After gathering to eat, all their “pláticas” or talk was of Barbary and how to get there. Thus it was that they ended up confiding in Zúñiga that the Moriscos were organising themselves to leave and that some had already done so. One example was provided by the Moriscos of Baeza, many of whom had departed already. El Chapiz (a leading member of a Baeza lineage) and his father-in-law had set up a house in Toulouse, France “to prepare those who left and encourage those who stayed here” and for that reason El Chapiz had told them all that “France was the best land in the world,” and with the aim of departing they were getting rid of their possessions as quickly as possible. Zúñiga met some “very wealthy” Moriscos like Gaspar de Benavides, Martín de Ávila and Bartolomé de Peralta, all of whom contributed to the operation with money from their estates, and others like Gonzalo de Mendoza, who also participated in the organisation.

The Moriscos were well-informed: they had a Morisco at court who warned them of developments and a person with access to the Council of State who told them about all the measures concerning the Moriscos that were taken there. This contact had been established by Bartolomé Palera, who spoke often to Jerónimo de Zúñiga, alias Granada Venegas, and told him “that nothing is done in the Royal Council which affects our people without me being told about it.” Palera also told him that “in Toledo, Ocaña, Pastrana, Valladolid and Murcia there was a rich and important Morisco in every city who took care under orders from all to encourage and help those who had to leave and who collected certain sums of money which were sent to Toulouse to a safebox in Chapiz’s power so that the Moriscos who arrived there without funds could be assisted and sent on to Marseille.” Some of the Moriscos named were members of the most important Granadan families: for example, Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz had taken part half a century earlier in the “Negocio General,” the negotiated payment made by the Moriscos of Granada to stop the Inquisition from

bothering them.⁴⁹ Martín de Ávila claimed to be a relative of don Fernando de Válór and of the Venegas family, and it was for this reason that Zúñiga was respected and trusted. Again we meet members of the old Granadan elites who had managed and defended the interests of their community.⁵⁰

The claims in the declaration made by Zúñiga/Granada Venegas are confirmed by other contemporary documents like those found among Inquisition records. We know, for instance, of departures of Moriscos from Pastrana in that same year of 1608.⁵¹

The Moriscos of Quesada, Úbeda and Cazorla spoke of leaving the country; they also spoke about expulsion, which they considered imminent, but did so without apparent concern, only remarking “let us take our silk and sell our goats and then little of this will matter.” They sold their possessions for the prices they could achieve, as is confirmed by other sources.⁵²

49 Camilo Álvarez de Morales, “Lorenzo el Chapiz y el ‘negocio general’ de 1559,” *Qurtuba* I (1996), 11–38.

50 See the articles by Enrique Soria Mesa, “De la conquista a la asimilación. La integración de la aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina. Siglos XV–XVII,” *Areas* 14 (1992), 51–64; and “Don Alonso de Granada Venegas y la rebelión de los moriscos. Correspondencia y mercedes de Don Juan de Austria,” *Chronica Nova*, 21 (1993–94), 547–560. Bernard Vincent, “Las elites moriscas granadinas,” in *El Río Morisco* (Valencia: Universitat), 2006, 187–199.

51 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 196, nº 19. Such was the case of Mateo Pérez, a Morisco from Pastrana “de los del reino de Granada,” who was captured in Vitoria on his way to France with three young daughters. This was the second time he had travelled to France, where he had previously left his father-in-law, his brothers-in-law and his wife with a baby, who were waiting for him in Saint Jean de Luz so that they could go on to Moorish lands. His father-in-law and brothers-in-law had on occasions tried to leave before: in Ágreda everything they had was taken from them and in Pamplona they were imprisoned, but then released and allowed to return to Pastrana. A second attempt was made, this time in a cart, accompanied by Mateo and his wife, who had left them in France and gone back to pick up the girls. They were captured. Mateo was sentenced to life imprisonment with ten years as a galley-slave, the girls to a convent, the eldest, who was 13 years old, to serve at the home of one of the functionaries of the Inquisition. Whilst in prison he spoke to other Moriscos in Arabic so that the Old Christians would not be able to understand him.

52 “Entre tanto los moriscos, sospechando lo que se trataba, reuníanse en conciliábulo; echaban suertes los más fanáticos de ridículas maneras de saber si ganarían o no sus intentos; se juntaban y discurrían de unos en otros lugares, siguiendo más a sus anchas en los usos muzlímicos, pues que los cristianos viejos ya no cuidaban de ellos sino para perseguirlos y atormentarlos... Por semejantes causas se hicieron algunos castigos en 1608 y entonces emigraron atemorizadas diversas familias de raza conversa, que prefirieron comer en paz el pan de la esclavitud en otros países. Los moriscos más acaudalados de Úbeda, Baeza y Villa de Quesada, se trasladaron con tiempo a Francia con sus hijos y mujeres, después de haber vendido todas sus haciendas a bajos precios” *Apud* Francisco

However, for the main argument of this chapter i.e. the importance of attempts to obtain Moroccan assistance towards reconquering the old kingdom of Granada, it is the second part of the dossier under analysis that is particularly interesting. Palera told Zúñiga that before leaving, El Chapiz had informed him of the agreements which the Moriscos had reached with king Muley Zaydān of Morocco (that is to say, Marrakech) and Muley Xequé of Fez, adding that the Moriscos would be able to raise an army of fifty thousand men as soon as they received aid from abroad. The Moroccan princes, said Palera, had not wanted to accept such deals because they were caught up in wars amongst themselves, but the Turks, with whom the Moriscos had also made contact, were more encouraging and had promised to smooth their passage through France: 1500 or 2000 of the wealthiest Moriscos had offered them their homes and possessions – the Turks, then, were seen as a key ally and superior to the Sa'di monarchs.⁵³ Palera, at all events, did not want to talk much about these affairs, for he said that the fewer the people who were informed the better, since the cause of the failure of the uprising of the Alpujarras had been the great number of people who had known about it and allowed that information to reach the Christians. It will be seen that references to the War of the Alpujarras were recurrent. The same might be said of the theme of contacts with Muley Zaydān, since information has survived in several sources, to which I will refer below.

The declaration which I have just summarised, and which in itself deserves a far more detailed study, is part of a dossier in which other individuals alluded to also gave evidence, such as Mencía de Baeza and Gonzalo de Mendoza. It is a very extensive dossier which is accompanied by numerous statements made by captives who found themselves in Spain, having been ransomed after a prolonged period in Fez and Tetouan. From these statements it becomes clear that the authorities were not worried so much by the clandestine departures of Moriscos for Morocco as by the possibility that those who escaped did so in order to hatch and assist from there a revolt of the Moriscos remaining in the Peninsula, or to encourage a Moroccan invasion at the same time that the revolt was to take place. This possibility was something which the Spanish authorities took very seriously.

Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España* [1857], (Seville: Espuela de Plata), 2006, 100.

53 AGS, Estado, Leg. 2639, "Dijeron que ellos se querían levantar y que para esto habían hecho trato los dos reyes de Marruecos y Fez Muley Çidan y Muley Jeque, y questos no habían querido açetar el trato por lo qual habían acudido al Turco y que el Turco lo había açetado y pedido myll hombres en rehenes y seguridad y questos habían de ser de los más ricos y poderosos y que assy se iba efectuando. Y para que tubiese mejor efecto el Turco abía pedido paso franco al francés y que les daba paso y que en Marsella tenían su cala..."

The most important document in the file is an *aviso* which was studied by the Council of State and had been sent in 1601 by the sub-lieutenant Bartolomé de Llanos y Alarcón from Tetouan, where he was being held prisoner.⁵⁴ In this *aviso* the Council was informed that Llanos “had known for certain that the Moriscos of Spain want to rise up, for which purpose they correspond with the King of Morocco and that there was now in Algiers a Morisco from Córdoba who had come from an embassy to the Turk, who had been told that the undertaking in Spain was a simple one on account of there being five hundred thousand Moors there, and although at first he was well received they later became aggrieved and sent him away because it seemed such a difficult enterprise. The said Morisco made many journeys and also involved in such talks were those of Aragón and Valencia, from which places there daily go to Algiers those who wish to do so.” Pascual Boronat edited documents coinciding with these reports of Moriscos making contact from the Peninsula with Muley Zaydān, asking them “to send forces to aid and assist them, promising them that they would find here one hundred and fifty thousand men as Muslims as those of Barbary who would help them with their lives and possessions.”⁵⁵

Other Tetouan captives, in this case already ransomed, were also called upon to declare. One such man was Domingo de Villanueva, a former captive in Tetouan (1608), who spoke as follows: “when Muley Zidan defeated Muley Xequé who is now in Spain, this witness heard many of the leading Moors of Tetouan talk agitatedly and without paying heed to the captives, saying that now was the time to take Spain because their own kind were now in favour there and they would rise up and they said this to this witness every day... together with other Moriscos from Spain who had passed over to them and said now we will take Spain and when they were asked in what way this would occur they told him it would be with French and English ships and with their own ships and galleons they would form a fleet with the help of the Moriscos here in Spain who they said had been told when they had to rise up.” “Because more Moriscos are going over to them and they give information about what is happening in Spain...” “they had to go into Spain with more than twelve or fourteen thousand horses...” “in Spain they had among the Moriscos heads who governed them and wrote to inform them of what was happening here.” This witness believed such claims because he was astounded by how

54 AGS, Estado, Leg. 2636. Reproduced in the documentary appendix to Janer, *Condición*, 345 and ff.

55 Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, II: 149: “que embiasse sus fuerças en su ayuda y socorro, assegurándoles que hallarian acá ciento y cinquenta mill hombres tan moros como los de Berbería que les asistirían con sus vidas y haciendas.”

well-informed Moriscos in Tetouan were about what was happening at court, knowing if the king was going to El Escorial or staying in Madrid, and many other insignificant details which must have come from people at court with access to those close to government. Domingo de Villanueva continued his report by describing how Moriscos arrived in Tetouan every day with their families, children and possessions and that he had heard some of them say “that if in Spain they were allowed to live in their law, they would live more happily than in Barbary, but that the Inquisition bothered them so much that they left for that reason.” This statement was corroborated by another captive, who during his time in Tetouan had belonged to a Morisco, and on one occasion had heard his master say “that he would see himself in Granada before he died, having defeated the Christians in battle and that they would defeat Spain and make it a part of Barbary.” This statement expressed a widely-held belief that was reiterated by Moriscos in many different sources. One Aragonese *alfaquí* had said to his parishioners: “Be consoled friends, for this land was yours time ago, and without a doubt it will be yours again.”⁵⁶

Another witness who gave a statement was the captive Lucas Martínez Zapata, who was held in Tetouan for many years and said that in Fez and Tetouan he had seen many Moriscos from the kingdom of Granada who had passed over of their own volition, “and that it would now be about a year and a half (1607) since the witness saw enter into Morocco sixty households of Moriscos with their wives and children, who had come from the kingdom of Granada.” They had departed, he declared, little by little, gathering and staying in Bordeaux, and from there left for Marseille, where they embarked for Morocco. Lucas had worked in the household of a Morisco master from Tetouan who told him to become a Moor, because the Moors were destined to conquer Spain and that he would see this with his own eyes. He was told that “soon all the people of Spain would have to embrace Islam.”⁵⁷ This eschatological and prophetic belief that the Peninsula would be recovered for Islam and unified under one sole faith is constantly repeated in the sources.

Another former captive by the name of Miguel de Sese declared that from his contacts with Moriscos during his captivity in Tetouan he knew that they

56 The quotation is from the work by Fray Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, and is used by Janer, *Condición*, 217: “Aconsolaos amigos, que esta tierra ha sido algún tiempo de vosotros, y ha de volver sin duda alguna.”

57 For the messianic hopes of the Moriscos, both in Spain and Morocco, see Mercedes García-Arenal, “Un réconfort pour ceux qui sont dans l’attente: Prophétie et millénarisme dans la péninsule Ibérique et au Maghreb (XVI–XVII siècles),” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, 220–224 (2003), 445–485.

were planning a revolt in association with the Moriscos of Spain. The first part of their plan was to take Ceuta and Tangier and to sail over to Spain from those ports. He had heard it stated that the Moriscos who left Spain were better Moors than those of Barbary. Finally, another captive claimed to have seen “the translation of an authentic letter from the Grand Turk to the King of France in which he asked the Moriscos who left here for Turkey to be well received, and this was seen in Saint Jean de Luz and Bayonne.” The sea-captain Francisco Ortega from Gibraltar, who often crossed the Strait to carry correspondence to the Spanish territories in Africa stated that: “It is well-known that the Moriscos of Andalusia and other parts go over to Barbary with their households, wives and estates.” “When this witness was a captive in Tetouan he heard that (many Moriscos) had passed over from Spain to Barbary, taking with them more than nine thousand ducats in money and pieces of gold, and the king Muley Xequé had taken their nine thousand ducats and sent them to be used for war and the wives of these Moriscos are in Tetouan clamouring to come to Spain.”

Finally, this dossier also includes a report on the Moriscos of Hornachos and how they organised their departures from Spain. These Moriscos went to Granada (since they had the privilege of being able to move freely)⁵⁸ and from there sought the means to leave from Puerto de Santa María and other ports in Cádiz such as Tarifa and Gibraltar. One of the captives who testified declared that in Morocco he had met a Morisco from Hornachos who had passed over with all his family and other Moriscos from the kingdom of Granada, in a hired ship rowed by Old Christians, and to prevent it from being known that they were Moriscos they had to hide their wives beneath the ship’s tarpaulins, because the women “did not know how to speak Ladino (the Spanish vernacular).” This witness declared that little by little all the Moriscos were passing over to Morocco. Diego de Cuenca, the priest of Hornachos, also warned that the Moriscos of his town had dealings with Morocco with a view to rising up and handing Spain over to those of Africa.⁵⁹

Other confirming examples are provided by the Spanish agent of Genoese origin, Juanetín Mortara, in a letter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1607,⁶⁰ in which he writes of three Moriscos in Fez who had fled from Ceuta to Barbary.

58 For the privileges granted to the Moriscos of Hornachos, see Houssein Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg, hornacheros, andaluces y medio siglo de designios españoles frustrados* (Rabat: Ministerio de Cultura), 2007, 32 and ff.

59 AGS, Estado, Leg. 218, “Adviértese que, para conseguir su mal intento, tienen trato y comunicación con los moros de África y embajadores del Rey de Marruecos para tratar con los demás moriscos de España de levantarse con ella y entregársela a los de África.”

60 AGS, Estado, Leg. 2637, 165.

One of them had told Mortara that in Seville another ten households were prepared for flight with their families. It was through this information that the authorities came to know about a Morisco organisation which collected money from its communities and was in correspondence with dealers in silver and other officials to whom they sold silver, who melted it down and hired ships to take it to Ceuta. This organisation had a secret house in Antequera where the Moriscos gathered at night to read the Qur'ān.

The cited examples should suffice. We can conclude that Morisco emigration, which had flowed uninterrupted throughout the sixteenth century, grew significantly in the years before the Expulsion.⁶¹ This forces us to reconsider the figures which, ever since Lapeyre's classic study on the records produced by those who put the different Expulsion measures into practice, have been admitted as reliable estimates of the number of Moriscos who left Spain, and the size of the contingent which the Peninsula therefore lost.⁶² They also provide us with a more diverse view of the Morisco minority, its elites and its capacity for self-organisation, planning and reaction. Lastly, they illustrate the leading role played by the Granadan Moriscos (who, it should be remembered, had been expelled from their own land in 1571) and their desire to conquer Andalusia with Moroccan aid. To put it another way, they sought to take advantage of their positions in Morocco or their military or courtly influence with the various sultans to try to recapture the old kingdom of Granada.

Let us return to this point to collect the information from several sources which confirm what we have seen in the dossier analyzed above: that the Moriscos tried in various ways to make Muley Zaydān act against Spain and that the Spanish authorities took these attempts very seriously. This aspect, that is to say the one which reflects the persistent and continuous efforts to get Moroccan aid in order to go over to Spain, is also of particular interest because it helps us to consider what might have been the effect or effects on Morocco of these belligerent, pressurising emigrants, who urged the drawing-up of alliances and treaties between Morocco and Spain's enemies, especially the Dutch Republic. This had already been occurring since 1596, when the joint Anglo-Dutch attack on the city of Cádiz took place. The Dutch, seeing the advantages for their country of an alliance with Morocco and wanting to gain the sultan's favour, presented him with a nobleman from Fez who had been held prisoner in Cádiz and whom they had seized during the capture of the

61 See also, with further examples and cases, Gerard A. Wieggers, "Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos during the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36–42 (2010), 141–168.

62 Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris, SEVPEN), 1959.

city. They also told the sultan that the Dutch had never intended to leave Cádiz, but to ask for Moroccan aid to occupy it permanently, and once conquered, to hand Cádiz over to Morocco as a way of opening a door and facilitating the recovery of the once-Islamic Peninsula. The raid on Cádiz made a tremendous impact and created new hopes of conquering Andalusia.⁶³ The possibility of an alliance between the Moriscos and the Dutch became a constant source of concern to the Council of State.

The Desire to Reconquer

A few years later, the Moriscos continued to think that a joint attack on Spain was feasible and they sought Dutch assistance to bring it off. Luis Cabrera de Córdoba records in his *Relación* that at the court of Madrid in April 1609 "It has been said that certain Moriscos had passed over to Africa as ambassadors for the others to the King Muley Zidan, offering him 60,000 armed men in Spain and much money, and that also present there were other ambassadors from the Islands [i.e. the Netherlands] who offered the ships that they might need, although it might be to use them to bridge the Strait of Gibraltar; all of which, although it have no effect, if true, gives cause for concern here."⁶⁴ In May of the same year, he added: "Muley Zidan of Morocco, who defeated the one from Fez, went with his cavalry to take a view of Tangier and without doing any damage turned around because he does not want to irritate us; before that he assured the merchants that they can trade so that their goods will not perish and he ordered Tetouan and Larache to be fortified, and laughed at the embassy of the Moriscos and sent them away saying that he did not want to go beyond his kingdom."⁶⁵

63 SIHM, Pays-Bas, I, 27 and ff. See García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*, 87 and ff.

64 Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614* [1857] (Valladolid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura), 1997, 367: "Se ha dicho que ciertos moriscos habían pasado a África con embajada de los demás al Rey Muley Cidán, ofreciéndole 60.000 hombres armados en España y mucho dinero, y que se hallaban allí otros embajadores de parte de las Islas que le ofrecían los navíos que quisiesen, aunque fuese para hacer una puente y pasar el Estrecho de Gibraltar; lo cual, aunque no haya de tener efecto, si es verdad, no puede dejar de dar cuidado acá."

65 Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relación*, 367: "Muley Cidán el de Marruecos, que venció al de Fez, pasó con su caballería a dar vista a Tánger y sin hacer daño dio la vuelta porque no quiere irritarnos; antes ha asegurado a los mercaderes que puedan contratar para que no perezca la mercancía, y hace fortificar a Tetuán y Alarache, el cual se ha reído de la embajada de los moriscos y los despidió diciendo que no trataba de salir de su reino."

As this quote shows, Muley Zaydān was trying in 1608 and 1609 to take control of Tetouan and other territories in northern Morocco. It was for this reason that he first negotiated with the Netherlands, requesting ships and arms which he planned to use to capture Tetouan. He also actively sought to attract Moriscos to his territories and to encourage the emigration and reception of those who arrived from Spain. With them he formed an infantry army corps of 3000 men and when he captured Fez, seeing that he could not trust the natives of that city, who were supporters of his brother and rival, "he ordered the Moriscos who lived in that city to come and serve him, saying that he would pay them; and warning that if they did not come he would kill them all."⁶⁶ He also attracted Moriscos to his court, where they worked as secretaries and translators. The example of al-Ḥaḡarī is sufficiently well-known to make it unnecessary to insist on this point (he is also mentioned in several of the contributions to this volume).⁶⁷ Muley Zaydān, we are told by Cabrera de Córdoba, had laughed at the Morisco embassy. However, like his father Muley Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, he had also made use of the theme of reconquering Andalusia for Islam in his political propaganda. This is very clearly explained by a contemporary Portuguese witness, a captive in Marrakech called Antonio de Saldanha. According to Saldanha, as soon as his father died Muley Zaydān gathered together his *alcaldes* in Marrakech and told them that he had been chosen by his father to head the kingdom. He said that he had a large number of soldiers in his army and had decided to increase them further because it was by his hand that the prediction pointing to him as the saviour of the kingdoms of Granada, Murcia and Valencia would be fulfilled. He said he would repeat the feats of Ṭāriq the conqueror of al-Andalus, who had carried out the conquest against the advice of his followers and without possessing the treasures and armies which he, Muley Zaydān, possessed and had still managed to win even the heart of Spain. He told them to swear him in as their king and to leave everything else up to him.⁶⁸ This is a highly interesting piece of information which once again shows the legitimising and political propaganda power

66 *Memorial de Jorge de Henin. Descripción de los reinos de Marruecos (1603–1613)* (Rabat: Instituto de Estudios Africanos), 1997, 116: "mandó a los moriscos que vivían en aquella ciudad que le viniesen a servir, y que les daría paga; y si no viniesen, que los mataría a todos."

67 The contribution to this volume by Wieggers covers the presence of Moriscos at the Moroccan court.

68 *Crónica de Almançor, sultão de Marrocos (1578–1603)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical), 1997, 367. Discussed by Gerard Wieggers in Wieggers, "De complexe," 135.

achieved by the motif of the reconquest of al-Andalus in a country with such a visible, significant presence of Granadan emigrants. It also shows how widespread were the more or less eschatological beliefs and predictions concerning this conquest. If for Muley Zaydān the invasion of Granada, Murcia and Valencia was an argument pointing to him as the best candidate to occupy the throne at a time of rivalry between several candidates, the Moriscos for their part were making serious efforts to act in some way.

Jorge de Henin, a Spanish agent at the court of Marrakech in the first decade of the seventeenth century, wrote a number of very interesting reports on Morisco attempts to gain the support of Muley Zaydān. He gives a detailed description of the return to Marrakech of the Moroccan ambassador at The Hague, close to the States General, and of the Jewish agent of the sultan, Samuel Pallache, who had accompanied him and who was described by Henin as a “servant of the States and of Muley Zidan [...] he who interweaves the correspondence between the States and Muley Zidan.”⁶⁹ Samuel Pallache, “in the company of Moriscos banished from Spain proposed that with eight ships and two thousand gunmen whom they would seek out at their own expense” they could organise “raids on the coast of Málaga, where they were certain to apprise many captives and goods.”⁷⁰ Muley Zaydān, the Moriscos proposed, had to persuade the Dutch to give him ships and in exchange they would hand over to him a quarter of all the booty they won. The sultan thought this a good idea, but Jorge de Henin, who had access to Zaydān’s mother, convinced her to dissuade her son from undertaking such an enterprise. This, at least, was Henin’s version of events – it has to be admitted that he had an obvious interest in wanting his part in Muley Zaydān’s non-intervention to be recognised.

Samuel Pallache remained in contact with the Moriscos in spite of the failure of this first attempt to persuade Muley Zaydān, but at the same time he took part in Muley Zaydān’s efforts, mentioned above, to control Tetouan, which was still in a state of semi-independence. A letter from the Duke of Lerma discussed by the Council of State in May 1610 stated that “in Tetouan there are over forty thousand Moriscos and they are arming themselves...the Marquis of Villarreal sends word that Muley Xequé is still at the Peñón, and

69 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wieggers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins), 2003.

70 Henin, *Memorial*, 107 “Samuel Pallache, criado de los Estados y de Muley Zidán, el cual, en compañía de unos moriscos de los desterrados de España propusieron que con ocho navíos y dos mil escopeteros, buscarían a su costa poder venir al par de Málaga [...] donde podrían hacer muy gran presa de hacienda y cautivos [...] y le darían a Muley Zidán la cuarta parte de lo que ganara, el sólo tenía que hacer venir los navíos y las armas de Holanda.”

from this has lost reputation [...] Maurice's man [i.e. the agent of the Netherlands] has made an offer to Muley Zidan to assist him with a naval fleet and England and France are included in this."⁷¹ The same point is made in a letter to the Duke of Lerma which contains an *aviso* sent by the Marquis of Villarreal from Tangier in August 1614, i.e. after the Expulsion, saying that "in Tetouan they are awaiting the arrival within hours of a ship loaded with arms and munition brought by a Jew named Payache with the order to put themselves under the banners of Muley Zidan. Don Luis Fajardo (the admiral) has been told of it to see if he can frustrate their intentions for from Algiers there are 23 small ships and two large ones which do much damage and take their booty to the ports, because most of those who sail on them are Andalusian Moriscos dressed like Spaniards so there is no safety because they speak Castilian so well, if something is not done about it and what the Marquis intends is to publish a law saying that whoever is caught be executed because what they want is to be taken captive so that they can return to Spain."⁷² In the last part of this chapter I will return to the question of the Moriscos who sought to be taken captive in order to go back to Spain.

Samuel Pallache also handled diplomatic contacts with England. In 1611, he travelled to England with the Moroccan ambassador and the English agent John Harrison with a letter from Muley Zaydān for James I. From that moment on, Harrison played an important role and was frequently in contact with Morocco, a country to which he travelled eight times between 1610 and 1632, on two of these occasions accompanied by Samuel Pallache. Through Pallache he made close contact with Moroccan Jews (at one point he wrote that he was learning Hebrew in Safi with a certain "rabbi Shimeon") and Moriscos. Harrison clearly had a keen interest in the Jews and in Judaism more generally, and in 1610, during one of his journeys to Morocco, he wrote a treatise of religious

71 AGS, Estado, Leg. 494: "en Tetuán hay más de cuarenta mil moriscos y que se van armando...que el Marqués de Villarreal avisa que Muley Xequé está todavía en el Peñón, que desto a perdido reputación...que a Muley Cidán le ha ofrecido el de Mauricio socorrelle con Armada y entran en esto Inglaterra y Francia."

72 AGS, Estado, Leg. 2644: "de que en Tetuán esperauan por oras un nauío cargado de armas y municiónes que le trae a cargo un judío que se llama Payache con orden de apellidar en aquellos contornos por Muley Çidan que a Don Luis Faxardo dio auiso desto para si pudiera auerle a las manos y assi se sabrían sus intentos, que de Argel andan 23 nauios pequeños y 2 grandes haziendo mucho daño y presas a su saluo en los puertos porque la más gente dellos son Moriscos andaluzes vestidos a lo Español con que no ay seguridad por ser tan ladinos si no se pone remedio y el que le parece al Marques es que publique una ley que al que se cogiere sea passado a cuchillo por el quedar por cautibos es lo que desean por bolver a España."

polemic against Judaism which he published in Amsterdam in 1612. Harrison also enjoyed very close relations with Moriscos in both Tetouan and Salé. He felt great sympathy for them and even became an agent and spokesman for the group, which he saw as a dispersed minority forced to undergo a diaspora very similar to that of the Jews.⁷³

The Moriscos may have aroused in Harrison the same kind of missionary zeal he felt with regard to the Jews, for we know that in Tetouan he devoted himself to explaining to them the superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism, interpreting that their sympathies and religiosity placed them closer to the former faith, even after their general religious uncertainty had been taken into account.⁷⁴ Harrison's was a self-interested assessment of the Moriscos, but an interesting one nonetheless, and it sheds some light on the sympathies felt among the Moriscos for the English and Dutch. England and Holland were not only seen as possible allies against Spain, but as professing a reformed version of Christianity with which the Moriscos found it easier to identify. Harrison also tried to convince Charles I to sign a treaty with the Morisco republic of Salé, but the king refused to recognise it as an independent government as Harrison had argued that it was, comparing it with the United Provinces of Holland, seeing it rather as a group of pirates in rebellion against their King.⁷⁵

As a final reference to Morisco attempts to organise an armed raid on the Peninsula, let us turn to what occurred after another English attack that was planned against the area of the Strait of Gibraltar. When war broke out between Spain and England in 1625 and the English were in the process of preparing a raid on Cádiz, John Harrison offered to go to Morocco and recruit an army of Moriscos to work alongside the English. Charles I agreed to this idea and Harrison went to Tetouan, where the proposal was so well-received that the Moriscos even offered to fight at their own expense. Harrison wrote at length about his stay in Morocco and his contacts with Moriscos, recording that he tried to convince Charles I to conquer Ceuta and Gibraltar in order to control the area of the Strait. The *almocadem* of Tetouan offered 10,000 combatants to the English king for an attack on Ceuta or some other nearby town. All he

73 In Harrison's words, "Moriscos, a forelorne people scattered and dispersed like the Jewes to this daie," SIHM, Angleterre, III, 41.

74 "the greater part so distracted between the idolatrous Roman religion wherein they were borne and Mahometisme under which they groane, as they know not what to believe, but a verie great affection and inclination to our nation and religion," SIHM, Angleterre, III, 42.

75 SIHM, Angleterre, III, 43.

asked for in exchange was gunpowder and the means to refurbish a number of obsolete cannons in Tetouan. In a later letter, Harrison claimed that the Moriscos were willing to provide between 40,000 and 50,000 men to fight against Spain. Harrison added a separate sheet to his letter to Charles I of 20 July 1625, on which the Moriscos had signed a statement of support for the English: "With the favour of God, the Moors and the English will take Spain and with their saints and crosses they will [build the fires to] cook their meals and they will destroy Spain. And all will be brothers and God will help those who followed his commandments. And God above all."⁷⁶ Once again, it is easy to detect the underlying messianic note in such a message, which sees the Moriscos returned to Spain and united under one faith, that of Islam, and one undertaking, the conquest of the Peninsula, aims backed by messianic predictions that obviously constituted a long-lasting current of belief.⁷⁷ Another underlying element here is the sense of proximity to reformed religion, which like Islam was opposed to the use of holy images such as those to be used to make fires for cooking.

All of these plans fell through when the English were defeated in November of that year. However, Harrison wrote a long "Relation" in which he gave a detailed account of his dealings with the Moriscos.⁷⁸ Other records confirm Harrison's account and even point to co-ordinated efforts made by the Moriscos of Algiers. The Spanish ambassador in London, Carlos Coloma, wrote to his king on 28 June 1622 to inform him of Dutch preparations to put a fleet of 150 ships to sea which they would use to attack the West Indies, also telling the king about the agreement between the English and the Moriscos, although this did not seem to trouble him greatly: "and of even greater reach is another fantasy they are plotting, according to the same man and as I have understood from other sources, and this one made me laugh, which is to put together another squadron of 40 ships with the Moors of Algiers and to take 60,000 armed Moriscos to the kingdom of Valencia who are said to be ready and waiting across the water in Barbary, in order to wage war on Spain."⁷⁹ If this letter is

76 SIHM, Angleterre, II, 573–582: "Con el favor de Dios, los Moros y los Ingleses tomarán a España y con los santos y cruces guisarán las comidas y destruirán a España. Y serán todos hermanos y ayudará Dios a los que sus mandamientos siguieron. Y Dios sobre todo."

77 SIHM, Pays-Bas, IV, 284.

78 SIHM, Angleterre, III, 27 and ff.

79 AGS, Col. Coloma, minutas de cartas, libro 1, fol. 26: "y quanto mayor es otra imaginación que traen, conforme me dijo el mismo hombre y he entendido de otras partes, no sin risa, que es juntarse otra escuadra de 40 navíos con los Moros de Argel y pasar al reino de Valencia 60.000 moriscos armados que dicen están aguardándoles a la lengua de agua en Berbería, para con esto meter la guerra en España [...]."

anything to go by, the Spaniards had lost all fear of the Moriscos within just two decades of the Expulsion.

The Expulsion of 1610–1614

Although a large number of Valencian Moriscos had taken refuge in Tetouan, most of the Moriscos who went to Morocco were from the territories of the Crown of Castile, where the Expulsion edict was published on 10 January 1610. Some 80,000 Moriscos went to Morocco from Andalusia, Extremadura and Castile, and most of them settled close to Ceuta, Tangier and Tetouan and other points on the Strait. Many tried to take shelter in the Spanish garrison towns or in the territories around them, outside the town walls, and this created countless problems for the governors of these towns: such governors received frequently repeated orders not to allow them in and to expel all those who entered, regardless of their protests that they were good Christians.⁸⁰ To a

80 There are abundant references to this issue in documents in ADM, Leg. 2408 and Leg. 2409:

El Rey al Duque, 1 de diciembre 1610, “En quanto a los Moriscos que se buelven de Bervería con color que son christianos ya se os ha avisado lo que se ha de hazer.”; ADM, Leg. 2408. Idem. 23 marzo 1611, “habreis entendido los avissos que se tienen de Orán de que de Argel a baxado una hala de Turcos geniçaros y moriscos, y aunque como sabeis he mandado que se junte golpe de infantería y que se embarque y llebe aquellas plaças todavía combiene para qualquier successo estar con prevención...” ADM, Leg. 2408. El Rey al Duque, 29 junio 1612:...”he visto lo que dezis en materia de los moriscos que estavan en Tánger y téngome por muy servido del cuydado que pusisteis en hazerlos encaminar fuera destos Reynos y os apruevo lo de aver acomodado la cantidad de niños de poca edad hijos de los mesmos moriscos en la forma que apuntays. Para que salgan los Moriscos que avisais están en Ceuta, se dará la orden que convenga con brevedad y assí se lo podreis escribir al Marqués de Villarreal y que será servido de que haga proceder en lo que tocara contra los que passaren Moriscos a estos Reynos. Al gobernador de Tánger, se le escribe en la forma que advertís acerca que no admita ningunos moriscos en aquella plaça...” ADM, Leg. 2408. Rey al Duque 22 septiembre 1612, “Que prendan a los muchos moriscos que vuelven a entrar por las costas de Andalucía.” 3.nov. 1612 vuelve a insistir al respecto, “téngome por muy servido del cuydado que poneis en que no entren moriscos por ahí, y os encargo lo continueis.” ADM, Leg. 2409. El Rey al Duque, 9 mayo 1613 “A los Governadores de Ceuta, Tánger y Alarache escribo que no den plática a los moriscos que llegaren a aquellas plaças como lo advertís y tendreys cuydado por vuestra parte en que los que bolvieren serán castigados” “Queda entendido como havían salido de Çalé tres navíos en corso y será bien que lo advistays a quien tiene a cargo la Armada [...]” ADM, Leg. 2409. El Rey (7 mayo 1614) he mandado a los gobernadores de Ceuta, Tánger y Alarache que no consientan allí moriscos ningunos.

large extent the Moriscos were defenceless in the face of all manner of abuses by those who transported them to Morocco, but also by the local populations when they arrived and by the Moroccan authorities themselves, who immediately set about recruiting the greatest possible number of them for their armies. However, some Moriscos tried to buy weapons in the areas around the Spanish strongholds. The governors of these towns had to work hard to prevent such purchases from occurring and to drive the Moriscos away from the coastal areas beside the Strait.⁸¹

In general, the Moriscos were not well received in Morocco. They arrived dressed like Spaniards and speaking in Castilian, and there was little confidence in the strength of their Muslim faith. Indeed, many of them publicly announced their adherence to Catholicism and lost their lives as a result, as was confirmed by numerous witnesses. Juan Luis Rojas,⁸² author of a chronicle of Barbary during this period, felt pity for the Moriscos, whose arrival he witnessed, seeing how “their belongings are stolen by the authorities and although they were [seen as] Moors in Spain, almost all the young folk are true Christians in Barbary, as is shown by their words and deeds, as they have tried to approach the Christians, even as slaves, as many of them have confirmed with their blood, in constant martyrdom, Tetouan is a witness to how many have been burnt for confessing their faith, how many have been tied to stakes and killed with clubs and pins; the boys of Larache burned a young lad alive, after a thousand taunts and tortures, and his badly burned bones, though sought with devotion, have not been found.”⁸³ In April 1610, Don Alonso de Noronha

81 Carta del Duque de Medina Sidonia al Rey, 7 de febrero de 1610, “De los moriscos venidos del Andalucía refieren que los más procuravan comprar armas aunque hallaban pocas de venta y en Alcázar el Alcayde les ha ido a la mano y según dizen avisó al Rey su amo cómo en ellos se había de contener, dizen más, que al pie de 600 casas se fueron a vivir a Alarache pues todos no caben en Alcázar y yo por este repecto deseo mucho más venga a Alcázar el dicho Rey el qual ha determinado lo que había de hazer con dichos moriscos y quitárseles no sólo el brío de armas más la avitación de todo lugar marítimo y frontero de christianos y entrarlos a todos en la tierra a dentro.” ADM, Leg. 2408.

82 Juan Luis de Rojas, *Relaciones de algunos sucesos postreros de Berbería: salida de los Moriscos de España, y entrega de Alarache* (Lisbon: Iorge Rodríguez), 1613, f. 60 v.

83 “cuyos equipajes son robados por las propias autoridades y que siendo como eran Moros en España, es casi toda la gente moza, cristiana verdadera en Berbería, como lo muestran sus palabras y obras, intentando venirse a los cristianos, aunque sean esclavos, como han confirmado muchos con su sangre, en constante martirio, testigo es Tetuán, cuántos han quemado vivos por la confesión de la fe, cuántos han acañaverado y muerto con palos y alfileres; los muchachos de Larache mismo quemaron a un moço vivo, después de mil escarnios, cuyos guesos, mal quemados, aunque se an buscado con devoción, no ha sido

wrote as follows from Tangier to the Duke of Medina Sidonia:⁸⁴ “In Alcázar there are a great number of Moriscos from Valencia, Hornachos and Aragón, and all of them are Moors. The *alfaunque* says that he felt great pity for those of Andalusia, for many of them cried out before the Moors that they were Christians.” But the idea that they would return was widespread among the Moriscos. As the Duke of Medina Sidonia wrote, “these people have always lived in the hope that they will have the means to return to these kingdoms.”⁸⁵

It is these Moriscos, the ones who tried to return, upon whom I would now like to focus my attention. But in order to understand the phenomenon better, it may be a good idea to look first at other sources of information on what was occurring in the years and even months immediately before the Expulsion among the Moriscos in Castile, where a series of situations arose that were very different from those we have seen in previous discussions of clandestine departures. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest a frenetic situation: a maelstrom of mixed marriages, ostentatious displays of religious devotion, proofs of Old Christian status, sudden enthusiasm for religion among countless individuals facing eviction and initial uncertainty among some of the local authorities and noblemen concerning the Moriscos who should be expelled and those who could be made exempt.⁸⁶

posible hallarlos.” See also Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relación*, 4/4/1610. Ignacio Bauer Landauer, *Papeles de mi archivo. Relaciones y manuscritos (moriscos)* (Madrid: Editorial ibero-africano-americana), 1923, has edited versions of several “relaciones” or news of Morisco martyrs in Tetouan.

- 84 ADM, Leg. 2408: “En Alcázar están gran cantidad de moriscos de los de Valencia, Ornachos y Aragón, son todos moros. Los de Andalusía dice el alfaunque que le hisieron gran lástima porque a voces andavan muchos dellos diciendo delante de los moros que eran cristianos.”
- 85 “La mayor parte de los moriscos que han quedado de los que se expelieron del Andalucía y el Reyno de Granada y muchos de los de Aragón an venido a parar a Tituán y sus contornos esta gente siempre ha vivido con esperenças de que tendrían medio para poder bolber a estos Reynos pero como ven el desengaño ablan mucho en materia de la haçienda que dexaron acá y he tenido notiçia que particularmente dizen algunos que dexaron en estos reynos en poder de personas dellos partidas de dinero en confiança para que se les embiasen a donde fueren o para otros efetos y que haciendo aora diligenciã para que se les embien se las niegan y que viéndose en este estado ofrezzen que haciéndoles su magestad de vuestra parte deste dinero, declararán las personas que lo tienen que daren papeles recandoles por donde conste de la deuda o la verificavan por informaçiones y haviendo hecho diligenciã que cantidad sería ésta me aseguran que de partidas conocidas pasan de doze mil ducados y que si tubiesen noticia otros moriscos que se trataba desto [...]” 30 de marzo 1614. El Duque de Medina Sidonia. AGS, Estado, Leg.2664.
- 86 “Muchas penitencias, procesiones con letanias, cruces, pendones, insignias y hábitos de mortificación, especialmente iban las doncellas vestidas con túnicas blancas, descalças,

Mixed marriages became especially frequent in the years leading up to the Expulsion. This meant, above all, hastily arranged weddings between Old Christians and Morisco women.⁸⁷ The situation was remarked on by the Count of Salazar, who wrote to Juan Hurtado de Mendoza: “There has been a great number of marriages between Morisco women and Old Christians, made with the purpose of staying here, and some of these are highly amusing; a lot of them have also now opted to un-marry and the husbands turn priests and the wives become nuns, and in the monasteries they sell them entry passes as if they were selling a basket of pears, which is scandalous.”⁸⁸

In January 1610, the Expulsion of the Moriscos of Andalusia was decreed. The Duke of Medina Sidonia’s reluctance concerning this measure was made clear in a letter he sent to the Marquis of San Germán in which he points out “the difficulties involved in harassing or forcing those people out...a great deal of violence will have to be used to remove them from their homes, for they are so intermingled with the Old Christians that there is no difference between them and the others.”⁸⁹ A greater protest had been registered in January of that same year by the archbishop of Seville, Pedro Vaca de Castro, in a letter to the King, which among other issues covered the topic of mixed marriages and the

velados los rostros, tendidos los cabellos, llevando cruces de mucho peso a cuestras muy gran trecho y las menores llevaban otras imágenes, crucifijos y cruces en las manos y otras acompañándolas con luces, y muchas plegarias de todo género de gente a todas horas del día y más ordinario a la media noche, pasando algunas en vela de claro en claro en las iglesias con disciplinas de sangre de los hombres y tantas lágrimas, sollozos y alaridos, diciendo en grito, señor, misericordia, que ningún ánimo pío lo veía que no se enterreciese.” Fr. Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assyain), 1613, f. 60 v.

- 87 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Moros, moriscos y turcos de Cervantes. Ensayos críticos* (Barcelona: Bellaterra), 2010, 234. “Trámites urgentes, bodas y donaciones en el puerto de Cartagena.” Relación de los matrimonios mixtos en el valle del Ricote a partir de 1598. Also in La Mancha: T.J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (Siglos XV–XVIII): Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert), 2007, 369–372.
- 88 Apud Dadson, *Los moriscos*, 370: “Ha habido gran cantidad de casamientos de moriscas con cristianos viejos para quedarse, y algunos graciosísimos; ahora han dado en des-casarse muchos y ellos se meten frailes y ellas monjas, y en los monasterios les venden estas entradas como si les vendieran un cesto de peras, que es cosa escandalosa esto.”
- 89 Letter of 24 December 1609. AGS, Estado, Leg. 2639: “las dificultades de consideración... para apremiar aquella gente ni echarla... que ha de ser menester mucha violencia para sacarla de sus casas, tan mezclada con los cristianos viejos, que dellos a los que lo son, no ay diferencia ninguna.”

offspring resulting from them.⁹⁰ Initially, it looked as if his objections would be taken into account. In the words of Cabrera de Córdoba, “The expulsion was at first carried out with such rigour in Seville and surrounding areas, where there were very wealthy persons with very honourable posts, as also in Granada, that it became necessary to make a declaration, in which it was commanded that Old Christians married to Morisco women were not to be expelled, and neither would the descendants of Old Christians, although they were of the Morisco race through the women, nor the descendants of Moors from Barbary or Turks who came to convert to our Holy Faith.”⁹¹ This use of the term “Morisco race [raza de moriscos]” should be noted. Like other items of information that have come down to us, it reveals something about the reigning confusion over how to define Moriscos among the very proponents of the Expulsion.

In the early months of 1610, Don Francisco de Irazabal was in Granada managing the expulsion of Moriscos from the city “where they are so rooted” and he complained about the number of Moriscos whose proof that they were descended from Old Christians depended on the complicity of neighbours and acquaintances, or people who were prepared to declare in their favour in exchange for a sum of money. In a letter to the King he wrote that in Granada “there are some whose parents and grandparents are known and who even today do not speak the languages [sic] as clearly as we do” and who still produce “false proofs.” Note the insistence on the importance of parents and grandparents and on the use of the language as a differentiating factor – no reference is made here to religion. Some Moriscos declared that they were the children of churchmen, i.e. members of the clergy who had fathered children on Morisco servants. There were others who, once their proofs had been presented, wanted to inherit goods from other Moriscos or to take the possessions of expelled Moriscos, but what alarmed Irazabal above all was: “it is a great pity and shame that they should say at times that Your Majesty is exercising tyranny over this kingdom and that we are occupying their houses in bad faith, for they say that the *Rey Chico* handed over this kingdom to the lordly Kings of

90 An extremely interesting document edited by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1978, Apéndice VIII.

91 Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relación*, 396: “Lo cual (la expulsión) se comenzó a ejecutar con tanto rigor en Sevilla y su tierra, donde había personas muy ricas y con oficios muy honrados, así allí como en Granada, que ha convenido hacerse declaración sobre ello, mandando que los cristianos viejos casados con moriscas no fuesen espelidos, y asimesmo los descendientes que vienen de cristianos viejos, aunque tengan raza de moriscos por las hembras, ni los que descien den de moros de Berbería o de turcos que vinieren a convertirse a nuestra Santa Fe [...]”

glorious memory without force of arms and that it is theirs, so that their intentions have now become plain.” Their intentions, which Irarrazabal understood to include an armed takeover, showed that according to the Moriscos the kingdom was theirs and now suffered from “tyranny,” i.e. was governed and was in the hands of a people with no legitimate claim on the land.⁹² In the following year, 1611, a group of Old Christian inhabitants of Granada wrote to the King insisting on the number of false proofs that were being presented by the Moriscos, “enemigos de Dios y de Su Magestad [enemies of God and Your Majesty]”, many of which were endorsed by members of the nobility who had taken payment to defend them, being as they were “reos de la sangre de los mártires de las Alpujarras [culprits of the blood of the martyrs of the Alpujarra]”. The Old Christians asked for these Moriscos and their accomplices to be punished.⁹³ Memories of the War of the Alpujarras clearly remained fresh half a century on, both among the Moriscos and the Old Christians. In Granada, the noble families descended from the old Naşrid aristocracy were not expelled.

There were certainly a number of Moriscos who left with hope in their hearts or who at least interpreted the Expulsion in a providentialist manner, as was expressed by another famous document, the letter written by a Morisco in Barbary to a knight of Trujillo: “banishing us from the land was not the King of Spain’s doing: it was divine inspiration, for here I have seen forecasts more than a thousand years old which speak of what has happened to us... But the slightest grievance would cause God to act and he would send a King who would subject the whole world.”⁹⁴ This was a reiteration of the prophetic and messianic expectations common to the whole Morisco diaspora, as I have mentioned throughout this chapter.⁹⁵ There were also many Moriscos, such as those of Hornachos, who headed straight for Morocco and even fulfilled the command to leave their young children behind, but then expressed a desire to recover their offspring, the imposed condition for which was that they had to head for Christian lands.⁹⁶ The eventual outcome for most of these Moriscos was a long second journey to Morocco via France and Italy.⁹⁷

92 AGS, Estado, Leg. 245, 10.

93 AGS, Estado, Leg. 245.11

94 Janer, *Condición*, 350–351: “no ha sido en mano del Rey de España el avernos desterrado de la tierra: pues ha sido inspiración divina, porque aquí he visto pronósticos de más de mil años que cuentan lo que a nosotros ha sucedido [...] Pero el más mínimo agravio lo tomaría Dios por su cuenta y embiaría un Rey que sojuzgaría a todo el mundo.”

95 García-Arenal, “Un réconfort.”

96 ADM, Leg. 2408 Carta del Duque de Medina Sidonia al Rey, 7 febrero 1610.

97 AGS, Estado, Leg. 220.

There was also a number of Moriscos that is difficult to estimate who tried to return to Spain, even at the risk of being condemned to slavery if they were discovered. There are interesting traces of such individuals in the records of the Inquisition, before whose tribunals a number of returning Moriscos appeared and were condemned to row in the royal galleys. Such Moriscos had gone back in efforts to seek reconciliation with the Church and prove that they were good Christians despite the time they had spent in Muslim lands. The vicissitudes suffered by these Moriscos, who argued in their own favour that they had placed their lives at risk in order to return to Spain, can be found in the records of tribunals whose district included the sea ports. In Puerto de Santa María, for example, where the naval fleet was anchored, several Andalusian Moriscos appeared in 1617 “with letters branded on their faces reading *King’s galley*.”⁹⁸

I will turn now to one well-documented case which is especially significant because of the way it relates to an issue I have already mentioned: the difficulty for other Spaniards of defining clearly what a Morisco was. The case to which I refer occurred in May 1612 and revolved around the large number of Moriscos (about 500) who had taken refuge in Tangier, plus another 200 in Ceuta. All of these Moriscos protested that they were “good Christians.” The situation led to correspondence between the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the governor Don Alonso de Noronha, with an intervention by the Marquis of Villarreal, who insisted that all Moriscos, without exception, had to leave the Spanish garrison towns, and that it made no difference if they were Christians. Don Alonso clearly had his misgivings about this, and stated that he honestly believed these Moriscos’s declarations of their Christian faith.⁹⁹ For this reason, he thought that although they were on Spanish soil, it was not fair to send them to work as galley-slaves and he proposed putting them on ships for France and Italy instead.¹⁰⁰ The decision was eventually taken to send them to Italy, except for their young children, who were sent to Seville to be brought up there by the archbishop of the city. In June 1612, Don Alonso de Noronha reported to the Duke that he had put 480 Moriscos on three French ships bound for Rome and had sent 59 Morisco children to Spain, stating that “no he pasado en mi vida peores dos días” [I have not experienced a worse two days in my life]. A later ship sailed in July with another 200 Moriscos, also bound for Rome.¹⁰¹

98 AHN, Inquisición. Libro 1241: “que llevan herrada la cara con letras que dicen Rey galera.”

99 AGS, Estado, Leg. 244, 56.

100 AGS, Estado, Leg. 244, 121.

101 AGS, Estado, Leg. 244, 134.

Something is known of the fate of this group of Moriscos: eight of them were taken off the ship in Jávea, one of them dead and two gravely ill. The Moriscos told the authorities there that they were starving to death on the ships because they had no provisions.¹⁰² We also know that the transport ships arrived in Italy, but did not receive permission even to enter the roads of Civitavecchia. They anchored for some time in Livorno and in the months that followed a number of the Moriscos were denounced and taken before the Inquisition Commissioner of Pisa.¹⁰³ In that same year and for the following two years, documents from Naples make reference to the activities of a Jesuit by the name of Rodríguez who tried to rescue Morisco slave women. Other documents from the same archive contain “spontaneous” confessions made by Moriscos in Naples who had come to be reconciled with the Church.¹⁰⁴ As for the Morisco children, five or six stayed in Tangier because they had been requested by families in which it was known that they would be “brought up properly,” whereas the 59 sent to Spain were settled in Seville under conditions to be met by those who took charge of them under the supervision of the Archbishop there.¹⁰⁵

One striking and apparently paradoxical aspect of this decision to send Moriscos recognised as good Christians to Italy or France without allowing them to tread Spanish soil is that at the same time, certain “Moors of Barbary” who went to Spain to be baptized as Christians were welcomed there and feted at great public ceremonies. One such occasion is described by the Granadan chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera, who wrote that some forty Muslims from Barbary were received and baptized with great solemnity by none other than the Archbishop of Granada.¹⁰⁶ Another example: when in 1614 the *alcaldes* of Muley ‘Abd Allāh came to Spain to collect the inherited possessions that had belonged to the deceased Muley Xequé, the entire retinue was allowed to disembark, except for a number of Moriscos who were part of it and who were ordered to be captured and removed from the kingdom. These Moriscos were not allowed to enter Spain, even in their role as servants and envoys of the king of Morocco.¹⁰⁷

102 AGS, Estado, Leg. 244, 121.

103 Archivio per la Congregazione della Dottrina de la Fede (ACDF), Decreta, 1612, f. 30 y ff. 133, 151, 270, 322. I am grateful to Stefania Pastore for these references.

104 ACDF, Decreta, 141–1781, 144–1818, 146–1852.

105 AGS, Estado, Leg. 244, 55.

106 These and other cases in Domínguez and Vincent, *Historia*, 257.

107 ADM, Leg. 2409, Carta del rey al Duque, 25 de septiembre de 1614.

Salé

Let us examine, lastly, the place which came to represent the expelled Moriscos of Morocco better than any other, the town which has been most closely subjected to the attentions of historians: the port of Salé, where the Moriscos maintained a distinct and semi-independent group identity until the late seventeenth century.

I referred above to the English agent John Harrison and his contacts with the Moriscos of Salé, which resulted in attempts to convince the King of England to assist them or even capture and protect the town. Salé was in fact a double port located on the estuary of the river Bou Regreg, with Rabat on the southern shore and Salé on the northern side. By the time Harrison travelled to Morocco, the most notable self-governing Morisco community, together with Tetouan, was constituted by the fortified port of Rabat-Salé, which became increasingly significant after the Expulsion. The first Moriscos to arrive there came from Hornachos, and they formed a very compact group that was intrepid and firm in its Muslim beliefs. At the time of the Expulsion they were transferred from Seville to Ceuta, where they disembarked and later left for Tetouan. The sultan of Morocco wanted to take advantage of them in making up his armies, and had a particular interest in using them in the hazardous region of the southern border of Morocco beside the Draa. However, the group of around 3000 Moriscos deserted. They were unwilling to be turned into human raw material to be used at the sultan's convenience, and soon demonstrated their very considerable capacity for action and cohesion. The *hornacheros* found the kasbah of Rabat (today called the Kasbah of the Udayas) in ruins, and proceeded to occupy it after a process of rebuilding and fortification, as in Tetouan, where, as we have seen, exiled Granadans and Valencians had moved in throughout the sixteenth century. By 1614, the town was also occupied by a fairly numerous group of about 15,000 Moriscos from Andalusia and Extremadura. It did not take long for conflict between the *hornacheros* and the Andalusians to flare up (the former monopolized all positions of power in the town), but both groups saw themselves as superior to the surrounding populations and clung to a clear desire to steer clear of them, in addition to holding onto their independence from the sultan.

The Expulsion of the Moriscos coincided, as I have said, with Spanish occupation of the Moroccan port of Larache. The Moroccan Atlantic coast offered a formidable base for operations against the Spanish and Portuguese ships en route to the East or West Indies, or on their way back to the Peninsula with their wealthy cargoes of precious metals, spices or sugar. The concession of Larache to Spain in 1610 and the capture of Mamora by the Spaniards in 1614

made the nucleus of Rabat-Salé more important, as it was the only Moroccan port on the North Atlantic coast and was ideally placed to attack the route to the Indies and the Strait of Gibraltar, though the inhabitants of Salé went as far as Galicia, the English Channel and even, on one occasion, Iceland. Rabat-Salé became, like Tetouan, an important corsair nucleus offering shelter to English and Dutch pirates as well as the expelled Moriscos. The English authorities were well aware of the increase in pirate activity caused by the Moriscos, but were more than reluctant to intervene because the main victim of the situation was the King of Spain. Salé had become a thorn in the foot of the Hispanic Monarchy.¹⁰⁸

After the 1620s Salé figured as an autonomous political structure. The so-called “republic of Salé” was governed by a council of twelve members, called “*duán*” or *dīwān*, which functioned like a Spanish municipal council, with a chairman who was given the title of Great Admiral. Its organization resembled that of a Spanish town council, but the functions and way of life of the town were more reminiscent of the Turkish ports of the regencies of Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli. In the 1630s, the inhabitants of Salé again declared themselves, at least nominally, vassals of the sultan of Morocco, at the hands of whose army they had suffered attacks, as well as being attacked by other rebel groups in northern Morocco that were opposed to the sultan. The Moriscos of Salé also tried on several occasions to negotiate with Spain, requesting aid and assistance against its enemies and against the pressure exerted by the sultan, who wanted to occupy the town and banish them to a place inland i.e. to remove them from the coast, just as the Spanish authorities had wanted to do with the Granadan Moriscos. The request for assistance in exchange for vassal status was later adapted and turned into offers of total concession of the town for the right to return to Spain. The Moriscos felt threatened by the different political forces in Morocco and yet deeply uninterested in its disputes and rivalries, and the attempt in which Harrison had intervened to hand over the fortified stronghold to the English in exchange for their aid and protection had failed.¹⁰⁹ The first attempt to negotiate with Spain took place in late 1614, and it was repeated

108 John Digby's 1619 report to the British Crown reads as follows: “It is certeyn that there is no nation so much anoyed and infested with the pirats as the dominions of the King of Spaine, very many of them being of the Moriscos which were expelled thence, and every yeare are guides to the Turkes and Mores to do mischeifes upon the coast towns of Spaine; so that it may be considerable wether we should make so much haste to pull this thorne out of the King of Spaines foote or not.” SIHM, Angleterre, II, 512.

109 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba*, 58.

in 1619, 1631, 1637 and 1663.¹¹⁰ These reiterated efforts to negotiate never led to anything, but have left a considerable trace in the form of abundant and fascinating archive material, recently collected and edited by Hossain Bouzineb.

In the treaty proposal of 1631¹¹¹ which the *hornacheros* transmitted via the Duke of Medina Sidonia, they started by defining themselves in the following terms: “the Moriscos who reside in the said kasbah are those who left from Hornajos (Hornachos) and Endelusia (Andalusia) and are more Christian than Moorish.” They said that they were in “much confusion and great difficulty” on account of the wars and persecutions visited upon them by the king of Morocco, “together with the great hatred felt towards them by the Arabic Moors, who call them Christians.”¹¹² One is struck again by the strange lack of definition, so typical of Morisco identity, which led them to claim they were more Christian than Moorish. How much more? Indeed, what is it they referred to? What was it about them that was Christian, and what was Moorish? The answer probably depends on whether those assessing them were Old Christians or (Old?) Moors. Whatever the situation may have been, the Moriscos seem to have occupied a liminal position or at least to have been part of a picture in which they were only at ease when they were among themselves, without witnesses or authorities to cast a censuring gaze upon them, a gaze that simply did not understand their mixed and possibly unique identity. By virtue of that identity, they proposed “out of the great love they had for Spain, for ever since they left it they pine for it” the following conditions for handing the town over to Philip IV: firstly, that they be allowed to return to Hornachos, with no responsibility for compensating the inhabitants who had replaced them; secondly, that the municipal authorities be of their own nation, i.e. Moriscos; and finally, that there be no Old Christians in the town other than the priests and friars needed to teach them church doctrine. This is an interesting point which again shows the kind of continuity with their original home communities which still existed. In a *memorial* sent to the King at the end of the previous century, its author Francisco López spoke of Hornachos in the following terms: “all the inhabitants of the town are Moriscos and as such they always seek to make

110 There is an extensive bibliography on the Morisco corsairs of Salé. I would like to point out two of the latest contributions to it: Leila Maziane, *Salé et ses corsaires, 1666–1727: un port de course marocain au XVII^e siècle* (Caen: Presses Universitaires), 2007. Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba*, which contains an important collection of edited documents.

111 First published and edited by G.S. Colin, “Projet de traité entre les morisques de la Casba de Rabat et le roi d’Espagne en 1631,” *Hespéris* 52 (1955), 17–26: “los moriscos que residen en la dicha alcasaba son los que salieron de Hornajos y Endalusia y tienen más de cristianos que de moros.”

112 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba*, 58.

much trouble with the Old Christians living in the town and insult them so that they will not come here."¹¹³ This seems to show the clear desire for autonomy and self-governed isolation which were to be reproduced in the Moroccan ports.

Other treaty conditions included the one that the Inquisition not be permitted to punish Moriscos born in Barbary who knew nothing of the Christian religion (this despite the fact that were "more Christian than Moorish"), for a period of at least twenty years. Their estates were to be respected and they would not be discriminated against in their tributary obligations, and the same guarantees would be made to the Andalusians who wanted to come back with them "for there are many in Tetouan and Algiers who if they knew they could come safely, would come." As proof that they were good Christians they would send information endorsed by Christian captives about how many Moriscos had been martyred for the faith of Christ. They offered to go to Seville with their corsair ships, which would become the property of His Majesty the King. They also demanded to be given back the children who had been taken from them at the time of the Expulsion. In exchange, they offered to hand over all the might of Salé with its 68 cannons. They would also give up the correspondence they had had with the King of England and the papers they had from the States General of the Netherlands. In England "their ambassadors had been López de Zajar, a clerk who was from Hornachos, and Mahamet de Clavijo, a Morisco from Úbeda." They also said that "before leaving they will strip the Jewish quarter of its great wealth, waiting for the time in which the Jews of Flanders come with very rich ships, and all of this will be handed over to His Majesty; and the other estates of the Dutch and French merchants, which are usually considerable." This document is signed by Mahamet ben Abdelkader, governor of the Kasbah, the *caid* Bexer Brahin de Vargas and the clerks Mahamet Blanco and Musa Santiago. The signatures reflect Castilian usage in both the Arabic personal and family name, proving once again the idea of a mixed and peculiar identity with its "Christian" and "Moorish" ingredients.

In the correspondence provoked by this treaty, and the follow-up to it, the Moriscos added some interesting information.¹¹⁴ For example, they asked for maximum discretion, saying that if information about the negotiations were to leak out, the Moriscos of Tunis and other parts of Barbary would be placed at

113 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba*, 33: "todos los vecinos de la villa son moriscos y como tales, pretenden hacer muchas molestias y vexaciones a los cristianos viejos que viven en esta villa afín de que no vengan a vivir a ella."

114 Documents published by Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba*, see especially docs. 26 and 27.

great risk.¹¹⁵ Contacts and networks involving groups of exiled Moriscos abroad existed, in other words, and remained alive some fifty years after the Expulsion. But this treaty project did not reveal a homesick longing for Spain so much as a continued desire among some of the Morisco communities to live in a more cohesive and compact manner. Their wish was to live autonomously, and among themselves. They wanted to be free from the interference of Christian authorities, but also free from the interference of Muslim authorities, in a clear attempt to create their own identity as a different and separate community.

By Way of Conclusion

This chapter has shown the existence of a series of patterns and continuities in Morisco emigration to Morocco. The Moriscos clung to their desire to reconquer the south of Spain and while they waited for this to occur, they set about creating their own independent kingdom on certain parts of the Moroccan coast. The term “kingdom” may be a little exaggerated, but it can at least be agreed that the Moriscos defended a different communal identity and wished to create a space for it. Perhaps what can be seen here is a desire to continue living in accordance with the old medieval pacts brought to an end by the Catholic Monarchs and the Expulsion decrees. These pacts had allowed the different communities to live as such, with their own civil and religious authorities, or as the non-Muslim communities had lived in the Ottoman Empire in the regime known as *millet*. In the Western Mediterranean, these sorts of pacts or negotiations with the central powers were no longer admissible. Although I have insisted on the continuity that persisted throughout the period under discussion, which lasted nearly two hundred years, it is also quite simple to see the changes that took place in the Morisco populations of the Peninsula, which became especially obvious once those populations settled on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. Thus the Moriscos expelled in the early seventeenth century displayed a wide and mixed range of religious, linguistic and cultural characteristics which show that, contrary to official propaganda and efforts to legitimize the Expulsion, a considerable proportion of the Moriscos had gone a long way towards assimilating and becoming virtually indistinguishable from their Castilian and Christian counterparts. At the same time they were very different from the indigenous Moroccan populations, and much more distant from them than had been the case during the first waves of Granadan emigration.

115 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba*, doc. 28.

Andalusi Immigration and Urban Development in Algiers (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)

Sakina Missoum

All studies of urban life in the medina of Algiers present a number of difficulties, and the same is true of attempts to explore the conditions under which Andalusis became established there. For example, over half of the original surface (Map 13.1) of the city known to Moriscos from Granada in 1541 as al-Ġazā'ir al-Ġāziya (“Algiers the Combatant”) – the “Muslims’ protective enclosure” – has since disappeared.¹

Since its founding in the mid-tenth century, Algiers had been confined to a level area that stood 20 metres above sea level and occupied the general outline of the earlier Roman city. Opposite the small settlement,² the bay formed by the largest island and the coast served as anchorage for ships that arrived from al-Andalus and elsewhere.³ There were two districts: one around the fortress, and another that included the site of the future Ottoman governor’s palace and a small mosque⁴; the name of the latter, Keçi Ova (Plain of Goats), reveals where the city’s western boundary lay. There was nothing built on the rest of the terrain: across from the Grand Mosque there were pits for the potters’ clay, vegetable gardens stood between the fortress and the sea, cultivated fields stretched to the south, and the hill was covered with brambles (Map 13.2).

In 1516 the Barbarroja brothers, called on to free Algiers from the dominion that the Spanish exerted from the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera to the west, entered the city; three years later Algiers became the first city in North Africa

1 Abdeljelil Temimi, “Une lettre des Morisques de Grenade au Sultan Suleiman al-Kanuni en 1541,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 3–4 (1975), 100–106, esp. 106.

2 On its organization and extension see Sakina Missoum, “Argel en su época arabo-beréber o Ġaza’ir Banī Mazganna,” in *Mediterraneum. El esplendor del Mediterráneo medieval (ss. XIII–XV)* (Barcelona: Lunwerg), 2004, 485–499, esp. 488–497.

3 Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Description de l’Afrique septentrionale par Abou-Obeïd-El-Bekri* (Paris: Maisonneuve), 1965, 75–76 (Arabic), 136–137 (French).

4 According to a manuscript written by Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Raġab Šāwuš in the mid-eighteenth century: Gaëtan Delphin, “Histoire des Pachas d’Alger de 1515 à 1745. Extrait d’une chronique indigène. Traduit et annoté par Gaëtan Delphin,” *Journal Asiatique* (1922), 161–233, esp. 216 and 219.



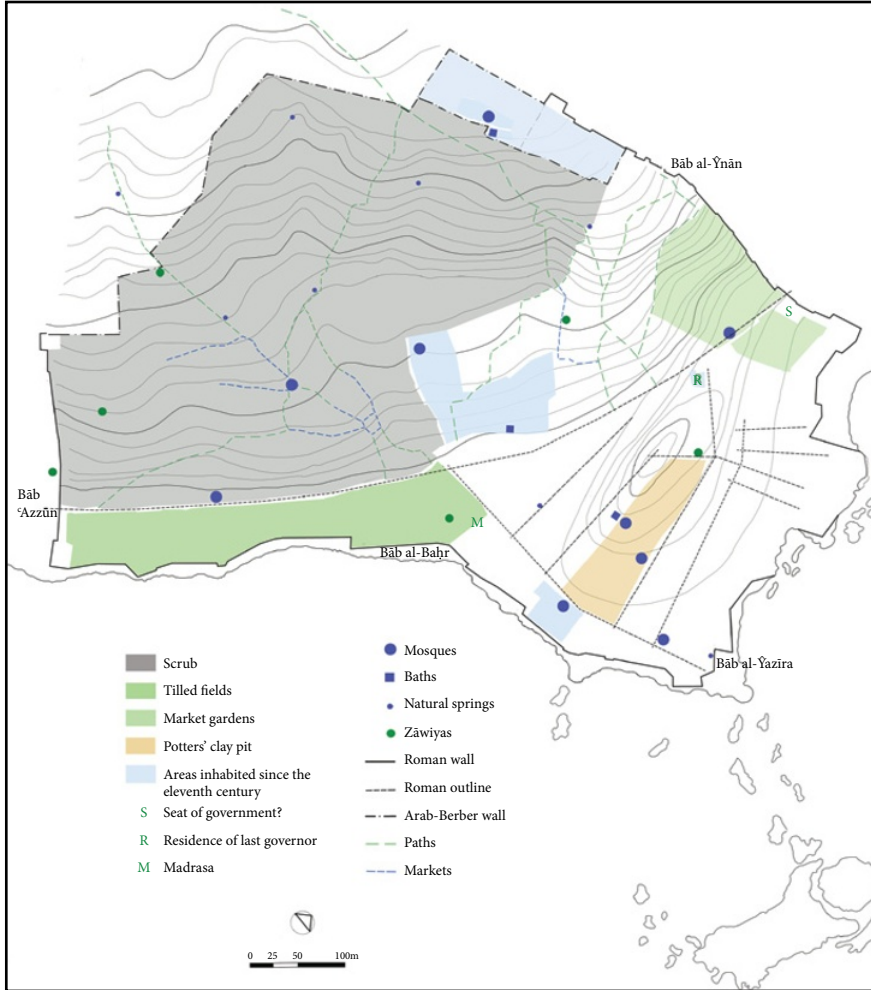
MAP 13.1 *The historical city of Algiers, present-day situation.*

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to be subject to the Ottoman Empire.⁵ Nonetheless ten years had to pass before the Peñón surrendered and a port was created⁶ that met the needs of the ships' captains (Arabic *raʿīs*). The next building projects were the political-administrative center (1516–1530) in the city's heart, and the pier (1529–1532); later

5 Through the *firmān* or royal decree issued by Selim I (1512–1520) in response to a request for protection by Algerian nobles. On the circumstances of this event see B. Lahoual, "Formation de la politique nord-africaine des États-Unis, 1786–1801," *Cahiers Maghrébins d'Histoire* 6 (1990), 30–76, esp. 36; Mouloud Gaïd, *L'Algérie sous les Turcs* (Algiers: Société nationale d'édition et de diffusion), 1991, 41–46; and Abdeljelil Temimi, "Lettre de la population algéroise au Sultan Selim I^{er} en 1519," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 5–6 (1976), 95–101.

6 Through the joining of the offshore islands to the coast (Diego de Haëdo, *Topografía e Historia General de Argel* [Valladolid, 1612] (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles), 1927–1929, I: 258, and the building of a pier (1529–1532) where ships could tie up in close proximity to the city.

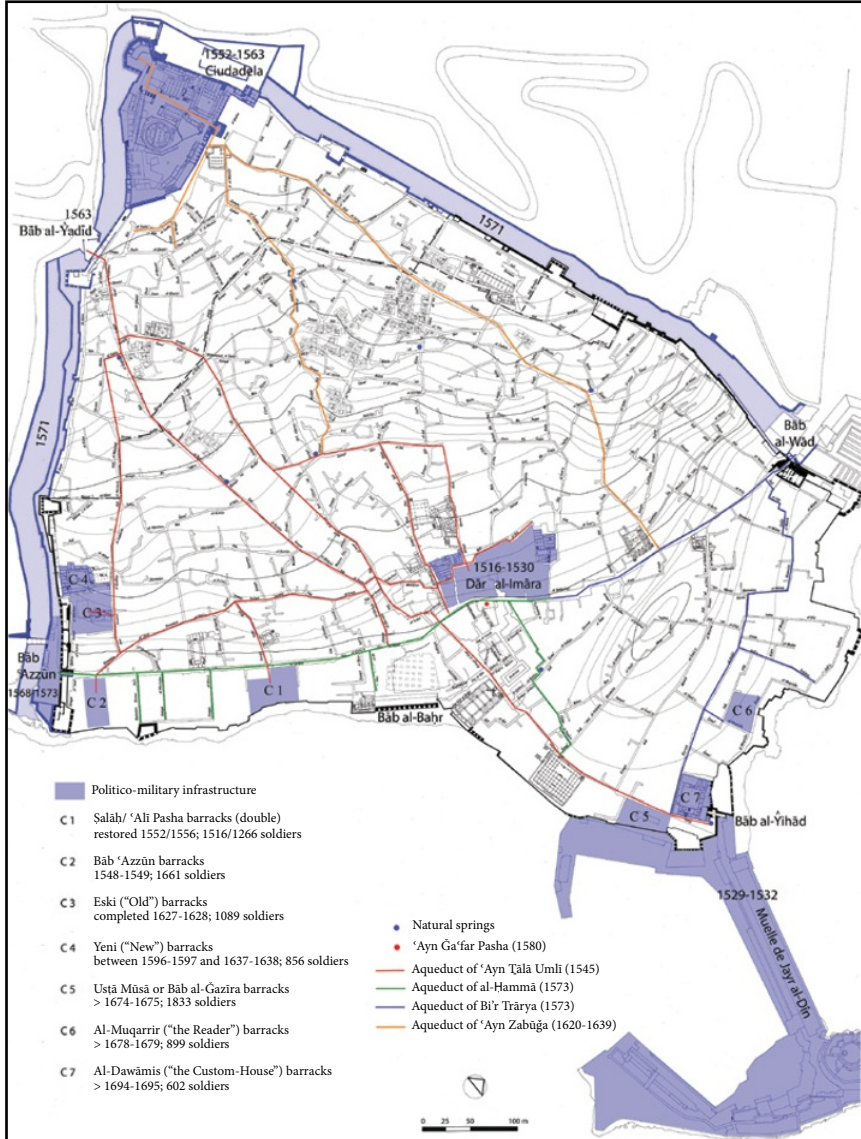


MAP 13.2 Ġazā'ir Bani Mazġannā (945-950-1516).
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efforts focused on restoring or building military barracks⁷ and repairing the fortifications (Map 13.3). The Citadel was built between 1552 and 1563,⁸ at the same time that a wall was extended to join it to the city and the New Gate

7 Whose placement, concentrated in Bāb 'Azzūn (5) and Bāb al-Ġazīra (3), fulfilled the requirement by Murad I, Bey and later Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1360–1389), that barracks should all be built in the same area: Gaïd, *L'Algérie*, 100.

8 Sakina Missoum, *Alger à l'époque ottomane. La médina et la maison traditionnelle* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud), 2003, 115.



MAP 13.3 *Al-Ġazā'ir, politico-military structure and aqueducts outlines.*

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(al-Bāb al-Ġadīd) was incorporated into its northwest portion. Later, after the remodelling of Bāb 'Azzūn (1568–1573) had begun and in view of the defeat of the Turkish armada at Lepanto, it was decided to dig the moat.⁹ Orders came

9 AGS, Estado, leg. 487, años 1568–1574: "Relación hecha por Juan de Pezón del estado en que esta Argel."

from Istanbul that the work be directed by one Ġa'far, a native of Murcia, who was at the time "el maestro mayor de las obras de Argel [the senior master of works at Algiers]";¹⁰ the earlier fortifications had been overseen by a different master of works from Almería.¹¹ Algiers had been transformed from a city exposed to cannon fire from the Peñón into an impregnable fortress; ships left daily from its harbour headed for the Spanish coast, determined to free the Muslims of al-Andalus from the Christian yoke and, along the way, to attack the enemies of the Empire.

Demographic Growth and Its Andalusí Component

Although we lack chronological and quantitative data on the emigration of Andalusí, Mudejars and Moriscos to Algiers, it is possible to judge the growth in their numbers through the relationship of urbanistic events to historical and socio-economic ones. Population figures can only be estimated¹² and are often expressed as numbers of households, but they "coincide with what we know about the economic development of the city itself"¹³ and correlate with the demographic evidence about émigrés from the Iberian Peninsula.

10 AGS, *loc. cit.*, "Lo que el Duque de Gandía ordenó, y de parte del Rey N^o. S^{or}. manda a Juan Pezón mercader balenciano es lo siguiente...."

11 AGS, Estado, leg. 471, años 1544–1545, "Las nuevas que traxo el mensajero que fue Argel son...."

12 Archival documents related to censuses of population or of households, drawn up by the Ottoman authorities for fiscal control, have not yet been found for Algiers. Some figures offered by European travelers have seemed outlandish to researchers who have compared them to those for other cities (see André Raymond, *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Paris: Sindbad), 1985, 57 and 62–63), but they may actually be underestimates. Federico Cresti, "Quelques réflexions sur la population et la structure sociale d'Alger à l'époque turque (XVI^e–XIX^e siècles)," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 137–138 (1986), 151–164, at 157, notes that "a comparison between the areas and the average densities of great cities of the Muslim world often reveals widely variant, and broadly hypothetical, physical realities." On the other hand, although an Algerian house was designed in principle to hold a single family, the intimate arrangement of rooms around a courtyard made it possible for several families to live together – even, in extreme cases, to live almost on top of one another – in a single house (Sakina Missoum, "Una casa en la medina de Argel," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 27 (1991), 225–244, at 233 n. 10). The resulting calculation would yield an urban density of 2500 to 3500 inhabitants per hectare, a figure difficult to believe (ETAU/ Atelier Casbah, *Projet de revalorisation de la Casbah d'Alger: Plan d'Aménagement Préliminaire* (Algiers: Unesco-Pnud), 1981, 31).

13 Cresti, "Quelques réflexions," 154.

No earthquake or attack can account for the discrepancy between the first two statements of population that we possess: 4000 households in 1516¹⁴ and 3000 in 1551.¹⁵ Nor do any historical data reveal a population loss caused by famine or epidemic. There is simply a difference of opinion between the two authors who evaluated the total number of inhabitants, which would have varied between 15,000 and 20,000 souls.¹⁶ We know that in 1524 Ḥayr al-Dīn Barbaroja returned to Algiers,¹⁷ prompted by a plea for help by “the Mudejars [who], brought from the coasts of Spain by the Turks, found their entry into Algiers blocked by Ibn al-Qāḍī, the governor of the city.”¹⁸ Five years later, “the Andalusis had sent several letters requesting the help of Ḥayr al-Dīn in crossing the Strait of Gibraltar”; he finally assembled 36 ships and, in seven journeys, transported 70,000 Mudejars “like sheep” to Algiers.¹⁹ “From that time [1529] onward, the majority of the population of Algiers was made up of Andalusis.”²⁰ Through the prestige that the city gained from attacking Christian – and especially Spanish – ships, and the welcome it extended to the people of al-Andalus (*ahl al-Andalus*) to North African shores, it became a symbol of the struggle against the enemy and the preferred destination for exiled Andalusis.²¹

14 Lèon l’Africain, *Description de l’Afrique* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1956) 1980, 347.

15 Nicolas de Nicolay, *Dans l’Empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Paris: CNRS), 1989, 64.

16 Based on the generally accepted estimate of 5 family members per household.

17 On some of the motives that led him to abandon Algiers to the control of Abū l-‘Abbās b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī see, for example, Sir Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon), 1957, 54.

18 TSK, Istanbul, ms. 1606, fol. 43. Al-Qāḍī’s absolute prohibition, which did not even allow the exiles to rest briefly in Algiers, provoked general discontent and inspired “the people of Algiers” to support the Andalusis: Aziz Samih Ilter, *Şimali Afrikada Türkler* (Istanbul: Vakıf), 1936–37, 88. I thank the historian Chakib Benafri for satisfying my many requests for translation from Ottoman Turkish into Arabic.

19 ‘Abd al-Qādir Nūr al-Dīn (ed.), *Kitāb ġazawāt ‘Arūġ wa-Ḥayr al-Dīn* (Algiers), 1934, 82. The text is an anonymous sixteenth-century Arabic chronicle: ANA, ms. 1722 (new)/942 (old). The historical moment may correspond to the rebellion of the Valencian Moriscos in the Sierra de Espadán (1526); the chronicle’s author relates that the Moriscos were massacred, and that the survivors came down from their mountain hideouts to their village (Benaguacil?) to gather their families and all they could of their possessions before taking ship.

20 TSK, ms. 1606, fol. 45. A second author takes note of the same event: Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasiqānī, a native of Romeli in Turkey, who served two Deys of Algiers in the second half of the eighteenth century (Muḥammad b. ‘Uṭmān, 1766–1788, and Ḥasan Pasha, 1788–1791). The anonymous author of the chronicle about the Barbaroja brothers was a contemporary of the events: Nūr al-Dīn, *Kitāb ġazawāt*, 82.

21 Haëdo, *Topografia*, 26; Abdeljelil Temimi, “Une lettre des Morisques de Grenade au Sultan Suleiman al-Kanuni en 1541,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 3–4 (1975), 101; Nāṣir al-Dīn

The nations of Europe redoubled their defenses, while Spain, the principal target, reinforced its guard systems all along the coast. Nonetheless the corsairs effected raids even against small inland towns in the Valencia region, bringing back with them some one thousand Muslims.²² The influx of Mudejars and Moriscos to Algiers and its hinterland increased the local population and gave rise to development in the medina, adding to its economic growth. The immigrants were particularly welcome in the army because of their knowledge of modern techniques of warfare and their fighting spirit. Documents from the Archivo de Simancas attest to their large numbers: between Mudejars, “que son su grande [...] da fuera los turcos [who are the great (...) in addition to the Turks]” and the *moros* of Granada and Valencia,²³ there were already “como cuatromil mudéjares y tagarinos [some four thousand Mudejars and Andalusí Muslims]”²⁴ in 1569.

In 1541 the Inquisition in Murcia received a letter describing the important role played by Moriscos in the defense of Algiers; they were being offered incentives to settle there that included housing and free passage by ship.²⁵ This call for immigrants added to the city’s growth by persuading some of the more reticent to leave the Peninsula. A captive who had escaped from Miliana in 1544–1545 testified to the policies that helped to integrate the Moriscos: he claimed that they were sent to newly conquered frontier towns as a stabilizing element²⁶ at a time when the Ottoman Empire was starting to consolidate its rule in the Maghreb. A key part of the strategy was the intention to transfer “todos los moriscos que [se] pudiese del reyno de valencia y granada [all possible Moriscos from Valencia and Granada]”²⁷ to Tlemcen in the event that it was conquered; Dragūt (or Turgut) Ra’īs,²⁸ commander of the fleet, was

Sa’idūnī, *Dirāsāt wa-abḥāt fī tāriḥ al-ġazā’ir* (2 vols.), vol. I: *Al-‘ahd al-‘uṭmānī* (Algiers), 1984, 129–136; Muḥammad Razzūq, *Al-andalusīyyūn wa-ḥiġratuhum naḥw l-maġrib al-aqṣā ḥilāl al-qarnayn 16–17* (Casablanca: Ifriqiya al-šarq), 1989, 131–132.

22 Gaïd, *L’Algérie*, 52.

23 AGS, Estado, respectively leg. 461, años 1510–1534, and leg. 464, años 1535–1539.

24 AGS, Estado, leg. 487, años 1568–1574: “Argel, A sum^d. El Capitán don hier^{mo} de Mendoza à XXIX de octubre de 1569.”

25 AGS, Estado, leg. 469, año 1541, “Copia de la carta q Juan Gil alguacil [...] a los Inquisidores de Murcia.”

26 See the case of Sidī Aḥmad al-Kabīr al-Andalusī, who settled in Blida and was married by Ḥayr al-Dīn in 1540 to the daughter of the chief of the Awwāl al-Sulṭān tribe: Mikel de Epalza, *Los Moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre), 1992, 227.

27 AGS, Estado, leg. 471, años 1544–1545: “Lo que dize un cautivo que huyo de Miliana es...”

28 This protégé and rival of Ḥayr al-Dīn, recently released from his captivity (1540–1544) in Andrea Doria’s galleys, was one of the Ottoman Empire’s most famous corsairs through his feats along the Mediterranean coasts of Christian Europe. In 1551 he became the

standing by in port ready to sail to the Spanish coast. The practice of raiding the coast in order to gather Andalusis and resettle them in newly conquered strategic areas seems to have been followed systematically at least until late 1556; in that year a renegade from Algiers wrote to the governor of Elche informing him of a plan to “ir a [...] por moriscos [...], en el reyno de Valencia hazia Almería [go to (...) fetch Moriscos (...) in the kingdom of Valencia, toward Almería],”²⁹ following on the reconquest of Bougie in the previous year.

A call to immigration that continued for at least 15 years (since 1541) must have persuaded a good number of Andalusis, trapped as they were between a degrading religious conversion and forced emigration. One indicator of a growing population was the city’s water supply: according to a captive who left Algiers in 1541 (after spending four years in the service of a certain “Rosso Helche,” a renegade),

it has need of water, and they go to bring it from a crossbow-shot’s length outside the city; he is certain that unless they supply themselves with water from outside, the wells within the city yield so little that they could not meet the needs of its inhabitants for more than a few days.³⁰

Clearly natural springs and wells were no longer sufficient to supply the city-dwellers’ needs, forcing them to venture outside the walls in search of water. To correct the situation Ḥasan Pasha ordered the first aqueduct to be built³¹ (Map 13.3³²); it entered at the site of the future New Gate (al-Bāb al-Ġadīd), and

Bey of Tripoli, after having seized the city from from the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem: Robert Mantran, dir., *Histoire de l’Empire ottoman* (Paris: Fayard), 1989, 405.

29 AGS, Estado, leg. 482, año 1556, “Copia de una carta de un renegado de Argel al Gobernador de Elche.”

30 “De agua tiene alguna necesidad porque la van a traer fuera de la tierra un tiro de arcabuz y que tiene por cierto que no proveyendose de fuera de agua que los pozos que estan dentro dan tan poca que no podra suplir a la gente que en ella hay para muy pocos dias”: AGS, Estado, leg. 469, año 1541, “Bernardino de Ysela cautivo en Argel que ha venido en esta ciudad de Genova a 18 de setiembre 1541 [...] y de las cosas de Argel dixo lo siguiente.”

31 AGS, Estado, leg. 471, años 1544–1545, “Lo que dizen antaño Dargaso portugues y otros que huyeron del campo de los turcos martes diez de noviembre es [...].” The aqueduct was fortified 35 years later (1579–1580) by Ḥasan Veneziano (1577–1580 and 1582–1597): Haëdo, *Topografía*, 294–295. Its name, ‘Ayn Tālā Umlī or “Spring of Clay” (modern Télemly, a neighborhood of Greater Algiers), “refers to the geology of the area where it is located, [...] whose base is clay”: Nabila Chérif-Seffadj, *Les bains d’Alger durant la période ottomane (XVIe–XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne), 2008, 67.

32 The location of the aqueducts is based on the study by Chérif-Seffadj, *Les bains*, map 19.

in 1545 “y es tanta la copia de agua, que basta a dar de beber a un número infinito [so copious (wa)s the water that it could supply an infinite number of people]”.³³ This amount, which seemed so great to the narrator at the time, is consistent with the supply that existed in 1840: calculating from that year’s volume,³⁴ it would be capable of supplying the basic needs of 18,000 to 28,000 inhabitants,³⁵ equivalent to a population growth of some 30,000 persons in 30 years (Table 13.1).

A quarter-century later, at the end of the War of the Alpujarras (1568–1570), more than 30,000 of the 50,000 Moriscos³⁶ who arrived on the North African coasts in the resulting deportations were transported in the ships of ‘Alğ ‘Alī³⁷ (regent 1568–1571); just as had happened earlier with Ḥayr al-Dīn Barbaroja, these immigrants would increase the population of Algiers. One indication of that growth was a new scarcity of water in the city: the amount that the aqueduct had provided for thirty years was no longer sufficient. “Y para remedio desto, Arab Amat (...) hizo otras dos fuentes [And for relief, Arab Amat (‘Arab Aḥmad) (...) built two more watercourses]”,³⁸ the aqueducts of Bīr Trārya and al-Ḥammā (Map 13.3), both in 1573. The first, capable of supplying an additional 5000 persons,³⁹ entered at Bāb al-Wād; the second brought water to a holding tank in Bāb ‘Azzūn and could provide for 18,000 more.⁴⁰

33 Haëdo, *Topografía*, 197.

34 Because it dates to the early years of colonization, and was probably the result of restoration and enlargement of the aqueduct’s length and capacity throughout the Ottoman period: Marius-Gustave Dalloni, “Le problème de l’alimentation en eau potable de la ville d’Alger,” *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d’Alger et de l’Afrique du Nord* (1928), 6.

35 Based on an estimated need for the time of 20 to 30 litres per resident per day: Raymond, *Grandes villes*, 156. For the modern world Peter H. Gleick, “The Human Right to Water,” *Water Policy* 1–5 (1999), 487–503, proposes a general requirement of 50 litres per person per day, according to current minimal standards for meeting the four basic needs of drinking, waste disposal, bathing and cooking.

36 Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica), 1980, II: 562.

37 Gaïd, *L’Algérie*, 86.

38 Haëdo, *Topografía*, 197–198.

39 Assuming a flow of 1.46 litres per second: Dalloni, “Le problème,” 7.

40 With a flow of 777,600 litres per day: Dalloni, “*Le problème*.” The aqueduct showed the various restorations and enlargements that had followed its construction: it had three branches that began about 50 metres from the watersource (450,000 litres/day, reduced to 400,000 litres/day during major droughts): MDV, carton 4, no. 6²¹; Guyot-Duclos, *Mémoire sur les eaux que alimentent la ville d’Alger* (1840), 3 fols.

TABLE 13.1 *Growth of population, number of houses and associated events (sixteenth century)*

Source	Dates of residence	Estimated number of		Population change	Change in number of houses
		Houses	Inhabitants		
Leo Africanus	1510–1516	4000	(20,000)	—	—
Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasiqānī	1529–1530	Ḥayr al-Dīn transports 70,000 Mudejars; majority of Algiers's population made up of Andalusis			
Mouloud Gaïd	—	Cachi Diablo, Tshalabi Ramḡān and Sulaymān Raʿīs transport more than 1000 Andalusis from Las Merlas (Valencia)			
Juan Gil Alguacil	1541	Moriscos (from Murcia) are offered houses and lands, and are promised they will not be charged for passage			
An escaped captive from Miliana	1544–1545	Transport of Mudejars from Valencia and Granada			
Aqueduct of Tālā Umlī (6–7 litres/second)	1545	(4600)	(18,000–28,000)	(3000) 103 inhab./year (from 1516)	Need for some 600+ (20 houses/year)
Nicolas de Nicolay	1551	3000	15,000	—	(Decrease of 25%)
Sakina Missoum	1552–1563	Construction of new Citadel and enlargement of walled city			
A captive in Algiers	1569	4000 Mudejars and <i>tagarinos</i> in the army			
Firman	1571	Order to provide employment for immigrants			
Aqueduct of Biʿr Trāryā (1.46 litres/second)	1573	—	(4024–6307) 5165	(37,565) 1340 inhab./year	Need for some 6000+ (200 houses/year)
Aqueduct of al-Ḥammā (777,600 litres/day, reduced to 400,000 litres/day in times of drought)	1573	—	(25,920–38,880) 32,400 (15,000–22,500) 18,750	(23,915) 857 inhab./year (from 1545)	
Firman	1573	Andalusis exempted from taxes for 3 years; judges and administrators of <i>ḥabīs</i> bequests ordered to give employment to Andalusis and Mudejars			

Source	Dates of residence	Estimated number of		Population change	Change in number of houses
		Houses	Inhabitants		
Diego de Haëdo	1578–1581	12,200	(61,000)	—	Increase of 8200 (since 1516)
Nāṣir al-Dīn Sa'īdūnī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāğğ al-Šwiḥāt	1584	Ḥasan Veneziano transports 2000 Moriscos Arrival of Andalusis			
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš	1585	Earthquake, causing little damage			

Under the rule of ‘Arab Aḥmad (1572–1574), the Andalusis seem to have been less warmly welcomed. In a city full of Christian captives⁴¹ who performed all sorts of labor, the recent arrivals could not find work. They were reduced to temporary jobs at the port and in the fields, work that did not match their skills and that left them in a marginalized and precarious position. In several letters to the Sublime Porte complaining of their status as foreigners, they spoke in detail of their sad situation and the difficulty of changing it so long as they were denied access to work for which they were fitted.⁴² Three firmans intervening on their behalf were sent from Istanbul to the authorities in Algiers between 1571 and 1573; the third, beside insisting once more that they be given employment, required the local ruler to put them in charge of administering *ḥabīs* donations and also exempted them from taxation for three years.⁴³

41 AGS, Estado, leg. 208, “Sobre lo que [...] bio fr. Jerónimo de Azabuya”: he estimates the number of Christian captives at more than 5,000. See also René Lespès, *Alger. Étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaines* (Paris: Félix Alcan), 1930, 126.

42 İter, *Şimali*, 154.

43 *Ḥabīs* was a religious bequest, a donation of property whose yield was to be devoted to pious purposes. Chakib Benafri, “*Mawqaf al-dawla al-‘utmāniya min al-khilala al-andalusīya bi-l-ğaza’ir mā bayn sanatay 1571 wa 1573*,” in *Le Ve centenaire de la chute de Grenade, 1492–1992: actes du Ve Symposium international d'études morisques* (Zaghouan: CEROMDI) 1993, II: 31–52, esp. 49.

These exceptional and unprecedented concessions⁴⁴ stimulated Moriscos to settle and to bring in their capital and their modern methods of production, coinciding with the period of the “first prodigious fortune of Algiers.”⁴⁵ The advantage they had been given allowed them to rise above the mass of the population and gave them superior economic status, as their investments yielded a more rapid return than those of other groups.

By this time ten years had passed since the city wall had been extended and newly enclosed parcels had been built on. If we add the growth of population caused by the increased water supply from the first three aqueducts, we arrive at a figure close to Haëdo’s estimate of 12,200 houses (some 60,000 persons) by the end of the sixteenth century. In 65 years the number of houses tripled, at a rate equivalent to building ten houses a month. Since that rate was difficult to maintain, some residents were housed temporarily in the homes of other families⁴⁶ or even found living space in inns (Arabic *funduq*).

Diego de Haëdo, who lived in Algiers from 1578 to 1581, gives details about the city’s ethnic makeup, specifying that *modéjares* [Mudejars] and *tagarinos* [Spanish-speaking Muslims, usually Aragonese] lived in 1000 households and that *se dividen entre sí en dos castas* [they are divided into two castes]: the first came from Granada and Andalusia, the second from Aragón, Valencia and Catalonia. He also includes under the name *moros* [Moors] four more groups, the most prominent being *baldís* (from Arabic *baladī*, “native”) who made up 2500 households.⁴⁷ The so-called Moors worked in local industries, while the wealthiest invested their capital in the galleys so as to reap profits from corsair raids. This economic power seems to reduce the *moro* group to the *baldís* and

44 In 1024/1615, a year after the final Expulsion from Spain, Tunis also received a *firman* in response to complaints from Moriscos settled there, very similar to the complaints from Algiers: it was again ordered that they be exempted from taxes, now for a total of five years. The letter mentions that Moriscos who had arrived in Istanbul had been directed to other places of settlement, where they too would enjoy a tax exemption for the same five-year period: Abdeljelil Temimi, “Politique ottomane face à l’implantation et à l’insertion des Morisques en Anatolie,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 61–62 (1991), 142–152.

45 Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, II: 304–307.

46 On the generous hospitality offered to recent arrivals by Andalusis settled in Algiers, see Nūr al-Dīn, *Kitāb ġazawāt*, 18. It extended even to twenty-eight Moriscos who were captured while *en busca de alguna tierra cristiana* [in search of some Christian country] and taken to Algiers, where *otros moriscos cabidos alli* [other Moriscos resident there] wanted to take them in, although they refused, *confesando a una boz la fee Catolica y ofreciendose a la muerte por ella* [confessing in a single voice their Catholic faith and offering to die for it]: AGS, Estado, leg. 208, “Sobre lo que [...] bio fr. Jerónimo de Azabuya.”

47 Haëdo, *Topografía*, respectively 59, 50–51 and 52.

the Andalusis, and it is not easy to distinguish between them. We will not dwell here on the ethnic traits of the population, but it was made up of Turks, Jews, Christian converts to Islam, and Muslims from Spain and from elsewhere in North Africa. This ethnic and religious diversity of the urban population, absent from the rural one, gave it a special cast which led to the impression that urban and rural dwellers were actually of different ethnic origin.⁴⁸ The first immigrants did not consider themselves Baladis or natives, but their descendants did; thus “Baladi” came to indicate members of several different communities who eventually identified themselves as natives of the same city. On the one hand, the Baladis of the late sixteenth century might be descendants of immigrants from the previous century or even from early in the current one. On the other, remembering that Spanish Muslims formed a majority of Algiers’s population after the immigration of 70,000 Mudejars in 1529, we can associate them with those whom Haëdo calls *baldies*, saying: “All these *baldies* are free from paying any taxes, a privilege granted them by Aruch Barbarroja [...] [and] confirmed later by the Grand Turk, and they have maintained it to this day.”⁴⁹ At the end of the sixteenth century, then, the “people of al-Andalus” would have constituted 30% of the population of Algiers, in 350 households inhabited by *baldies*, Mudejars and *tagarinos*.

The arrival in Algiers of an additional 2000 Moriscos brought from Alicante in 992/1584 by Ḥasan Veneziano (1577–1580 and 1582–1587)⁵⁰ was an event of sufficient impact to be mentioned by ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāğğ al-Šwiḥāt⁵¹ in his manuscript.⁵² In similar fashion, on the next line, he noted

48 Raymond, *Grandes villes*, 67. Ibn Ḥaldūn, in the fourteenth century, had already noted the rural origin of certain inhabitants: *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (Princeton), 1980, I: 249–250.

49 “Todos estos baldies son libres de pagar tributo, el cual privilegio Aruch Barbarroja [...] les concedió [...] les confirmó después el Turco, y hasta agora se les ha guardado”: Haëdo, *Topografía*, 46–48. See also Nūr al-Dīn, *Kitāb ġazawāt*, 18.

50 Nacereddine Saidouni, “Les Morisques dans la province d’Alger ‘Dar-es-Soltan’ pendant les XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. L’apport économique et sociale,” in *L’expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 140–146, esp. 141.

51 He was the *amīn al-umanā’* (chief master of all masters of guilds) from 1681 to 1700, the third member of his family to hold that prestigious post between the early seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries: Houari Touati, “Les corporations de métiers à Alger à l’époque ottomane,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 45–48 (1987), 267–292, esp. 277.

52 Bibliothèque Nationale d’Alger, Manuscrits, ms. 670/1378, fol. 105. The manuscript was written in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century by the official recorder of laws related to the marketplace and its transactions. He provides a wealth of information

for the year 1018 [1609] “han venido los andalusíes [the Andalusis have come]”, thus registering the wave of Moriscos exiled after the first Expulsion decree, which was applied to Valencians at the beginning of October. This is the only record known to us of the massive influx of Moriscos into Algiers in the seventeenth century, though they would continue to arrive, in smaller numbers, following the decrees of 1611 and 1614. In the seventeenth century the sources and documents studied pertain rather to their contributions to the city’s economy: Moriscos introduced new forms of financial investment⁵³ as well as modern techniques of industrial and artisanal production. Among their more lucrative activities were silkmaking and the manufacture of the men’s cap called *šāšīya* (*chéchia*)⁵⁴; both were monopolised by Andalusis and counted among the chief industries of Algiers. Of the many craftsmen who practiced in the community, the *šaštrī* [tailor], *bābūjī* [shoemaker] and *‘aṭṭār* [perfumer] rendered the highest taxes to the state, a sign of their privileged economic status. Andalusis also led in professional positions: an artillery manufacturer and a hydraulic engineer were *los dos moriscos, españoles de los expulsos* [both Moriscos, expelled Spaniards], states Fray Melchor, who adds: “The engineer has performed his work so well and embellished that city with so many fountains that there is scarcely a street without water. And he has improved not only this aspect but also the fortifications and the wharf, for he is in charge of all that.”⁵⁵

about commercial activities and exchanges, the administrative posts that regulated commerce, the variety of crafts practiced in Algiers at the time, and the internal workings of certain guilds, and records significant events like the dates of arrival of recruits, the dates of several fires in the fortress, court cases about fixing of prices, European raids on the city, and two arrivals of groups of Andalusis.

- 53 The *tagarinos*, for example, used captives as merchandise and not merely as a labour source: Denise Brahimi, “Quelques jugements sur les maures andalous dans les régences turques au XVII^e siècle,” in *Recueil d’études sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales), 1973, 135–149, esp. 137–140.
- 54 The raw material for silk was imported from Beirut and Smyrna, while the finished products were exported to Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Turkey, Egypt and Syria: Hamdan Khodja, *Le miroir: aperçu historique et statistique sur la Régence d’Alger* (Paris: Sindbad), 1985, 238. By 1698, the volume of caps produced had surpassed that of Toledo and depressed the price of the article (BNE, ms. 3227, chap. 35, ll. 3240–3250), resulting in a need to designate four assistants to help the *amīn* with his work: BNA, ms. 670/1378, fols. 64–65.
- 55 “El fontanero a salido tan bien con su ofizio que a yustrado aquella ciudad con tantas fuentes que a penas ay calle donde no ay agua. Y no sólo a sido de provecho en esto, sino en las fortificaciones y muelle, que todo está a su cargo”: BNE, ms. 3227, chap. 35, ll. 3248–3260.

The person in question was Mūsā al-Yasrī al-Andalusī al-Ḥimyarī: he is called “the master hydraulic engineer” in the foundation document of *zāwiyat al-Andalus* [the Andalusis’ mosque/religious centre] in 1033/1623-1624,⁵⁶ and *ṣāḥib al-mabānī* [the master builder] in a commemorative inscription of 1638.⁵⁷ He was responsible for a number of buildings, some documented epigraphically between 1627 and 1633,⁵⁸ others simply bearing his name⁵⁹; the “building” of the aqueduct of al-Ḥammā in the early seventeenth century was also attributed to him.⁶⁰ The latter project must actually have consisted of prolonging the aqueduct to reach more distant water sources and increase its flow, or else of making repairs needed since its construction in 1573 (there had been an earthquake in 1585),⁶¹ or even of extending its channel to the end of the wharf so as to supply the port.⁶² In 1639, as Fray Melchor was writing, the fourth and final aqueduct (‘Ayn Zabūḡa, Map 13.3) was completed; it may be attributable to Mūsā, coming as it did toward the end of his known career. Even in its earliest days it fed only three fountains which, even so, “no son bastantes a dar abasto de agua [d(id) not provide sufficient water]”;⁶³ perhaps the arrival of the last groups of exiles had led to new scarcity in the city. In fact, as a result of a severe drought, the Spanish immigrants to Algiers had been ordered to

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- 56 Albert Devoulx, *Les édifices religieux de l'ancien Alger* (Algiers: Bastide), 1870, 175.
- 57 In later years, up to 1670, two of his sons would figure in three other commemorative inscriptions on important buildings: Gabriel Colin, *Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie* (Paris: Département d'Alger), 1901, I: 35–43.
- 58 Notable among these was the remodelled Bāb al-Ġazīra (or Bāb al-Ġihād) in 1039/1629-1630: Colin, *Corpus*, 37–39. For his other commemorative inscriptions see *ibid.*, 20–23.
- 59 Probably because they were built by him; one was Algiers’s largest barracks: Albert Devoulx, “Les casernes de janissaires à Alger,” *Revue Africaine* 3 (1858–1859), 138–150, esp. 145. (Adrien Berbrugger, however [in an identically titled article in the same issue, 132–138, esp. 135], believes that his name is attached to the barracks because he was housed there as a janissary; this seems unlikely because non-Turks were not accepted into the army.) Another of his works was Bāb al-Ġazīra [the Gate of the Island], known as Dār Ustā Mūsā; Arabic *dār* [house] was also applied to barracks, as in Dar Yeni Çeri [House of Janissaries] in Turkish, or in Arabized form *dār al-inkīšārīyya/al-inġīšārīyya*.
- 60 Pierre Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* (Paris: P. Rocolet), 1649, II: 91, notes that Ustā Mūsā was among the Moriscos expelled from Spain in 1610–1611. Melchor (BNE, ms. 3227, chap. 35, ll. 3248–3260) attributes the project to an unnamed Morisco in 1621. Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du royaume d'Alger. Un diplomate français à Alger en 1724* (Paris: Loysel), 1992, 101, does the same, but with a date of 1611.
- 61 Delphin, “Histoire,” 217.
- 62 MDV, carton 4, no. 62¹; Guyot-Duclos, *Mémoire*; and João Mascarenhas, *Esclave à Alger: récit de captivité de João de Mascarenhas (1621–1626)* (Paris: Chandeigne), 1993, 80.
- 63 BNM, ms. 3227, chap. 2, ll. 308–315.

leave the city in 1020-1022/1611-1612, for fear of famine and a lack of water.⁶⁴ Their exodus may explain the construction of a group of houses to the southwest of the medina called “le Village des Tagarins”⁶⁵ in the mid-twentieth century and “Les Tagarins” today; it is now a district of Greater Algiers. The fourth aqueduct, begun in about 1620,⁶⁶ brought water from springs located ten kilometres to the southwest of the medina and reached the Citadel,⁶⁷ but did not pass through or supply the “village of the *tagarinos*.”

The Growth of Algiers’s Medina and a Comparison with Istanbul

The water supply for the medina, as we have seen, increased along with the needs of a growing population as successive groups of Spanish Muslims arrived in the city. The fountains that received the earliest supply from the new aqueduct⁶⁸ were placed in the inner courtyards of important buildings, the public being allowed access to them under the watchful eyes of janissaries⁶⁹: at the governor’s palace,⁷⁰ the house of the businessman and later governor Ramdān Pasha (1574–1577),⁷¹ and each of the city’s three largest barracks at

64 Ilter, *Şimali*, 190.

65 E. Mazier, “La reconquista. Le village des Tagarins (Algier),” *Journal des Instituteurs de l’Afrique du Nord* 10 (1948), 151.

66 According to Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, *Africae illustratae Libri decem, in quibus barbaria gentesque eius vt olim et nunc describuntur* (Tornaci Nerviorum), 1622, book VII, 8, it was under construction in 1619 and was ordered by Šarīf Ḥuġa; the latter, however, was governor of Algiers only from 1620 to 1621. See Federico Cresti, “Le système de l’eau à Alger pendant la période ottomane (XVI^e–XIX^e siècles),” *Environmental Design* 12 (1992), 42–53, esp. 47 n. 33.

67 It had a capacity of 734,000 litres/day (Dalloni, “Le problème,” 7), and could supply some 30,600 people through fourteen fountains located inside the walls.

68 From a cistern built in the *zanqa* [alley] of ‘Alī Madfa‘ (“Rue de la Girafe” in the French colonial period) at a height of 85 metres above sea level: Devoulx, *Les édifices*, 225. At some point after 1545 a mosque was built over it, known by the name of the street (Ġāmi‘ ‘Alī Madfa‘) and also as Mašġid Šayḥ Sīdī ‘Abd al-Ġuffār.

69 Such access obeys religious precepts, especially those of the Ḥanafī school of law, which holds as a basic principle that water is a common good to which the whole population is freely entitled as long as no one infringes on the rights of others: see EI²: “Mā,” part 2, “Water in Classical Islamic Law.”

70 With its “very attractive tank for water, which falls into a well-carved marble basin”: Haëdo, *Topografia*, 197.

71 Its location is unknown, but we assume that the house would have been near the governor’s palace in the lower part of the medina.

the time.⁷² In 1580 Ġaʿfar Pasha (1580–1582) built the first public fountain in the small square opposite the king’s palace (Map 13.3). The seventh and final fountain supplied by the first aqueduct was located at Bāb al-Ġazāira, although it involved a mere adaptation of a natural spring documented at that site since the eleventh century⁷³; it was still in use in the late sixteenth century to supply “todas las galeras, galeotas y navíos de la mar [all the galleys, galliots and ships of the sea]”.⁷⁴ From this date onward, documentary sources refer to fountains located particularly in streets, sometimes connected to the construction of baths or religious buildings. The strategic placement of the first fountains within buildings guarded by janissaries reflects the practice in Istanbul, where running water was not allowed into private houses so that there would be enough for mosques, palaces and public fountains; any excess brought by the aqueducts was destined for baths, and enforcement of the regulations was ensured by regular internal inspections of homes.⁷⁵ The same restriction was maintained in Algiers until the eighteenth century, although a wealthy person could, by paying a large sum, obtain the privilege of having running water at home.⁷⁶ Others, however, could more easily be allowed a public fountain nearby, so long as they oversaw the work and paid for it. The state, for its part, contributed the building and upkeep of the aqueducts, the network of channels and the fountains, all paid for with public funds.⁷⁷ An official called *ħuġja*

72 Of the total of five built by “former Kings”: they could hold between 400 and 600 soldiers who slept eight or twelve to a room, “almost in the style of monks’ cells”: Haëdo, *Topografía*, 73–74. The three largest in the late sixteenth century (based on their known capacity at the end of the Ottoman period, and accounting for repairs and enlargements made to them in both surface area and height) would have been: first, al-Ĥarrāṭīn [the Turners], known also as Yeşil Kapı (“Green Door” in Turkish); built by Ĥayr al-Dīn, it formed a complex with the barracks of Şalāḥ Pasha (1516 soldiers, restored between 1552 and 1556) and of ‘Alī Pasha (1266 soldiers, restored between 1568 and 1571). Second, that of Bāb ‘Azzūn, also called Dār al-Inkişāriyya al-Kabīra [the Large Janissary House], with 1661 soldiers, restored in 955/1548–1549; and third, Dār al-Inkişāriyya al-Taḥṭāniyya [the Lower Janissary House], also known as al-Qadīma [the Old], with 1089 soldiers, restored in 1037/1627–1628 by Uṣṭā Mūsā.

73 al-Bakrī, *Description*, 66 (Arabic) and 137 (French).

74 Haëdo, *Topografía*, 197.

75 Elʿ, “Māʿ,” “Irrigation in the Ottoman Empire.”

76 Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Sindbad), 1983, 261. This exception explains the fountain located within Ramḍān Pasha’s house.

77 If these funds were insufficient, the government could name an administrator charged with raising money from the public, even by force: Elʿ, “Māʿ.” A case in point was the new tax decreed by ‘Alī Pasha (1754–1766) in 1173/1759 for the repair of the al-Ĥammā aqueduct (damaged by earthquakes in 1756 and 1757) and the rebuilding of fountains

al-'uyūn [the secretary of fountains] led the branch of government charged with maintaining the system in working order; it was paid for through *ḥabīs* donations designated for the purpose, under the general direction of *ṣayḥ al-balad* [the mayor], who made sure that the donation conditions were properly met. Distribution of water from public fountains to private houses was seen to either by the property owners themselves or by persons who provided the service⁷⁸ for a reasonable sum.⁷⁹ Until the early eighteenth century there is no record that there existed in Algiers a professional guild of water-carriers under the leadership of an *amīn* [master], with its constituent hierarchy and tributary obligations⁸⁰; nonetheless by the beginning of the seventeenth, even before the last aqueduct was completed, over 1000 people were employed in bringing water to private houses.⁸¹ Beside the captives who performed the work, natives of the town of Biskra (sing. *biskrī*) did so as well.⁸²

In Istanbul, waterworks were directed by a principal architect and a master of laborers.⁸³ If we extrapolate to Algiers in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the architect would be Mūsā, the “master hydraulic engineer” and “chief builder,” while the actual work would be carried out by *ṣarīkat al-Andalus*,⁸⁴ an association of Andalusis that bought construction materials⁸⁵ and took part in the repair of watercourses, among other works,⁸⁶ in 1032/1622.

and underground pipes: BNA, ms. 1649; Henri Delmas de Grammont, *Histoire d'Algérie sous la domination turque (1515–1830)* (Paris: E. Leroux), 1887, 314.

- 78 In classical Islamic jurisprudence, a person in legitimate possession of a container of clean water is its sole proprietor and is not obliged to give it away without charge, although he should compensate the thirsty with a monetary donation: EI², “Mā’.”
- 79 This “allowed owners of captives – and the captives themselves – to make a profit from it”: Cresti, “Le système,” 48 n. 53.
- 80 In 1131/1718–1719 there was a *ḡamā‘at al-saqqāyā* [water-carriers’ guild] that paid the salaries of 25 persons and was under the authority of the *ḥuḡa al-'uyūn*: Tal Shuval, *La ville d'Alger vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Population et cadre urbain* (Paris: CNRS), 1998, 18.
- 81 Gramaye, *Africae*, 8; in Cresti, “Le système,” 48 n. 52.
- 82 Touati, “Les corporations,” 268.
- 83 EI², “Mā’.”
- 84 ANA, section Bayt al-Baylik, Register no. 262.
- 85 Earth, clay, sand, stones, lime, iron, wood, straw, water, sour cheese [used to bind mortar], gravel, rope and nails.
- 86 Repair of a fissure in Bāb ‘Azzūn; restoration of the arch of Bāb al-Baḥr; several private houses; two *‘alwīs*, one in al-Farrāriyya, the other in al-Mqaysiyya; the Jewish baths; one shop; two kilns, *kūṣat* Skandar and *kūṣat* al-Mqaysiyya; wells; fortifications (Dār al-Madāfi’); the esplanade before the Citadel (*ṭaḥṭāḥat al-qaṣba*); and *zanqat ‘ayn al-‘ataṣ* [the Alley of the Fountain of Thirst].

The relevant document, which records the workers' salaries⁸⁷ and the payments collected for work performed, also shows that, less than ten years after the last Expulsion decree, a group of Moriscos had formed an association to set up a business for construction, restoration and remodelling in the city of Algiers. Since we have no list of the members of the "Andalusi company," we do not know their number or whether Mūsā was a partner, although it is logical to suppose that he was. He does appear, in fact, a year later (in 1033/1623-24) among the ten Andalusis who joined together to buy a house in *Ḥūmat msīd al-dālya* [the School of the Vine district] with the intention of building the *zāwīyat al-Andalus* in its place⁸⁸; they made it a *waqf* in favor of their community, thus creating a constitutional means of protecting their property and avoiding its possible dispersion or confiscation by the authorities.⁸⁹

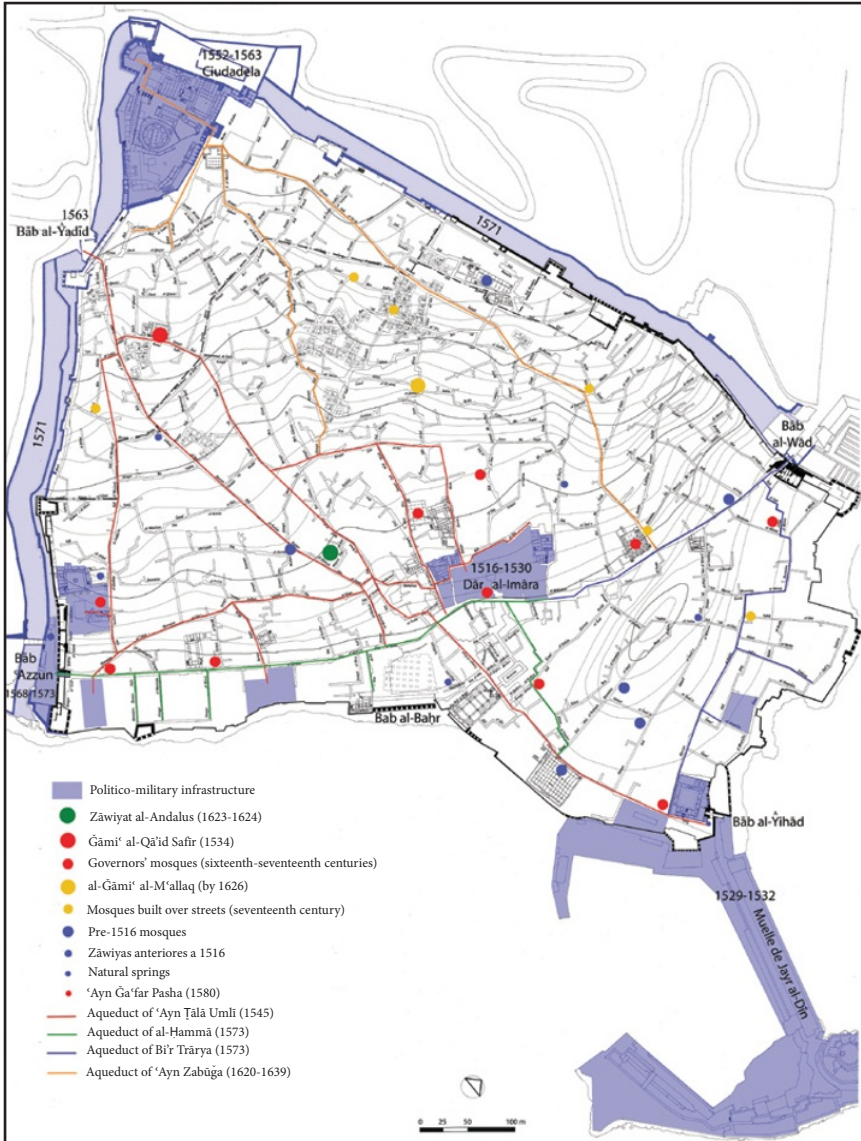
The need to purchase a house in order to erect the *zāwīya* in its place shows that by the early seventeenth century there were no more empty lots and the urban area had been entirely built up. In the sixteenth century the number of houses had tripled and the medina had reached the limits enclosed by the city walls. We have determined that the first aqueduct entered the city at the site of the future New Gate at least a decade before the gate was built, showing that extension of the walls was subject to long-range planning. Another notable event was the building of a mosque by al-Qā'id Safir b. 'Abd Allāh (a freeman of Ḥayr al-Dīn) in the nine months between January and September of 1534⁹⁰ (Map 13.4) – notable not for the short time that it took but because it was located outside the walls along the path of the first aqueduct, ten years before the watercourse was built and halfway between the old wall and the new one, which would not be raised until nearly twenty years later. We see here the same sort of development that Mehmet II ordered in Istanbul (1459): pashas built mosques in several vacant areas of the city so as to encourage settlement and

87 Which reflected their specialties: *m'allīm al-bīnā'* [master of building], *ḥaddāmīn* [peons or laborers], *sannā' al-bīnā'* [mason], *ḥaddād* [blacksmith], *ḥammāl* [porter], *naǧǧār* [carpenter], *naššār* [sawyer].

88 To include a mosque and a *madrasa* for the education of their children: Devoulx, *Les édifices*, 174–176.

89 The seventeenth century was characterized by the naming of Pashas who served three-year terms; they formed a caste of despots who imposed tribute on the citizens of Algiers, as a means of recovering what they had spent on buying their office and increasing their capital: Delphin, "Histoire," 209.

90 Devoulx, *Les édifices*, 240–241.



MAP 13.4 *Al-Ġazā'ir, mosques built by governors (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)/ and to straddle about streets (seventeenth century).*

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create new districts⁹¹ (Turkish *mahalle*⁹²). If we bear in mind that the Istanbul authorities intervened, in provinces that were under their direct rule, both in details of city life and in decisions about urban design,⁹³ and that until the mid-seventeenth century the capital of the Turkish provinces of the Maghreb was closely tied to the Ottoman metropolis, we can suppose that the urban development of Algiers was carried out in a way similar to Istanbul's, just as happened in Cairo, Aleppo and Damascus.⁹⁴

About a hundred mosques can be identified for Algiers, and a chronological classification of more than half of them shows that of the thirteen known to date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, eleven were ordered built by governors of the Regency. They are located along the paths of the first three aqueducts, and reflect the densification of already-occupied sites and the city's expansion toward the south and southwest. As in Istanbul, the construction of a mosque in an uninhabited or lightly settled area led to the growth and quicker settlement of the medina.

An analysis of the increase in the number of houses (Table 13.2) shows that a maximum of 15,000 dwellings was reached in 1625. It seems that urban growth reached its limits around that date, since later sources yield the same number.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, "the issuing of rules of perfect wisdom" by Ḥāğğ 'Alī Āğā when he assumed the governorship in 1661 boosted the Regency's economy, especially in the construction sector:

Businessmen grew rich. Everyone lived in abundance. Efforts were poured into arming warships and equipping boats for expeditions, and great booty was won. The residents gained much wealth thereby: gold, silver and many objects of use. They built houses [...] and cultivated gardens within which they raised sumptuous palaces.⁹⁶

91 See "Istanbul," EI², part 2: "The Principles Observed in the Development of the Ottoman Capital."

92 *Maḥall* means "place" in Arabic, from the verb *ḥalla* whose meanings include "to untie a knot," "to unpack," and by extension "to halt, stay"; hence "a place where one stops" for a shorter or longer time, leading to the concept of "neighborhood" or "district" in Turkish. On its extension to "Jewish quarter" in North African cities see "Maḥalle," EI², part 4: "The Formation of Nāḥīyes and Maḥalles in the 9th/15th Century."

93 Raymond, *Grandes villes*, 128–129.

94 The latter cases are studied by André Raymond, although he does not draw the comparison: Raymond, *Grandes villes*.

95 Bearing in mind that janissaries (a total of 9722 men) were housed in barracks, some residents lived in inns or *'alwīs*, captives were kept in bagnios, and there was also a floating population.

96 Delphin, "Histoire," 210.

TABLE 13.2 *Growth of population, number of houses and associated events (seventeenth century)*

Source	Date	Estimated number of		Population growth	Change in number of houses
		Houses	Inhabitants		
‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāğğ al-Šwiḥāt	1609	Arrival of Andalusis			
Jean-Baptiste Gramaye	1619	13,500	(67,500)	6500 (170 inhab./year)	1300+ (34–35 houses/year)
G.B. Salvago	1625	15,000	150,000 (10 inhab./house)	7500 (1250 inhab./year)	1500+ (250 houses/year)
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš	1631–1632	Earthquakes causing little damage			
Henri Delmas de Grammont	1633	Janissary rebellion: attack on the Citadel, fire and explosion of gunpowder; more than 500 houses in the upper city destroyed			
S. d’Abbeville	1656	12,000–15,000	(75,000)	—	Stable
Davity	1660	13,000	(65,000)	—	Decrease of 7.5%
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš	1661	Decrees that favor the economy and the building of houses			
P. Auvry	1662	13,000–15,000	100,000 (7–10 inhab./house)	—	Stable
Du Val	1665	15,000	(75,000)	—	(2000: 666 houses/year)
O. Dapper	1668	15,000	(75,000)	—	Stable
C. d’Arvieux	1674–1675	15,000	100,000 + (+6 inhab./house)	—	Stable
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš	1681	Gunpowder explosion at “Twenty-four Hour Fort”: 400 houses in north part of lower city destroyed			

Source	Date	Estimated number of		Population growth	Change in number of houses
		Houses	Inhabitants		
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš Charles-André Julien	1682	Duquesne bombards Algiers (300 bombs): several mosques and 50 houses destroyed			
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš Charles-André Julien	1683	Duquesne bombards (700 bombs) and burns Algiers: serious material damage			
Ibn al-Muftī Ḥusayn b. Rağab Šāwuš Charles-André Julien	1688	D'Estrées bombards Algiers (12,000 bombs): "few were the houses that did not suffer"; serious material damage to the forts and houses			
S. de La Croix	1688	15,000	—	—	Stable

* Population data from European sources were collected by Federico Cresti, "Quelques réflexions sur la population," *art. cit.*, 155.

The densification of the urban fabric – which was already saturated – resulted in a proliferation of blind alleys and "a change in the forms of construction"⁹⁷ that affected divisions into lots, heights of buildings and widths of eaves; both houses and mosques were built to straddle existing streets⁹⁸ (Map 13.4), converting them into roofed passageways called *sābāt*.⁹⁹

The construction of religious buildings, both public and private, was encouraged by the institution of the *waqf*, which held private property that had been confiscated by the government – a common practice among the pashas who

97 Cresti, "Quelques réflexions," 157.

98 Of eight mosques of this type, five date from the seventeenth century (al-Ġāmi' al-M'allaq, Ġāmi' Sābāt al-'Arš, Ġāmi' Sābāt al-Ḥūt, Ġāmi' Ša'bān Ḥuğa and Ġāmi' Ḥammām Yātū), while the other three are of unknown date (Ġāmi' Ibn Šabāna, Ġāmi' Ibn Raqīša and Ġāmi' Ḥwaniṭ b. Rābha).

99 Which could be translated as "extension," from *insabaṭa* "to be prolonged or extended."

served three-year terms between 1586 and 1659. Algerian juriconsults, in an attempt to increase the number of *ḥabīs* bequests, emitted fatwas that allowed Mālīkīs (the majority) to set up those bequests under Ḥanafī rules,¹⁰⁰ which were more relaxed in allowing donations to be enjoyed by the donor before being passed on to pious or social institutions. Toward the end of the seventeenth century there was still some uneasiness about this situation, as reflected in a document titled “This is a record whose origin is a question.”¹⁰¹ In it Ibrāhīm Ṣannāʿ, *al-Ṣuwwāš* [the cap manufacturer] Muḥammad al-Andalusī asks to create as a *ḥabīs* a *ʿalwī*¹⁰² and a kiln with the condition, allowed in the Ḥanafī school, that the usufruct belong first to him during his lifetime, then to his children and descendants as long as his line lasted, and finally in one-third shares to the poor of the two Holy Cities and the poor Andalusis of Algiers. The request was granted and confirmed by the *qāḍī* [chief judge] of Algiers, Yūsuf al-Muḥṭār. This was clearly the first time that Ibrāhīm al-Andalusī had created a *waqf* according to Ḥanafī laws, and he wanted to be sure that it was valid; it shows that he cared about its future benefits to himself and his descendants. While making himself worthy of spiritual advantage, he also secured both his capital and a perpetual income, protecting them from possible sale, dispersion or confiscation.

Corsair raids and the wealth of booty they brought was reflected at this period in the construction of both public and private buildings, contributing to the city’s growth through the institution of the *waqf*, which brought together different groups. Three of these still owned a significant number of buildings and collected a large income at the beginning of the French colonial period: one was the Andalusis’ association, another that of *bayt al-māl* [the public treasury], and the third that of the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina.¹⁰³

100 Khodja, *Le miroir*, 231.

101 ANA, section Silsilat Bayt al-Baylik, box 1, doc. (23) 34.

102 Meaning “high” or “elevated”: it was a new type of house, built on a small lot with multiple stories (but not a storage room located above a shop, as André Raymond defined it in *Grandes villes*, 239–240). The type had been known in Istanbul since the mid-fifteenth century (EP², “Istanbul,”) but arrived later in Algiers, where in the early seventeenth century “the [soldiers] who have the means rent some small [houses], which they call *olies*, and live in them” (“los [soldados] que tienen con qué alquilan alguna [casa] pequeña, que llaman *olies*, y viven en ellas”): BNE, ms. 3227, chap. 5, ll. 576–577.

103 These were the first three entities to be taken over by the colonial administration: M.M. Aumerat, “Le bureau de bienfaisance musulman,” *Revue Africaine* 43 (1899), 182–203, esp. 184–185. The first concern of the French administrators of state property was to make a census of all the holdings and income of the various *waqfs*, in order to

Integration of Andalusis into the Urban Landscape

With these legal structures in place and after masses of Moriscos had arrived in the first half of the seventeenth century, Andalusis increasingly dedicated their property to *waqfs* that would benefit the neediest among them. But although they were an important group in the city, no single district or street bears their name. A study of their location in the urban fabric is complicated by lack of information about their exact numbers and the precise dates of their several migrations. It has also been shown that in Algiers, members of different ethnic groups did not regularly reside in specific neighborhoods: only two groups reflect that archetype of the Islamic city, people from Salé and from Djerba (Map 13.5). Jews did not live in a special district¹⁰⁴ as they did in other Muslim cities, nor did the dominant group, the Turks, leave their name attached to a particular sector.

Studies of Andalusí settlement patterns have made possible, through an analysis of the operations of the *waqf* in Algiers and documents of *habīs* bequests, the identification of over 150 houses that Andalusis owned within the medina.¹⁰⁵ The association for Andalusí *habīs* bequests, administered by a *wakīl* [trustee] of Andalusí origin, was an institution that comprehended all property made over to a *waqf*¹⁰⁶ for the benefit of the poor of the community

integrate them into the state treasury and control them; they did not want these funds to be used in a manner contrary to French interests.

- 104 In the seventeenth century “the Jewish area of this city is not all joined together, they are in several small streets” (“la judería de esta ciudad no está toda junta, son en diversas callejuelas”): BNE, ms. 3227, chaps. 46 and 47.
- 105 Identification of Andalusí houses is based on the names of families that clearly originated in the Iberian Peninsula: see Abū l-Qāsim Ṣa’d Allah, *Tārīḥ al-ǧazā’ir al-taqaḥī min al-qarn al-’ashar ilā l-rābi’ ‘ashar hiǧrī* (Cultural History of Algiers from the Tenth to the Fourteenth Centuries A.H. [sixteenth to twentieth C.E.]), 2 vols. (Algiers, 1981), 233 and 237–238; Nāṣir al-Dīn Sa’idūnī, *Dirāsāt wa-abḥāt*, vol. 2, *al-Fatra al-Ḥadītha* (Algiers, 1988), 45; Abdeljelil Temimi, *Un document sur les biens habous au nom de la Grande Mosquée d’Alger* (Tunis: Secrétariat de la RHM), 1980, 73–79; Devoulx, *Les édifices*, 103. It is further based on lists of poor Andalusis who were still receiving benefits from their corporation in the early colonial period (Archives d’Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, fols. 80–1635); on the final recipients of *habīs* bequests made in favor of poor Andalusis; on lists of such bequests whose titles specify that they were associated with Mecca and Medina; and on professions known to be practiced regularly by Andalusis.
- 106 The verbs *waqafa* and *habasa* both imply “to stop, paralyse, block”: the intent of these practices is to devote or direct private properties to pious ends, to convert one’s property into a sacred bequest in order to dedicate it to the needs of the community for worship, public service or humanitarian aid.

who lived in “the well-defended medina of Algiers.” Those who dedicated their property’s usufruct to charity on behalf of poor Andalusis living in Algiers were exclusively Andalusis themselves.¹⁰⁷ The registers studied are always associated with Mecca and Medina, or with some other corporation; although, since there is no register that lists poor Andalusis alone, this fact cannot be proven through their *nisbas*, the portion of an Arabic personal name that indicates geographical origin or the practice of a profession. It is not impossible, however, that Andalusis made pious donations in favor of other associations in Algiers, as some studies and several documents have shown.

The location of houses in these documents is usually indicated in broad strokes: the house may be placed in a business district by naming a particular market or shops; if it is placed in a residential district, a *ḥūma* or *ḥāra* [neighbourhood] or a *zanqa* or *sikka* [street] may be mentioned. A house is sometimes described more specifically as being near a religious edifice (mosque or *zāwiya*), urban landmark (fountain, bath, inn, kiln), covered alley (*sābāt*), palace or well-known residence. Sometimes its distance from one of those is indicated by placing the house next to, above or below the point of reference.

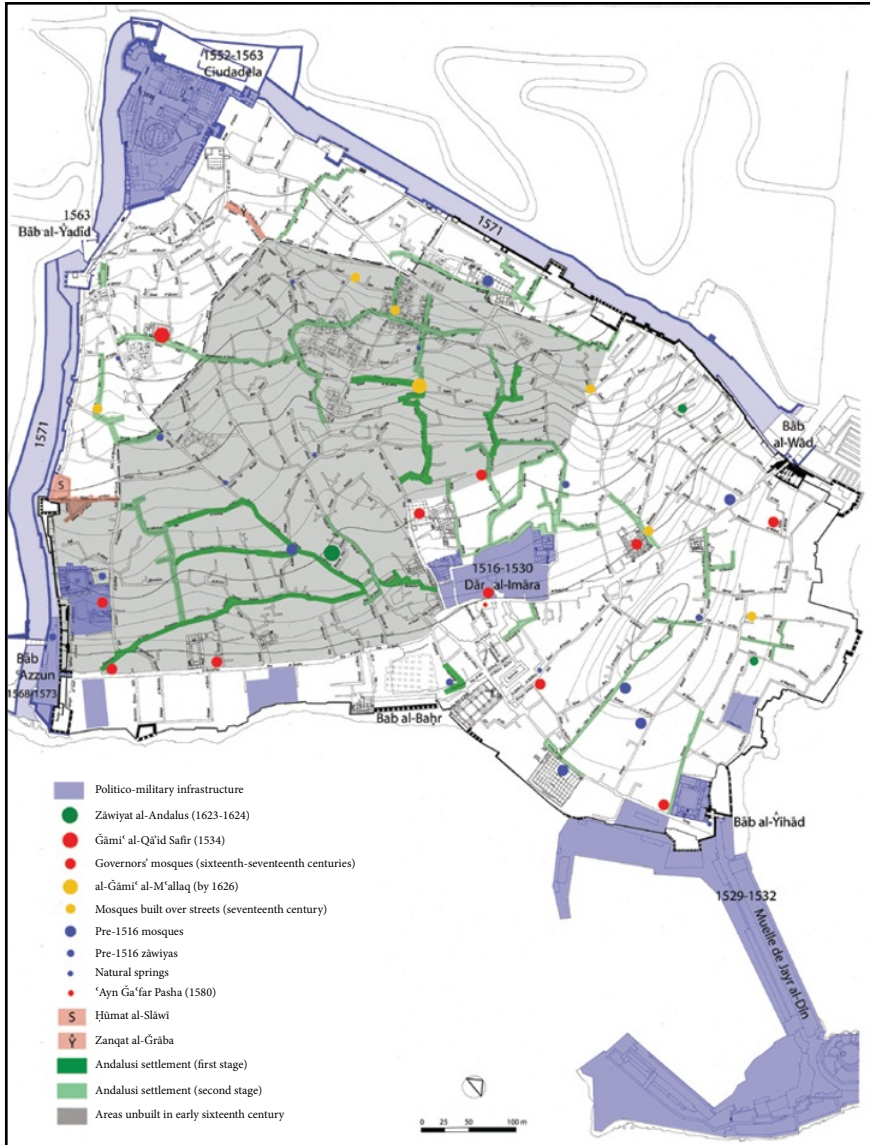
By collating all this information, we can establish a pattern of streets, districts, and religious and public buildings around which the Moriscos and their descendants took up residence.¹⁰⁸ The sample obtained shows settlement scattered across the urban landscape, with a greater concentration in two areas that were still not built on in the early sixteenth centuries, particularly around *zāwiyat al-Andalus* and al-Ġāmi‘ al-M‘allaq¹⁰⁹ (Map 13.5). At a second stage, Morisco dwellings cluster near the Arab-Berber wall and in the areas that were inhabited on the arrival of the Turks; there they contributed to the densification of the lower western area and to the residential district where the ships’ captains lived. There is no consistent evidence that they lived in commercial areas close to their places of business.¹¹⁰ It is clear, therefore, that the Moriscos

107 M.M. Aumerat, “La propriété urbaine à Alger,” *Revue Africaine* 42 (1898), 168–201, esp. 171.

108 It is organized by areas bearing their original names from the Ottoman period, their equivalents under the French colony and their current ones, with designations of places that have disappeared: Missoum, *Alger*, CD-ROM, 102–107.

109 “The Hanging Mosque,” so called because it was built over a street, creating a *sābāt*.

110 Of ten tailors, three lived in the upper city (two in al-Ġāmi‘ al-M‘allaq), four near Sūq al-Kattān (the linen market: two in Bāb al-Sūq, one in Tiberġuṭīn and the other in Zanqat al-Ḥarā‘irīn, the silkweavers’ alley), and the other three in the wealthy palace district, Ḥūmat al-Rayyāsīn; one of the latter was *amīn al-ḥayyāṭīn* [the master of the tailors’ guild]. All five shoemakers had houses in the upper city. Nevertheless, men involved in the raw-silk trade and the processes that transformed it into finished goods had a greater tendency to live near their places of business: of eleven of these professionals



MAP 13.5 *Al-Ġazāʾir, settlement of the Andalusian community in the urban structure.*
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(*qazzāz* [raw-silk merchant], *harrār* [silkwearer] or [seller of silk goods]), seven lived near Sūq al-Kattān (the two farthest away were in al-Šammāʾin and Bāb al-Sūq, a distance of about 150 metres), one near al-Ġāmiʾ al-Kabīr, and the other three in the upper city, one of them in al-Ġāmiʾ al-Mʾallaq.

did not settle in the medina by concentrating in one district or along a single street, as one might have expected. More of their houses were located near mosques or *zāwiyas* than near particular markets or other landmarks. We have been unable to determine if this settlement around religious centres came about systematically as they immigrated, since we lack the necessary data: we do not know what numbers of persons arrived at what dates. But if we collate documentation of *ḥabīs* bequests with the several areas of settlement, we find consistency with the growth of the city and progressive assimilation of this minority.

Conclusion

The urban development of Algiers, confined within its city walls, can be divided into three stages. The first, in the sixteenth century, was marked by a densification of the urban fabric; two Moriscos played a role in that process, first an unnamed man from Almería and second Ğā'far the Murcian, both "chief masters of works of Algiers." The second stage saw the definitive settling of the available space, reaching a saturation point in the first quarter of the seventeenth century when the Moriscos were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. At this time blind alleys proliferated, a new high-rise type of housing was built, and mosques were constructed so as to cover existing streets. At the end of the period an "Andalusi company" completed works of restoration and remodelling in the city, and the Moriscos' participation in the city's development was represented by Mūsā al-Andalusī, the "master hydraulic engineer," "chief of all building" in Algiers, and one of ten partners who founded *zāwiyat al-Andalus* to protect their property and aid the neediest in their community. The integration into the city of this group, which by the end of the sixteenth century already made up 30% of its inhabitants, was accomplished in a diffuse manner as open spaces in the city were gradually filled in, symbolising a social assimilation that harmonised with the cosmopolitan nature of the city of Algiers.

The Moriscos in Tunisia

Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta

Traditional historiography has maintained almost unanimously that Tunisia was one of the principal destinations of the Morisco exile of the early seventeenth century, and this assertion appears to be true. All the sources point to a significant Morisco presence in Tunisia, and above all to a major contribution by persons of Hispanic heritage to the social and economic life of that country.

In stating that Tunisia was one of the preferred destinations of the Morisco exile we should think not only of their numbers (which were not trivial, if we accept the proposed figure of more than fifty thousand¹) but particularly of the conditions of their reception – fairly exceptional and generally favorable, by all accounts – and of the remarkable contributions that the Moriscos made to the development and formation of modern Tunisian society. Thus the influential Morisco writer Ahmed Bejarano (Aḥmad al-Ḥaġarī), decades after having left Spain and toured a great part of the Mediterranean, could claim that Tunis was at the time “el mejor puesto para los de la nación [the best place for people of (our) nation]”.²

1 The figures offered to date, which are never definitive, vary among different scholars between 50,000 and 80,000 Moriscos. Latham repeated the figure of 80,000 proposed by H.H. Abdul Wahab, but countered cautiously with 50,000: he was calculating first on the basis of a contemporary account by a captive English captain (Ellyatt, 1609–1613), and second on a 1628 report by the slave Marcelo Attardo, addressed to the Commander of the Order of Malta, which mentions the Morisco contribution to the Algerian-Tunisian conflict of the time. John Derek Latham, “Contribution à l’étude des immigrations andalouses et leur place dans l’histoire de la Tunisie,” *Recueil d’études sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid-Tunis: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales), 1973, 30–31.

2 At first, however, he had held as the most “desgraciados a los que fueron a Túnez que, según escribe Mármol en su *Discripçion de Africa*, es lugar donde no se abrán hartado los pobres de agua dulce y porque tienen dos plagas, la una de alarues y la otra de intolerables renegados y turcos” (“unfortunate those who went to Tunis, which [as Mármol writes in his *Discripçion de Africa*] is a place where the poor creatures could scarcely find enough fresh water, and where they have two plagues, one of Bedouins and the other of intolerable renegades and Turks”): Luis Bernabé Pons, “La nación en lugar seguro: los moriscos hacia Túnez,” *Actas del Coloquio Internacional “Los Moriscos y Túnez,” Cartas de La Goleta 2* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 108.



FIGURE 14.1 *Representations of inhabitants of Barbary in the Códice Madrazo-Daza, ca. 1540, Biblioteca Nacional de España.*
<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000052132&page=1>.

We shall attempt in these pages to shed light on certain questions, although we lack sufficient documentation to provide definitive answers. We will draw on published sources, mostly by European historians, and on non-documentary ones, both physical (e.g., buildings) and cultural, which will inform us in particular about the Moriscos' "afterlife," the imprint and heritage that they left in Tunisia. The physical sources are not exclusively archaeological, since that field in Tunisia has developed slowly and rests on very limited historical research; the sources yield little on certain topics (for example, those of our first and second sections), but much that is

suggestive and illuminating on others, especially the history of the Moriscos' implantation in the area.³

The Moriscos "On the Move":⁴ the Exiles' Travels

Just as we face doubts and lack of documentation in trying to establish the number of Moriscos who settled in Tunisia, we meet the same difficulties in determining their places of origin and the details of their exile. It appears that most of the Moriscos who left for Tunisia came from Andalusia, Castile and Aragón.

After the Expulsion decree applied to the Valencian Moriscos in September 1609 it was the turn of more than 30,000 Andalusians, who were forced to leave their homes at the beginning of the next year. They embarked at intervals throughout the spring and summer from the ports of Seville, Gibraltar and Málaga. Some 18,500 Western Andalusians (from Córdoba, Écija, Huelva, Seville itself, etc.) left from the first of those cities, while about 13,000⁵ from the Eastern

3 We shall also draw on narratives written by travellers in the early eighteenth century who described the country and its customs in a compelling manner: the Trinitarian Philemon de la Motte (1700), Dr Thomas Shaw (1720–1732), and, best known in Morisco historiography, the Frenchman Jean André Peyssonnel and especially another Trinitarian, Francisco Ximénez, who spent the years 1720 to 1735 in Tunisia on a mission to found a hospital for Christian captives. Ximénez's interesting observations on the Moriscos, made in the course of his travels around the country (sometimes in the Frenchman's company), make his work particularly useful for the study of the Morisco legacy in Tunisia, as Mikel de Epalza has pointed out: "Nuevos documentos sobre descendientes de moriscos en Túnez en el siglo XVIII," in *Studia Historica et Philologica in Honorem M. Batllorí* (Rome: Instituto Español de Cultura), 1984, 195–228. See also Raja Bahri, "Les Morisques en Tunisie un siècle après leur arrivée," *Cartas de La Goleta 2, Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Los Moriscos y Túnez"* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 108–118.

4 A phrase (*hazen mudanza*) used by the Count of Salazar when he was asked about the transit of Castilian Moriscos through Burgos: "los moriscos antiguos no hazen mudanza y había muchos en Valladolid, Ávila y otras partes y desearía saber lo que se ha de hacer con ellos [the Moriscos Antiguos are not on the move, and there were many of them in Valladolid, Ávila and other places, and I would like to know what is to be done with them]"; to which was replied, "se verá lo que conendrá [we shall see what is most convenient]": Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, "Camino de Berbería. El exilio forzoso de los moriscos vallisoletanos en 1610," *Investigaciones Históricas* 25 (2006), 61–80.

5 By the estimate of Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN), 1959, 151–156.

Andalusian region left from the other two. To them must be added the 3000 Granadans who also took ship from Málaga from about the same time through the entire next year, 1611. Lapeyre's sources suggest that not all of the Andalusian Moriscos arrived in Tunisia, but rather that the majority landed in Morocco.

At almost the same date, the Expulsion decree against the Castilian Moriscos was proclaimed. This measure affected about 45,000 Moriscos, among them those of Extremadura. Most of them passed through France. The Moriscos of Castile, starting from its southernmost regions, came together and travelled in groups from Burgos to the French-Basque frontier, where the Sieur de la Clielle was under orders to receive them. It is estimated that nearly 17,000 Castilians passed through Irún between January and April and another 11,000 between August and December. In the meantime 16,000 more were departing into exile from the south, embarking at the ports of Cartagena, Cádiz and Málaga.⁶ Some, according to Cardaillac, accepted baptism and settled in the Bordeaux area; others took ship at Atlantic ports and sailed to Morocco; the rest (the majority) crossed southern France to the ports of Agde and Marseille, from which they departed with Tunis as their preferred destination.⁷

Finally came the turn of the Aragonese and Catalan Moriscos, who were forced from their homes starting in May of 1610. "Official" figures speak of about 60,000 Aragonese and 5000 Catalans, most of whom embarked for Barbary that same summer. The first group (some 38,000) were required to leave from the port of Los Alfaques in Tarragona, although later over 20,000 more were allowed to cross into France through Navarre and Somport.⁸ Louis Cardaillac finds the transit of the Aragonese through southern France well documented in his sources, which show that they took advantage of the summer weather to cross the Pyrenees and then sail for Tunis or Fez.⁹

The transit through France of Moriscos – chiefly from Castile and Aragón – was initially supported by King Henry IV who, in a Council of State in February 1610, decided to facilitate their exile: he offered asylum to those who wished to embrace Catholicism, and to those who did not, passage through the south of the country to the southeastern ports. But this willingness was of short duration and lasted only until early spring, when an avalanche of exiles began to

6 Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 205.

7 Louis Cardaillac, *Le passage des Morisques en Languedoc* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry), 1970, 20. This scholar also notes that French official documents distinguished between *mores* [Moors] and *granadins* [Granadans]; he estimates that about 17,000 of the latter passed through southern France between February and April (16).

8 Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 204.

9 Cardaillac, *Le passage*, 17.

reach the French border. At that point – on 15 April, a month before his death – the king ordered a reversal of some of the favorable measures he had decreed in February. Thousands of Moriscos gathered at the frontier, waiting for a permission to cross that never came; most of them ignored the prohibition and continued on their way to the Mediterranean ports.¹⁰

The port of Agde, the largest on the coast of Languedoc, was one of those chosen by the French authorities as a point of embarkation for the Moriscos to North Africa.¹¹ A decisive factor in its selection was that the Duke of Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, had held since 1596 the right to collect a 2% tax on the cargoes of ships that docked at Agde and Brescou. The queen, on learning of the massive nature of the project, sent her councillor of state, the Sieur d'Aymar, to Agde to supervise and streamline the Moriscos' embarkation: in August 1610 she ordered him to act efficiently and swiftly. The price of passage was set at 14 *livres*, it being agreed that women with children under the age of five would pay only a single fare, as would two children between the ages of eight and ten. Some abuses of the rules – the Moriscos' treasurer fled with the sum collected to pay the passage of the poorest – and the inability of others to pay resulted in the fare's soon being lowered to ten *livres*, although problems and conflicts remained.

Local authorities complained about the public disorder that the Moriscos caused, and about the difficulty of housing and feeding them. The Moriscos, for their part, expressed their unhappiness with the ships' captains because of the wretched conditions of their embarkation. At the same time that commissioners from Aragón were writing to the Sieur d'Augier thanking him for treating them well, "Granadans, Castilians and Aragonese" were informing him of their objections to the financial pressures he had exerted on them.¹²

In Cardaillac's view, acceptance of the Moriscos by the authorities and people of France was limited to permitting their passage and tolerating their presence for a brief time. They were never, except in isolated cases, allowed to stay in Languedoc, nor were any measures taken to solve the "problem" of an influx of people that in the spring of 1610 was already massive and brought poverty and illness in its wake.¹³

In sum, and returning to the question of the number of Morisco exiles in Tunisia, we can conclude little on the basis of the facts we have just presented

10 Cardaillac, *Le passage*, 14–21.

11 There were also embarkations from the nearby ports of Marseille and Toulon.

12 Cardaillac, *Le passage*, 22–30.

13 Pierre Santoni, "Le passage des Morisques en Provence," *Provence Historique* 46–185 (1996), 333–383, esp.338. There were, however, exceptional cases of Moriscos who remained in southeastern France for some time before crossing to Barbary. One was the

and which appear to be the only ones available today. How are we to determine how many of the Andalusian, Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos sailed to Morocco, how many to Tunisia and how many to other Mediterranean or American lands? What kind of documentation could reveal their number, and do we have access to it? All indications are that it will be difficult to answer such questions now and perhaps even in the future.

As for the origin of those who arrived in Tunisia, and using the data supplied by Lapeyre, it seems that the majority of them were Andalusians and especially Castilians and Aragonese. Tunisian sources suggest the same: "Normally they call them *Andaluces* [Andalusians] because most of them came from Andalusia, but they distinguish among themselves according to their province of origin in Spain: there are Catalans who come from Catalonia, *tagarinos* from the area of Tarragona (and by that same name they understand all the Aragonese); the Castilians and the rest they include under the name of Andalusians."¹⁴ On this point, we should note that the terms *andaluz* and *andalusí* that have traditionally been applied to Moriscos in Tunisia (as in Ximénez's observations from the early eighteenth century) do not refer to the region called Andalusia but to Muslim Spain, *al-Andalus*, as a whole; therefore they could subsume Castilians and Aragonese as well.

Arrival in Tunis, "The Best Place for those of [Our] Nation"

The Moriscos who arrived in Tunis immediately after the Expulsion were met there by compatriots who had come in the previous months and years. This fact is of interest because it suggests that there had been a degree of anticipation and organization in planning the Morisco exile.¹⁵

potter Antonio de Luna who, once settled in Tunis in 1630, sued for non-payment of work performed on the Pont des Souliers while he had lived in Toulon: Mikel de Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo xvii," *Al-Andalus* 34-2 (1969), 247-327, esp. 275.

- 14 "Ordinariamente los llaman Andaluces, porque vino de la Andalucía la mayor parte pero se distinguen entre ellos segun las Provincias de España de donde tienen el origen; ay Catalanes originarios de Cataluña, Tagarinos, del territorio de Tarragona, y aun por este nombre entienden todos los Aragoneses, los Castellanos y los demas comprehenden con el nombre de Andaluces": Francisco de Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Túnez*, (Tetouan: Tip. Gomariz), 1934, 45-46. The derivation of *tagarino* from Tarragona is in fact a false etymology: see note 83.
- 15 This issue was raised some time ago and has recently been discussed by Luis Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qanṭara* 29-32 (2008), 307-332; also in Bernabé Pons, "La nación."



FIGURE 14.2 *Map of the Morisco localities in Tunisia.*

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The first piece of evidence dates from 1607, when about one hundred Moriscos from Granada, led by a certain Fernández de León, landed in Tunis in an English ship.¹⁶ And in January 1608 the Duke of Escalona, Viceroy of Sicily, wrote to the king informing him that a ship bearing about 150 Moriscos had come from the eastern coast of Spain and would be returning to collect another group.¹⁷ Other testimonies include a letter written in the spring of 1608 with an eyewitness account:

While I was a captive in Tunis a French ship arrived...with more than 200 Morisco men, women and children aboard; and having embarked for France in the same ship, I saw on my arrival that an English vessel was leaving bearing 250 or 300 Moriscos to Tunis. I also heard that another 400 or 500 Moriscos had crossed the border from Aragón into France and were awaiting a ship that could carry them away.¹⁸

16 Epalza, "Moriscos," 258.

17 Bernard Vincent, "Les études morisques: acquis et perspectives," in *Cartas de La Goleta 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Los Moriscos y Túnez,"* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 27–38, esp.35.

18 "Cuando estuve cautivo en Túnez llegó una nave francesa...con más de 200 moriscos, hombres, mujeres y niños, y habiéndome embarcado en la misma nave para Francia,

These accounts prove that before the official dates of expulsion some thousands of Moriscos had already landed in Tunis; we do not know how many of them remained there and how many travelled on to other points in the Mediterranean.

It is likely that those who had the most to lose, and who suspected that the Expulsion was imminent, were the ones who had prepared a plan for leaving Spain without losing their personal possessions: they organised group departures, sometimes making a stop in France so as to divert suspicion, and made their final destination the Turkish Regency of Tunis, which had belonged to the Spanish Empire only some thirty years earlier.

We know little about the identity and origin of these early arrivals. Accounts like the one just cited tell of groups of hundreds of persons who usually came from ports in France and who probably settled in the medina of Tunis, in the district called “of the Andalusis,” where there are still prominent buildings. Among these anonymous masses certain individuals (as Bernabé has recently noted) would have stood out: rich men from Granada who in those early years and the following decades would play an important role in organizing the economic and social life of the Morisco community. Juan Pérez, Luis Zapata and Mustafá de Cárdenas were a few of the leaders of that “organization” which, through its contacts in France, paved the way for their “nation’s” new life in North Africa.¹⁹ Their leadership was manifest from the earliest years, as they acted as spokesmen before the local authorities and as a link to their countrymen who continued to arrive and who met difficulties in becoming established.²⁰

luego que llegué vi que partía otro bajel inglés que llevó 250 ó 300 moriscos para Túnez, y también hallé por nuevas que habían pasado desde la raya de Aragón a Francia otros 400 ó 500 moriscos, que esperaban embarcación para irse”: Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Alianza), 1985, 178 n. 4.

19 I will not go into further detail on this issue, which is discussed in the present volume by Bernabé and Gil (as well as in already-cited studies by the former).

20 For example, in early 1610 a group of Moriscos had been robbed and abandoned on the coast of Porto Farina (Ghar el-Melh) by a captain Estienne who had brought them from France. A group of fifty Granadan merchants managed, with the help of the Tunisians, to bring a complaint before the French consul and eventually to win their suit: Bernabé Pons, “Notas,” 327–328. The transcribed document containing the list of wronged Moriscos appears in Pierre Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie au XVIIe siècle. Inventaire des Archives du Consulat de France à Tunis de 1583 à 1705* (Tunis: Alocchio), 1921, II: 185–190. It is also found in Epalza, “Moriscos,” 301–306.

The welcoming attitude to which several documents attest could have been influenced by contacts between this small early group of rich and distinguished immigrants and the local authorities. But matters could take a different turn when the Turkish Regency found itself overwhelmed by thousands of Moriscos who arrived in a destitute state, with no assets apart from their capacity to work.

The first Moriscos to arrive enjoyed special support from two prominent representatives of local political and religious life: the Dey ʿUṭmān, and the wise and pious Sidī Abū l-Gayṭ al-Qaššāš, Sidi Bulgaiz. An anonymous exile from the early years recounted: “those who received us were ʿUṭmān Dey, king of Tunis – a powerful man, but mild as a lamb to us; the saintly Çiti Bulgaith; and the people with their Islam, all of whom sought to make us comfortable and showed us great love and friendship.”²¹

ʿUṭmān Dey, the governor (1598–1610), favored the new arrivals with a series of decrees that eased their settlement and their assimilation to Tunisian society: “Uthman Dey put an end to the custom that had required every ship arriving in port to pay one hundred *escudos* for docking rights, so that they would be encouraged to bring us to this city; and he also gave us leave to settle in different districts.”²² His role was so significant that a century later it was still alive in the collective memory: successive generations of Tunisian Moriscos told stories of him until the tales reached the ears of the Trinitarian friar Francisco Ximénez in the 1720s: “In Tunis Uthman Dey received them, and so that Christians would be moved to bring them, he ended the custom of having to pay one hundred *escudos* for every vessel that entered the port. He freed these Moriscos from taxation, granted them lands on which to build new towns, gave them muskets for their defense as well as wheat and barley for sowing, placed over them as governor a Seige [*šayḥ*] from their own people, and exempted them from the jurisdiction of the qaid (Alcaydes).”²³

21 “Nos reçibieron Uzmán Day, rey de Túnez, de condiçion soberbia, y para nosotros manso cordero, Çiti Bulgaiz, con su santidad, y la jente con su yçlam, y todos procurando acomodarnos y regalándonos con grande amor y amistad”: Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes (ed.), *Tratado de los dos caminos, por un morisco refugiado en Túnez* (Madrid-Oviedo: Instituto Universitario Menéndez Pidal, Seminario de Estudios Árabo-Románicos de la Universidad de Oviedo), 2005, 203.

22 “Uzmán Day quitó una costumbre que abía de pagar cada bajel, que al puerto llegaba, çien escudos por la entrada, fundado en que se animasen a traernos a esta çiudad; y, junto con esto, nos dio a escoger el poblar en partes diferentes”: Ibid.

23 “En Tunez los recibio Uzman Dey, quien para que los Christianos se animassen a traerlos quito la costumbre que avia de pagar cien escudos por cada vagel que llegaba a su puerto. Libro a estos moriscos de tributos, les concedía sitios para edificar nuevas poblaciones, les



FIGURE 14.3 *Palace of Utmān Dey in the Medina of Tunis.*

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Sidi Bulgaiz, “el gran marabuto al que en Túnez tenían gran veneración [the grand marabout whom Tunis held in such great esteem]”, collaborated closely with the dey in easing the Moriscos’ arrival. According to his biographer,²⁴ it was he who negotiated with the local authorities to find accommodations for the new arrivals, a matter that was causing some social tension. In a letter addressed to the “jefes principales de los andalusíes [the chief leaders of the Andalusis]” he proffered all the usual greetings and informed them that he had interceded on their behalf to obtain what they needed and was certain

dio escopetas para su defensa, trigo y cebada para sembrar, les pusso para su gobierno un Seige de su propia nacion, y los eximio de la jurisdiccion de los Alcaydes”: Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria*, 45–46.

24 This was al-Mustanşir b. al-Murābiṭ b. Abi Liḥya, Sidi Bulgaiz disciple and successor as the leader of his brotherhood; the biography was concluded a year after his death in 1621. Its second chapter deals with “What he did about the Andalusis and their affairs” and was translated by Mikel de Epalza, “Sidi Bulgayz, protector de los moriscos exiliados en Túnez (s. XVII). Nuevos documentos traducidos y estudiados,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002), 141–172.

of success, “in spite of differences in the matter of Mahdia.”²⁵ In addition to acting as a go-between he was active in satisfying their immediate material needs and finding them housing, either permanent or temporary, the latter in certain public buildings like *zāwīyas* (for example, that of Sidī Qāsim al-Ġalīzī).

When the Andalusis arrived in Tunis they lacked provisions, forms of collective living, markets for buying and selling, mosques, houses to live in, warehouses and shops. They appealed to the *Šayḥ* to do something for them. He – may God be pleased with him! – was as swift as the wind in finding them food to eat and clothes to wear. I can state that their food rations were 1200 wheaten loaves and two *qafīzes* of fine wheat ground for couscous, part of it dry and part cooked with its sauce, both with the proper amounts of lamb. Also milk and meat and two calves’ heads a day. All that for a full year, as a gesture of hospitality by the *Šayḥ* – may God be pleased with him!²⁶

Since this great benefactor of the Moriscos died in the same year that they began to arrive in large numbers, we must ask how his open-door policy toward them could have made such a difference. It is difficult to explain, but part of the reason must have been the negotiating power of the earlier Andalusī immigrants who were already on the scene: their social, economic and cultural prestige must have carried weight with the local authorities.

Conditions changed somewhat under ‘Uṭmān’s successor Yūsuf Dey (1610–1637), who revoked some of the privileges granted by his predecessor. The arrival of the great mass of exiles coincided with a period of social and political instability: in those decades there were revolts among Arab tribes in the

25 “A pesar de las divergencias en el asunto de Mahdia”: a reference to the unsuccessful (or blocked) attempt to settle the Moriscos in Mahdia, far from the region assigned to them by the local authorities, in order to create a commercial and military port at a distance from La Goulette: Epalza, “Sidi Bulgayz,” 150.

26 “Cuando vinieron los andalusíes a Túnez, les faltaron aprovisionamientos, formas de vida colectiva, mercados para vender y comprar, mezquitas, casas donde vivir, almacenes y tiendas. Se dirigieron entonces al Jeque para que les obtuviera algo. Éste -¡Dios esté satisfecho de él!- se apresuró como el viento a enviarles comida para alimentarse y vestidos para cubrirse. De esta forma yo llegué a contar que salieron, para alimentarles, 1.200 panes de trigo y dos cafices de trigo fino y triturado para el alcuzzuz, en parte seco y en parte ya elaborado con su salsa, ambos con sus correspondientes cantidades troceadas de cordero. Además, leche y carne, y dos cabezas de bovino, cada día. Todo eso durante todo el año, como forma de hospitalidad del Jeque -¡Dios esté satisfecho de él!”: Epalza, “Sidi Bulgayz,” 151.

interior, wars against Algiers in 1613 and 1628, skirmishes with Christians along the coast, and outbreaks of plague. Nonetheless the Turkish governors were willing to receive with some degree of tolerance a contingent that had a history of good relations with the Ottomans. The Moriscos could be seen as a group that would reaffirm the power and position of the deys, as well as contribute to the country's wellbeing, as in fact they did. But they could also be viewed as a possible threat to the rulers' economic and political interests.

At least one anecdote from the biography of Sidi Bulgaiz²⁷ suggests that even under Yūsuf Dey, those arriving after 1610 continued to be supported: the marabout was said to be offering humanitarian aid in defiance of contrary advice from the members of his governing council.

It is clear that from the earliest days the Moriscos maintained a degree of organisation and structure within their group, allowing them, as we have seen, to organise crossings by ship and to remain together at their destination, with the help of representatives who acted as their spokesmen.

As early as 1610, the Granadan Muley 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī represented the group before the French Consulate (an institution founded in the late sixteenth century, and until the end of the seventeenth the only European chancellery in the country); he must have been the spokesman for the Moriscos from Granada who had settled in Tunis before the great wave of immigration. He would have been a member of the Muley-Fez family (of royal blood, and the chief Morisco clan of Granada), making him a natural leader of his community in exile. The fact that he appears in Tunisian documents only once may indicate, as some scholars have noted, that he remained in the capital for only a short time before going on to another destination.²⁸

The first person to bear the title of *Šayḥ* of the Andalusis was Luis Zapata, a prominent Granadan who had settled in Tunis by the second decade of the seventeenth century. He is mentioned in documents as a merchant, money-lender for ransoming slaves, and dealer in spices; he also held the office of *alguacil* [sheriff] of the community from at least 1612, as is related in the story of his captivity in Palermo. During the early months of 1613, while Zapata was on a business trip to Marseille, his ship docked along the Sicilian coast; he and his fellow travellers were recognized as Moriscos in spite of their Christian garb, and were brought before the Duke of Osuna in Palermo. There he was imprisoned and accused of having taken part, as the *šayḥ* of the Moriscos, in a court case organized by Yūsuf Dey, who had executed a priest from Pisa for having blasphemed the Prophet in August 1612. Zapata must not have

27 Epalza, "Sidi Bulgayz," 155.

28 Bernabé Pons, "Notas," 328–329.

languished in the Sicilian prison for long, because a year later we find him once again in Tunis conducting business as a go-between and money-lender in ransoming Christian slaves.²⁹ Some think that Zapata would have been perfectly placed to act as a double agent for both the Tunisians and the Spaniards.³⁰

His successor as *šayḥ* – who held the post for more than thirty years – was his companion since the beginning of their Tunisian exile, Mustafá de Cárdenas, who in 1645 signed his name as “Mostafá bin Abtolacic,” i.e., Muṣṭafá ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. He would have been a member of the Cárdenas family of Granada, which was active in the silk industry; once in Tunis he, like his predecessor, earned a comfortable living in the business of ransoming slaves. As we shall see, he also employed captives as agricultural workers on his lands in Cap Bon. Another source of his income was trade in Sicilian sugar, linen, spices and soap. As the representative of the Morisco community he held the title of *šayḥ* of the Andalusis, and is also named as *qā’id* [officer] in 1623, “protector” in 1624, and *šayḥ* of the nation of Andalusis and *tagarinos* in 1635.³¹

All indications point to the presence of the Moriscos and their rapid integration into Tunisian society, as well as to their cohesion and internal organisation almost from the moment of their arrival.

Settlement in Tunisia: “They Ennobled this Kingdom with more than Twenty Towns that they Founded”³²

The new arrivals – and I refer now to the contingent that came *en masse* beginning in 1610 – brought a thoroughly Hispanic air to Tunisian society: they dressed in the Spanish style, spoke Spanish and were barely acquainted with Islam. Most of the Moriscos who settled in Tunisia came from Aragón and Castile, areas where they had been deeply acculturated to Spanish society from an early date, having lost the Arabic language and the Islamic religion.³³

29 Epalza, “Moriscos,” 284–288.

30 Bernabé Pons, “Notas,” 319–320.

31 John D. Latham, “Mustafa de Cardenas et l’apport des ‘morisques’ à la société tunisienne du XVIIe siècle,” in *Études sur les morisques andalous* (Tunis: Ministère des affaires culturelles), 1983, 157–178.

32 “Enoblecieron este Reyno con más de veinte poblaciones que fabricaron”: Epalza, “Nuevos documentos,” 224.

33 This loss of Muslim identity had been noted from the end of the Mudejar period in Castile. The *muftī* al-Wanšarišī had offered as an example those of Ávila (the largest community in the Duero River valley), who had already forgotten Arabic; he warned against

These people whose faces, in a contemporary description, were the color of *membrillo cocido* [baked quince] soon “ceased to dress in the old Spanish fashion and adopted the Turkish one, worn by the persons of quality in the city.”³⁴ But according to Ximénez, they never abandoned their distinctive features completely:

The Andalusi Moors differ from Arabs or Bedouins in their color, the perfection of their bodies, their manners and their customs. The Andalusis are whiter, better shaped and fuller-bodied, entirely like Spaniards: cleaner and more careful in their dress, habits that they brought from Spain.³⁵

It appears that they were also haughty and proud, qualities that some perceived in details like their women’s luxurious accessories.³⁶

the risk that “if they lose the Arabic language altogether, they will also lose their religious practices and the strength of their spoken rituals”: Felipe Maíllo Salgado, “Consideraciones acerca de una fatwà de al-Wansarisi,” *Estudia Historica. Historia Medieval* 3 (1985), 190–191.

34 “Dexaron el uso de vestir a la antigua moda española, y se acomodaron a la turquesca, o a la que usan los principales habitantes de la Ciudad”: Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria*, 47. Our best source for Tunisian or “Turkesque” dress is the series of engravings in the *Código Madraza-Daza*, which represent North Africans wearing long, wide hooded robes and with turbans on their heads. See Carmen Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote* (Madrid: El Viso), 2001.

35 “Los moros andaluces se diferencian de los alarbes o beduinos en el color, en las perfecciones del cuerpo, en el trato y en las costumbres. Los andaluces son más blancos, más bien formados y gruesos, en nada desemejantes de los españoles, más curiosos y más bien vestidos, costumbres que trajeron de España”: Epalza, “Nuevos documentos,” 221.

36 Ximénez alludes to an account by an anonymous author from those early years of exile: “It would have been a good thing if after the coming of Islam people had become humble; but Lucifer, appetite, worldliness and vanity did not allow such a result; rather they incited [the Moriscos] to flaunt their best finery and regalia (which were unknown in Tunis before they came). And now they enjoy such high standing that they can be compared to Princes and grandees, especially in their women’s adornments: for each one wears more gold than a dealer could own in his entire shop, and they are adorned with goods that the Queens of the earth did not wear before we came” (“De mucha importancia hubiera sido despues de aver venido Izlam que se usase la humildad; pero Luzbel, apetito, mundo, y vanidad no dieron lugar a tanto bien; antes incitaron, a que se mostrasen las galas, y bizarrías que quando se vino no avia en Tunez ni las conocian, y estan hoy en tan alto estado, que se pueden comparar a las de los Príncipes y grandes, particularmente en los adornos de las mugeres pues cada una lleva mas oro que otros tienen de

It seems, however, that the Spanish language survived for a considerable time, even though the Moriscos were instructed from the beginning to learn Arabic.³⁷ We see the fact reflected in the many linguistic borrowings that live on in the speech of some Tunisian towns settled by Moriscos. Many words of Spanish origin had been incorporated into Andalusí Arabic, most of them related to crafts and professions: a perfect example is the vocabulary of the manufacture of the *chéchia* or men's cap.³⁸ Morisco onomastics are also full of Spanish names, some of which clearly refer to places of origin: *Surya* (perhaps from Soria), *Qaštālī*, *Kaštīl*, *al-Kaštilyānū*, *Kaštīyonu*, *Castelli*, *al-Castalli* and *Castellayno*; others to personal appearance: *Essourdou*, *Nigru* and *Ennigro* (a famous family of architects who worked for the beys). The surname *al-Andalusī* is the most common and surest indicator of Morisco origin in Tunisia, with its contracted form *Landulsī*, borne by a prominent family.³⁹

The Spanish language also served the Moriscos at first as a vehicle for learning their new religion. Because they were virtually ignorant of Arabic, Sidi Bulgaiz himself allowed them to live a Muslim life in their own language: "if for

caudal en las tiendas mas ricas, de suerte que las mismas se adornan con cossas que las Reynas de esta tierra no llevaban antes de nuestra venida." And Ximénez adds: "They are still as vain today, and although the poor wear clothing cut from cheaper fabrics, they try to tailor it to imitate that of the principal citizens" ("Aun oy les dura esta vanidad, y aunque las personas pobres se vistan de telas de menos precio, procuran que la hechura sea del modo que la usan los principales ciudadanos"); Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria*, 47. The Moriscos' vanity is also reflected in specific sayings and anecdotes from Tunisian folklore, some of them recorded in John D. Latham, "Contribution à l'étude des immigrations andalouses et leur place dans l'histoire de la Tunisie," in *Etudes sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid-Tunis: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales), 1973, 24–47, esp. 43–44. A.H. Gafsi-Slama offered further examples in his inaugural lecture to the XI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 2008.

37 A full century later there were still Spanish speakers in Morisco towns in Tunisia: "even today they maintain the Spanish language, and the old pronounce it better than the young" ("aún hoy conservan la lengua española y mejor la pronuncian los más viejos que los mozos"), commented Ximénez about the people of Bizerte, although their case was not unusual. Epalza, "Nuevos documentos," 217. See also the contribution by Gerard Wiegers in this volume.

38 Sophie Ferchiou, *Techniques et sociétés. Exemple de la fabrication de chéchias en Tunisie* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie), 1971. See also Hans-Rudolf Singer, "Das arabische und das romanische Element in der Fachsprache der tунисischen Fesmacher," *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 3 (1979), 28–46.

39 The fundamental source on this topic is Mikel de Epalza and Abdel-Hakim Gafsi-Slama, *El español hablado en Túnez por los moriscos y sus descendientes (Material léxico y onomástico documentado, siglos XVII–XX)* (Valencia: Universitat), 2010.

them [those who do not know Arabic] the things that they need to believe and know were to be written in Spanish, it could be done."⁴⁰ To that end, prominent members of the community who had the requisite knowledge prepared texts in Spanish so that that rest of their coreligionists could gradually absorb Islamic doctrine. Jaime Oliver Asín recalled the figure of 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Alī Pérez, a Morisco who wrote an apology for the Islamic religion in 1615; we know only that it was circulating in Tunisia in the early eighteenth century, when the Englishman Morgan translated some passages from it.⁴¹

A better-known individual was Juan Pérez, a native of Toledo but from a Murcian family, who had lived in Alcalá de Henares. Having received a Catholic education, he was familiar with Classical literature and knew some Latin. In Tunisia, now renamed Ibrāhīm Taybīlī, he settled in the town of Testour; there he acquired a basic knowledge of Arabic and Islam and began his life as an author, dedicated in part to instructing his compatriots by means of Spanish.⁴²

Another important figure at this time was the aforesaid Ahmed Bejarano, Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥağarī, a Morisco from Hornachos in Extremadura,⁴³ who after extensive travels in exile (France, The Dutch Republic, Morocco, the Near East) eventually settled in Tunis. There he was active in writing and translation, together with, among others, Muḥammad Rubio, a Morisco from Villafeliche in Aragón: "this translation was made at the request of the *ḥāğğ* Mohamed Rubio by the hands of the servant of Allah Ahmed Benaçim Bejarano...it was written in Tunis on his way back from the *ḥağğ* after the two had met in Morocco, thirty-six years after he had left Spain."⁴⁴

40 "Si a los tales [a los que no sabían la lengua arábica] se les escribiesse en castellano lo que se deue creer y saber, es cosa que se puede haçer": Bernabé Pons, "La nación," 113.

41 Jaime Oliver Asín, "Un morisco de Túnez, admirador de Lope. Estudio del Ms. S2 de la Colección Gayangos," *Al-Andalus* 1 (1933), 409–450.

42 Taybīlī's writings reveal his literary background and knowledge: he explicitly cites *Don Quijote* and recalls fragments of the works of Garcilaso and Lope de Vega. Luis Bernabé Pons, "L'écrivain morisque hispano-tunisien Ibrahim Taybili (Introduction à une littérature morisque en Tunisie)," in *Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire offerts à Slimane Mustapha Zbiss* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine), 2001, 249–272.

43 Gerard A. Wieggers, "A Life Between Europe and the Maghrib: the Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn al-faqīh Qāsim ibn al-shaykh al-Hajarī al-Andalusī," in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi), 1992, 87–115; Luis F. Bernabé, "Una nota sobre Ahmad ibn Qasim al-Hayari Bejarano," *Sharq al-Andalus* 13 (1996), 123–128; Isabel Boyano, "Al-Hayari y su traducción del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana," in *¿La historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano* (Granada: Universidad), 2008, 137–157.

44 "Se hiço esta interpretación a pedimento del jiche Mohamed Rubio y por manos del sirvo de Allah, Ahmed Benaçim Bejarano...hiçoce en Túnez de vuelta del jiche, el cual

An exceptional work of this type is the *Tratado de los dos caminos, por un morisco refugiado en Túnez* [Treatise of the Two Paths, by a Morisco Who Has Taken Refuge in Tunis],⁴⁵ an anonymous work probably composed between 1630 and 1650.⁴⁶ It may be classified as a treatise of moral and religious liturgy, the reading of which can reveal the two possible paths that man may follow: the pleasing but mistaken one, or the strict one that leads to salvation. The author interrupts it with a novella, Spanish in both form and content, that is spiced with direct quotations from Lope de Vega, Garcilaso and Quevedo.

Aside from this religious literature, Moriscos also wrote narratives about their journey and their arrival in Tunisia: these reveal a great deal about the exiles' early life there. The *Tratado* itself begins with some interesting pages about the Expulsion, the exile, and the welcome that the Moriscos were given; they make up a sort of memorandum by one who did not want such an important sequence of events to be forgotten. Some of his observations have great historical value, such as the fact that some Moriscos had, in fact, come to Tunisia years before the general Expulsion and had made a significant impact on the community's future:

A brother of ours lived in this city of Tunis and was one of those who first left through France, three years before the rest of us were expelled. As one who was inclined to virtue and study, and as a fair-minded person, seeing how many of us were arriving and how ignorant we were of our obligations, he wrote in two notebooks...; and at the end he gave some advice, with the title "Recommendations about what the good Muslim should know and believe."⁴⁷

había asistido en Marruecos, después que paso de España treynta y seis años": Juan Penella, "Introduction au manuscrit D. 565 de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Bologne," in *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid-Tunis: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales- Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura), 1973, 262.

45 Galmés, *Tratado*, The original text is from the same manuscript studied by Oliver Asín in "Un morisco de Túnez."

46 Different authors of this work have been proposed: 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Alī Pérez (J. Penella), 'Abd al-Rafī' al-Andalusī (M. de Epalza) and Ibrāhīm Taybīlī (L. Bernabé). See "Estudio preliminar" by Luce López-Baralt to Galmés de Fuentes's edition, 29–186.

47 "Abía en esta çudad de Túnez un hermano nuestro, que fue de los que antiçiparon por la bía de França tres años antes nuestra salida, el qual, ynclinado a la virtud y al estudio, siendo una persona muy justificada, como bido la muchedumbre de los que salimos y que beníamos ignorantes de saber lo que es fuerça, escribió en dos carraças [...]; y, al cabo d'esto, puso unas advertencias que son y dixo assí: 'Adbertençias que deue saber y creer el buen mumín": Galmés, *Tratado*, 194.

Thus we know that the newly arrived Moriscos in Tunisia retained, for some period of time and with the local authorities' consent, the Spanish language as a means of receiving instruction in their "new" (but ancestral) religion and, to some extent, as a way of keeping their Hispanic identity. The literature that emerged from the Morisco exile tells us so, as well as providing details about their arrival and settlement: "When the Andalusis in Tunisia became numerous and began to populate its various districts and towns, they settled especially in al-Ġazīra. They came to live in a large number of towns, prospered as they improved their lands, and formed families."⁴⁸

The Moriscos who immigrated to Tunisia settled mostly in the northeast quadrant of the country: in the Sahel of Bizerte, the Medjerda River valley, the countryside around and to the south of Cap Bon, and the town of Zaghouan, as well as the capital city itself. In all, more than twenty towns either received them or – the majority – were newly created by them. In the Sahel of Bizerte they populated Aousja, Ghar el-Melh, Raf Raf, Ras Jebel, Metline, El Alia, Menzel Jemil, Mateur and Bizerte itself, where they founded a new neighborhood. Along the course of the Medjerda they founded (from south to north) Testour, Slougia, Medjez el-Bab, Grish el-Oued, Tebourba, Jedaida and Kalaat Andalus; in Cap Bon they established Soliman, Grombalia, Nianou, Belli and Turki, and Zaghouan a little farther south.

The city of Tunis undoubtedly welcomed the earliest Morisco immigrants, those who left Spain before the Expulsion; they were well received by the local authorities and paved the way for those who came after. But it was also the preferred destination for many craftsmen and influential men of business who arrived after 1610. In the early sixteen-hundreds the city was beginning to flourish again after a century of upheaval. The decline of the Ḥafsid dynasty had made Tunis a political and economic target for the two great contemporary Mediterranean powers, Spain and the Ottoman Empire: after a brief initial occupation by the Turks (1534) it was held by the Spanish Crown for thirty-nine years (1535–1574), only to be reconquered by the Ottomans and to fall under the rule of the Murādid deys. By the time of the Moriscos' arrival it had become a cultural and artistic melting pot, drawing immigrants from both the eastern and the western Mediterranean; once established, they enjoyed the social and economic benefits of commerce and corsair activity. This increasing wealth showed itself in urban growth and architecture, adding to the city's

48 "Cuando se multiplicaron los andalusies en Túnez y se fueron instalando en sus territorios y poblaciones, poblaron en especial la Yazira. Se multiplicó en número de pueblos en los que se instalaron, mejoró su situación con la mejora de sus campos de cultivo y formaron familias": Epalza, "Sidi Bulgayz," 152.

renaissance in private and public construction; its population reached almost 100,000 inhabitants.⁴⁹

The Moriscos settled on their arrival in two areas of the medina, a dense urban center that was surrounded by a wall pierced by seven main gates. Its heart was located at the grand Zaytūna mosque and its surrounding souks: the markets of the booksellers, the perfumers, the wool merchants, the jewelers, the cap makers.... It appears that the wealthiest occupied the southern part of the medina, along an axis that became known as the Street of the Andalusis: among the families living there were the influential Castellis, Lakhouas and Sordos. But the great majority of Moriscos gravitated toward a northern area, outside the walls between the gates of Bāb Souika and Bāb Kartāğanna, in streets with the eloquent names of El Mestir Lakhoua, La Noria, Troncha and Gharnoutha.

Many Moriscos in the city developed small industries devoted to leather tanning or the manufacture of soap or textiles,⁵⁰ and later commercialized those products on a smaller or larger scale. The craftsmen themselves, or Morisco merchants, exported them to other Mediterranean countries. Those businesses created the fortunes of Juan Pérez, Luis Zapata and Mustafá de Cárdenas, and in mid-century of ‘Alī “el Sordo” or al-Surdu, who also ransomed captives. There is a street named after the latter in the Andalusí district of the medina of Tunis, where his tomb was once located.⁵¹

Notarial documents from the French consulate mention Morisco merchants who sent shipments of leather goods to Jews in Livorno: Dominico Fernández guaranteed a loan in 1615 with a load of skins, Cristóbal de Beldar delivered red and black leather pieces in the same year, and Mostafa Barragán supplied white skins in 1619.⁵² In 1621 Juan Pérez, also known as Mahamet Khayyar, joined another Andalusí, Mahamet Cimeniz, two Frenchmen and a German in opening a soap-making factory; the Frenchmen contributed the capital and the German his technical knowledge, while the Moriscos ran the business.⁵³

49 On the history and urban development of Tunis at this period see Ahmed Saadaoui, *Tunis ville ottomane. Trois siècles d'urbanisme et d'architecture* (Tunis: Centre de Publications Universitaire), 2001.

50 To this day there are rural areas of Raf Raf and Testour that show Andalusí influence in their local industries: Mikel de Epalza, “Trabajos actuales sobre la comunidad de moriscos refugiados en Túnez, desde el siglo XVII a nuestros días,” in *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura Aljamiada y Morisca* (Madrid: Gredos), 1972, 427–445.

51 Epalza, “Moriscos,” 271.

52 Mikel de Epalza, *loc. cit.*

53 The business survived Pérez's death in mid-1622 by a few months; his son Ibrahim Ayart took his place, but closed the workshop in March 1623 (*ibid.*, 274 and 297–298). In 1662 we

But of all the crafts practiced by Moriscos, the two that contributed the most to the local economy were the manufacture of *chéchias* and of glazed tiles. When in the mid-seventeenth century corsair raiding began to diminish, the making of the men's cap and the export of cereals saved the country's economy, and Moriscos played an important role in both.⁵⁴

The development of the *chéchia* industry seems to have been a decisive factor: Moriscos held the monopoly on its production, which served to enrich the businessmen involved and permit their social and political ascent at the Ḥusaynid court. References to the craft begin to appear immediately after the Moriscos' arrival in Tunisia, just as in Spain the making of these caps (there called *bonetes*) was documented in Seville, Córdoba, Granada, Valencia, Barcelona and above all Toledo: in the latter city two hundred master cap makers had been producing one-half million dozen caps a year. Some recently arrived Moriscos like Juan Pérez and Alonso (later Mahamet) de Cuevas used *chéchia* wool as collateral in their money-lending activities. Others, like the merchants Isuf Sanmar and Stamet l'Eschiabo, were shipping loads of soap and caps to Genoa at mid-century.⁵⁵

The manufacturing process involved a variety of steps that the Moriscos took care to keep in their exclusive control through a system of "industrial decentralisation" of both factories and workers. Wool and caps were constantly moving in and out of the capital between the homes and workshops of the craftspeople who took part in each phase of the operation; all of them were Moriscos from La Ariana, El Alia, El Batan or Zaghouan. In this way a monopoly was maintained over both the raw materials and the finished product.⁵⁶ By the end of the century a structure of guilds or corporations of cap makers and sellers, organized into masters and workers, had taken shape, including members of influential Morisco families like the Lakhouas, Huescas, Lorcas, Palmas, Louzirs and Sidás, as well as men who had distinguished themselves in politics

find listed among the holdings of Ḥammūda Pasha (the greatest of the Murādids) some lime-kilns that he ordered built over the ruins of a soap factory near the al-Dahab baths in Bāb Souika, an area inhabited by Moriscos; there may or may not be a link to the Pérez property. See Saadaoui, *Tunis*, 71.

54 Sadok Boubaker, "Activités économiques des morisques et conjoncture dans la Régence de Tunis au XVII^e siècle," *Cartas de La Goleta 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Los Moriscos y Túnez"* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 129–137.

55 Epalza, "Moriscos," 247–327.

56 On the system of *chéchia* manufacture see Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, "La herencia hispana en las industrias moriscas de Túnez," *Actas del Congreso Internacional "Los Moriscos: Historia de una minoría"* (Granada: El legado andalusí, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales), 2009 [in press].

like Mahamut Jasnadal and Cherife Castelli, who had invested a large portion of their assets in the business.⁵⁷

Around 1730 there were some twenty shops that specialized in the manufacture and sale of *chéchias* in the souk that Ḥusayn I (the first bey of the Ḥusaynid dynasty) had ordered built next to his palace. Today *sūq al-šāšīya* [the cap market], comprising about one hundred stores and workshops, is still located in Tunis's medina, spread along several streets and covered with a vaulted roof.⁵⁸

The Spanish tradition of ceramic manufacture, passed from father to son for generations, also crossed to Tunisia with the expelled Moriscos, although there had been contacts and exchanges among artisans from both countries since the time of the Ḥafsid dynasty. Most potters had their workshops in the Qallālīn [jug makers'] district, outside the medina's north wall between the Souika and Kartāḡanna gates, where the "Rue des Potiers" is still located today. There both dishes and tiles were manufactured, to be sold through shops in the nearby souks of Sīdī Mehrez and Bāb Souika. The dishes consisted chiefly of tableware – jugs, platters, plates and bowls – decorated with floral motifs filled in with geometric designs. Tilemaking, however, was a larger commercial enterprise. Tiles from Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey reached Tunisia and competed with the local products from al-Qallālīn, which were clearly influenced by those imported models. But Tunisian potters were able to carve out their own niche and eventually their wares rivalled foreign ones in the local markets, and came to be exported to nearby Arab countries: Algeria in particular, but also Libya and Egypt.⁵⁹

In Bizerte, as in Tunis, potters occupied their own district. Bizerte's privileged location on the Mediterranean coast had attracted Punic, Roman and Arab colonists: its Roman name had been Hippo Diarritus, its Arab one Binzart. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it had been a small independent state governed by the Banū l-Ward; later it was the scene of battles between Turks and Spaniards, and a refuge for Barbary pirates. Its medina occupies an area perpendicular to the coastline, its twisted streets contained within a wall flanked by a port and a fortress. The old port was a natural arm of the sea that

57 Abdel Hakim Gafsi-Slama, "La familia Lakhoua, descendientes tunecinos de moriscos granadinos de los siglos XVII–XVIII, y sus actividades en la industria del bonete chechias," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998), 219–244.

58 Lucette Valensi, "Islam et capitalisme: production et commerce des chéchias en Tunisie et en France aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 16 (1969), 376–400.

59 Villanueva Zubizarreta, "La herencia hispana."

entered as far as the city's edge, its mouth guarded by two forts or citadels: to the north the Kasbah with its walled perimeter and its own mosque, and to the south the Ksibah surrounded by fishermen's houses. Ships that docked there received their water from two fountains located on the pier, one of them built by a Morisco in 1620.⁶⁰ On the high ground that commanded the medina and the coast a castle, Borġ d'Espagne, was erected; planned by a Sicilian engineer by order of 'Alġ 'Ali Pasha of Algiers, it was finished by Spaniards.⁶¹

The arriving Moriscos settled in their own neighborhood outside the medina, next to the Kasbah and at the foot of the hill topped by the Spaniards' fort and the Al-'Ayn cemetery. There they built an urban area of almost six hectares, with a main street oriented north–south and crossed by four narrower perpendicular streets, yielding perfectly rectangular blocks. At the end of the main street that led to the cemetery they erected the mosque “of the Andalusis” and a fountain that lends its name to the street.

The other Morisco settlements in Tunisia were created independently, either as completely new towns or on the ruins of earlier (usually Roman) ones. Three examples of original towns betray their Hispanic origin in layout and architecture: Ghar el-Melh in the Sahel of Bizerte, Grombalia in Cap Bon, and Testour on the banks of the River Medjerda.

The small coastal enclave of Ghar el-Melh, strategically placed between the mountains and the sea, was the former Porto Farina founded by Dey Uṣṭā Murād (1638–1640), which became a refuge for armies and pirates. It was quickly colonised by Turks and Moriscos from the capital who were drawn by favorable conditions offered by the dey; some of the Andalusis were named Blanco, Farsado and Cristo. The urban layout was again regular, with two long parallel streets crossed by short ones, leaving space for an open square and a covered area for the market. Its landmarks include the mosques of Raḥba and Medersa, two *ḥammāms*, and a few houses in the ancient style.

The most distinctive features of Ghar el-Melh are its fortifications and port facilities, which make it one of the most important military complexes of Ottoman Tunisia, designed and executed by Morisco engineers and laborers. Three urban forts mark the coast, all of different design: those to the west (Burġ Bāb Tūnis) and the east (Burġ al-Loutani) were completed in 1659 according to Turkish inscriptions over their gates, while the middle one (Burġ al-Wiṣṭānī) was already built by 1638, as another inscription notes. Uṣṭā Murād himself entrusted the building of the middle fort and the port to the Morisco engineer

60 Abdel-Hakim Gafsi-Slama, “Sobre las fuentes públicas de los pueblos morisco-andalusíes en Tunicia, en los siglos XVII, XVIII y XIX,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2000), 313–342.

61 Ahmed Saadaoui, “Los andalusíes,” in *Ifriqiya, trece siglos de arte y arquitectura en Túnez* (Madrid-Tunis: Electa-Demeter), 2000, 122–126.



FIGURE 14.4 *Harbour of Ghar el Melh, the former Porto Farina, designed by a Granadan Morisco engineer.*

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Ḥāǧǧ Mūsā Ḥamīro al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī, bringing him from Algiers, where he had worked on the repair of that city's port and fortifications. Alongside the port with its three piers, a shipyard was later built: it consisted of a long gallery and deep storage areas covered with barrel vaults, and served for the construction and repair of ships.⁶²

The town of Grombalia (or Grumballa, as the Trinitarian Ximénez called it) was founded on the fertile plains of Cap Bon for the purpose of agriculture, in view of its favorable topography and climate. Its natural situation was probably what moved Mustafá de Cárdenas, one of the principal Moriscos of the first generation, to build his palace there. In the early eighteenth century Ximénez recorded in his diary that Grombalia contained some thirty houses, of which the most famous was that of Mahamet Bey, built by *šayḥ* Mostafa and surrounded by beautiful gardens and excellent fountains, with two water wheels. Almost none of it remains today except for a large area dotted across its surface with columns and building blocks, and a modest edifice containing a *ḥammām* that may be drawing on the water sources of the ancient fountains.⁶³ Cárdenas built an olive press in addition to the palace, and planted vines, fruit trees and

62 Abdel Hakim Gafsi-Slama, *Ghar el Melh* (Tunis: Ministère de la Culture et de la Sauvegarde du Patrimoine, Agence de Mise en Valeur du Patrimoine et de Promotion Culturelle), 2008.

63 Abdel-Hakim Gafsi-Slama, "Aperçu sur l'ancien 'palais' de Mustafá de Cardenas à Grombalia," in *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi), 1995, I: 303–318.

more than 30,000 olive trees with almond trees interspersed among them; the orchards were irrigated with water brought from the nearby mountains and were worked by more than three hundred slaves, both *negros y cristianos* [blacks and Christians].⁶⁴

Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (or Mustafá bin Abtolacic, as he signed himself in 1645) was, according to some historians, a Morisco from Baeza who settled in Tunis. He was an influential figure, both economically and socially, among the newcomers, and in the 1620s and 1630s he held various offices within the community: *qā’id* (1623), protector (1624) and *šayḥ* (1635). His professional activity involved commerce in slaves (he used many as agricultural workers on his Grombalia estate) and in goods like sugar, soap and *chéchias*.⁶⁵ Ximénez wrote, “This Moor was so powerful that the Beys of Tunis, jealous of him, attempted to take his life. He was warned and fled to Constantinople, where he received honors. He lived for some time in Cairo and later came to Cap Bon, where he began to plant olives and vines just as he had done in Grombalia, until death overtook him there.”⁶⁶

The town of Testour was also a new foundation, the southernmost settlement in the Medjerda River valley; it is also the one that has been most successful in preserving its Spanish Morisco heritage, both material and cultural. It was built in the environs of Roman Tichilla, along the route from Carthage to Theveste, and some Roman materials may have been incorporated into its buildings. Its urban plan is rectilinear, with three long parallel streets cut by many narrower ones that end at a stream and create rectangular blocks. It contains districts called “of the Andalus,” “of the *Tagarinos*” and “of the *Ḥāra*,” which originate in successive early enlargements of the town.

In about 1610 the first group of newly arrived Moriscos settled an area around a square where they built the first mosque (called al-Ḥuṭba, a name later changed to Raḥbat al-Andalus); it is now in ruins. A few years later, when new settlers arrived, the neighborhood of the *Tagarinos* was founded; it included a rectangular plaza, the outstanding Grand Mosque (erected by a Muḥammad al-Ṭaḡrī in the 1620s) and other buildings. As the new town prospered it attracted Jewish settlers, who occupied al-Ḥāra and erected their

64 Epalza, “Nuevos documentos,” 223.

65 Latham, “Mustafa,” 157–178.

66 “Este moro era tan poderoso que los Beyes de Túnez, dándoles celos, le intentaron quitar la vida. Llegó a saberlo y se huyó a Constantinopla. Y allí le dieron algunos honores. Vivió algún tiempo en El Cairo y después se vino a Bona, donde empezó a plantar olivos y viñas, como había hecho en Grombalia, hasta que allí le cogió la muerte.”

synagogue there; Turks built their mosque of Sīdī ‘Abd al-Laṭīf (or al-Ḥanafī) in the Tagarinos quarter.⁶⁷

The town was then supplied with a souk, which stretched along the main street and was lined with small shops rather than houses; there were also a *ḥammām* near the Great Mosque and the square, *madrasas*, *zāwīyas* (the most important being those of Sīdī Naṣr el-Garouchi and Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) and other public buildings.

In modern Testour the most significant traces of its Hispanic heritage are the plaza, recently restored by the Spanish government – now a place for meeting and leisure, but once the site of bullfights – and the grand mosque, of clearly Hispanic architectural influence, with a *miḥrāb* designed along Classical lines.⁶⁸

But as we have mentioned, the Moriscos also chose abandoned cities, generally Roman ones, as locations for their new towns; these were likewise planned in the Spanish style, from their layouts to their architecture. Such was the case of El Alia in the Sahel, Tebourba halfway along the River Medjerda, and Soliman in Cap Bon.

El Alia was raised on the site of the former Uzalis or Colonia Uzalitana, founded in the fourth century C.E.; from that time onward there is no evidence of later occupation until the Moriscos arrived at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Oral tradition holds that certain Morisco families from Granada – the Suara (Soria), Ksak (Huesca), Hrārra (Herrera) and Beni Moussa – played a role in its founding; in any event, a small country estate called Ġarnāṭa may be found very close to El Alia. Its town plan includes a main street that goes up the hillside and is cut perpendicularly by smaller streets, resulting in a string of more or less square blocks. Very near the main street, on a small plaza bearing its name, the great mosque was built. An inscription carved in marble on the *miḥrāb* of its patio relates that the sultan of Tunis ordered its construction in 1016 A.H./1638 C.E., and that Morisco families named al-Bālī’, al-Mādūr and Kulsuhli took part.⁶⁹ Close by, a *ḥammām* that has belonged to the Herrera family from the beginning also recalls its Andalusī origin.

67 Ahmed Saadaoui, *Testour du XVIIe au XIXe siècle. Histoire architecturale d'une ville morisque de Tunisie* (Tunis: Faculté des lettres de La Manouba), 1996.

68 Clara-Ilham Álvarez Dopico, “Le mihrab de la Grande Mosquée de Testour: une affirmation d’hispanité,” in *Huellas literarias e impactos de los moriscos en Túnez y en América Latina* (Tunis: Fondation Temimi), 2005, 45–58.

69 Abdelaziz Daoulati, “Inscription à la andalouse mosquée d’Al-Alia,” in *Recueil d’études sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales) 1973, 285–290.

The economy of El Alia is based on agriculture, and one of the principal crops in the fertile fields that surround it was thistles. The Morisco manufacture of *chéchias* used thistles in one of the final stages of production: the caps were brushed with them for hours in order to remove fluff and impurities. Now that thistles have been replaced by metal combs, they have almost ceased to be grown in El Alia.

Tebourba, located farther south on the middle course of the Medjerda, rests on the former site of ancient Roman Thuburbo Minus, of which only a few ruins remain. The latter's remnants might even have been employed in building the new town: that at least was the case of the bridge that Mahamet Bey ordered built with the stones of its magnificent Roman colosseum in about 1700, according to Peyssonel.⁷⁰ In any case, Tebourba was founded by Morisco immigrants at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The new arrivals chose the spot because of its suitability for growing fruit, and even today the town is surrounded by a belt of gardens, orchards, olive groves and other plantations. Some evidence suggests that the Moriscos may have introduced olive cultivation into the Medjerda region, and the number of oil mills that the town still contains reflects how important the olive became in the local economy.⁷¹

Tebourba's urban layout is one of the most typically Spanish among Tunisia's Morisco towns. As many as eight wide, rectilinear streets converge on the rectangular main plaza, the commercial center, where today a daily fruit and vegetable market is held; it recalls the one that took place every Friday in earlier years to which, according to travellers, "people [came] to buy and sell from the surrounding farms and villages."⁷² The medina contains a grand mosque at one end of the plaza and three neighborhood oratories, and in addition there are three *zāwiyas* – those of Sīdī 'Azzūz, Sīdī Ibn 'Īsā and Sīdī 'Alī al-Ḥaṭṭāb – whose walls are decorated with excellent examples of Tunisian tiles.⁷³

The town of Soliman or Slimane barely rises above a fertile plain about thirty kilometres from Tunis, near Grombalia. It shows a number of signs of its Morisco origin and past, some eloquent, others more subtle. The Moriscos founded it on the ruins of ancient Cassula, and when the Trinitarian Ximénez visited it barely one hundred years later he calculated that it consisted of about

70 Jean André Peyssonnel, *Voyage dans la Régence de Tunis (1724)* (Tunis: Centre de Publication Universitaire), 2004, 73.

71 Abdel-Hakim Gafsi-Slama, "Conséquence de l'expulsion des *moriscos*: la régénération de la culture des oliviers à Tebourba en 1726," in *L'expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 147–157.

72 Epalza, "Nuevos documentos," 217–218.

73 André Louis, *Villes et villages de Tunisie* [original typescript, IBLA library] (Tunis), 1964, 1: 1–6.

a thousand houses, many of them built in the Spanish style.⁷⁴ Spanish influence was still palpable in the town's usages and customs: it had a local government made up chiefly of members of the Morisco community (*šayhs*, district representatives and sheriffs) who had obtained its exemption from taxes. During his stay Ximénez was able to attend a wedding at which the music, clothing and gifts all reminded him of Spain.⁷⁵

The Spanish imprint on Soliman today can be seen particularly in its urban design. Its wide, straight streets (one of them named "of the Andalusis") form an almost perfect chessboard pattern, although almost no examples of the old domestic architecture survive. Only the grand mosque and some adjacent buildings retain remnants of brick eaves and tile roofs. According to inscriptions it was Uṣṭā Murād who ordered the building of the mosque in about 1675, and 'Alī Pasha al-Ḥusaynī who had its *miḥrāb* redecorated in 1792.⁷⁶ The plaza that fronts on the mosque seems to have been intended from the beginning for leisure rather than commerce: now as in the past, a café that opens onto it serves as a meeting place for "tomar allí café, fumar y tocar algunos instrumentos [drinking coffee, smoking and playing musical instruments]".

Soliman's inhabitants worked on the land, which was noted for its gardens, orchards, olive groves and vineyards. The Moriscos' plots were particularly well cultivated, and planted in straight rows; they plowed with mules, horses and oxen and with "carros como en España [carts just as in Spain]", Ximénez observed. The remains of two mills on the edge of town (one square tower and one round one) might have served for grinding grain or olives.

In short, the new towns that the Moriscos founded in Tunisia incorporated typically Hispanic features into their architecture and the design of their streets and fields. We should recall that the exiles included many craftsmen in the building trades (masons, carpenters, plasterers) who until their departure from Spain had been active in a field that was constantly evolving, and who were recognized for their skill. In many regions of Spain Moriscos had virtually monopolised construction, and it was natural that they should continue to practice it in Tunisia. The design of their towns and dwellings followed Hispanic models that both Mudejars and Moriscos had helped to shape. Beginning in the 1620s they branched out from domestic architecture into

74 On the features of Morisco domestic architecture in Tunisia see B. Bouzid, "Étude comparative des 'ouest dar' de maisons morisques dans certaines régions en Tunisie," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 127 (2007), 113–139.

75 Epalza, "Nuevos documentos," 221–222.

76 Slimane-Mustapha Zbiss, "La mosquée de Soliman," in *Études sur les morisques andalous*, 207–208.

public buildings that served their community, like mosques and madrasas; at around the same time some of them were commissioned by the rulers to take on public construction projects. Muḥammad b. Ġālib al-Andalusī served as master of works for building the eastern gallery of the patio in Tunis's main mosque, al-Zaytūna, in 1637, and two years later he erected the nearby mausoleum of Yūsuf Dey, as an inscription at the entrance attests.⁷⁷ A century later, other Morisco architects were working for the beys: a certain Blanco between 1735 and 1756, and successive members of the Ennigro or al-Nigru family exclusively until the middle of the eighteenth century. In the capital, structures attributed to the Ennigros include the top of the minaret of the Ḥammūda Pasha mosque, the Bāb al-Baḥr (or Porte de France), the *zāwiya*s of Sīdī Brāhīm al-Rihāī and Sīdī 'Alī al-Ḥaṭṭāb, the palaces of Qaṣr al-Sa'īd and Bardo, and the beys' mausoleums.⁷⁸

Morisco urban planning included, as in Spanish towns, straight streets whose axes could converge on an open space or plaza; the houses' windows overlooked the street.⁷⁹ In some of these towns (like El Alia and Tebourba), a large share of social, economic and religious life was concentrated in the plaza, sometimes prevailing over its commercial use: as we have noted, Ximénez observed in Soliman "a coffee house where the Moors go to relax, since they have no other entertainment; there they can only drink coffee, smoke and play musical instruments. In [the plaza of] Testour the Moors who founded [the town] hold bullfights, just as in Spain."⁸⁰

The design and construction of the houses themselves incorporate Hispanic features, especially slanted roofs covered with tiles, as European travellers noted: in Grish el-Oued "the houses have tile roofs made in the manner of Spain," in Medjez el-Bāb they are "made with wrought-iron trim in the manner of Spain," in Tebourba they also had tile roofs, and in Testour "all show tile roofs and patios, in the same way as in Spain," and moreover "some of

77 Saadaoui, *Tunis*, 53 and 297.

78 *Ibid.*, 296.

79 On the special character of Morisco urban design see Abdel Hakim Gafsi-Slama, "Esquisse de l'urbanisme des villages ruraux andalous du XVIe siècle," in *La ciudad islámica* (Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico), 1991, 135–158; also Ahmed Saadaoui, "L'établissement des morisques au Maghreb. Son impact sur l'urbanisation et la vie urbaine," in *Actes du Colloque Mobilité des hommes et des idées en Méditerranée* (Sousse: Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines), 2003, 195–205.

80 "Una casa de café, donde van los moros a divertirse, porque no tienen otro divertimento y se reduce a tomar allí café, fumar y tocar algunos instrumentos, o de Testour, donde los moros que le fundaron tenían fiestas de toros a la manera de España": Epalza, "Nuevos documentos," 221–222.

them have balconies and windows, in contrast to the Moorish [i.e., Islamic] style."⁸¹

There are eloquent examples, particularly in grand buildings, of the so-called "Toledan" style that employed Peninsular techniques and construction materials: walls of rough stone or adobe are framed by horizontal and vertical courses of brick, as in the great mosque of Testour with its minaret, and the minarets of the Butriqu and Raḥbat al-Andalus mosques in the same locality. The front doors of houses often show semicircular arched openings: many examples are preserved in towns like El Alia, Raf Raf and Zaghouan, as well as in the medina of Tunis. Those doors may also be distinguished by studded-nailhead designs, some of them cruciform, and by knockers made of a ring suspended from an iron half-sphere, as in Hispanic models.

In some important buildings and public structures like bridges, Morisco workmen included and disseminated elements of a classical style that can be traced to Italian and Spanish origins. The *miḥrāb* of the great mosque of Testour, built by the first generation of arrivals (like the no longer extant mosque of Medjez el-Bāb) was designed according to the classical Roman canon found in architectural treatises. The same is true of three bridges over the Medjerda River, those of Medjez el-Bāb (1677), Utique, and the Bizerte road (restored between 1770 and 1781), and of the Chuchat bridge in Radès over Ouad Mélian (repaired at the same time).⁸²

We might ask if a particular technique of construction or decoration could be related to the builder's place of origin, but the question is difficult to answer on the basis of either documentary or material sources. Communities of Moriscos from various regions of Spain were said to have maintained their cohesion in exile and may have done so in Tunisia, but there are no data either to support or to refute the claim. Ximénez recorded that in the new country

81 "Y las casas están con tejado y hechos a la manera de España"; "fabricadas con rejada a la manera de España"; "casas a la manera de España"; "con texado en Tebourba o las de Testour, todas con texados y patios, en la misma forma que en España"; "algunas de ellas tienen balcones y ventanas, contra el estilo morisco": different passages from Ximénez's diary in Epalza, "Nuevos documentos." See also Ahmed Saadaoui, "La tuile creuse, matériel caractéristique de la tradition architecturale morisque en Tunisie: diffusion, fabrication et utilisation, XVII^e-XIX^e siècles," in *Actes du IV Symposium International d'Études Morisques sur: Métiers, vie religieuse et problématiques d'histoire morisque* (Zaghouan: CEROMDI), 1990, 293-302.

82 On these examples see Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, "El legado patrimonial morisco: conocer y conservar para divulgar," in *Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Los moriscos y Túnez,"* in *Cartas de La Goleta 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional "Los Moriscos y Túnez"* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 189-205.



FIGURE 14.5 *Great Mosque of Testour.*

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there were “Catalans who come from Catalonia, Tagarinos from the area of Tarragona (and by that same name they understand all the Aragonese); the Castilians and the rest they include under the name of Andalusians,”⁸³ although

83 Epalza, “Nuevos documentos,” 45–46. On the origin of *tagarino* see n. 84.

as we have noted, the generic *andalusí* must have been the common term for all Moriscos, not only those from Andalusia. Although he describes *tagarinos* as natives of Aragón, the same author elsewhere does not seem to classify them in the same way: in Testour “there are many of these Andalusian, *tagarino* and Aragonese Moors.”⁸⁴

This description of the population of Testour, and others such as that of Soliman (“inhabited by three hundred families of Andalusian and Tagarino Moors”) suggest that the towns were settled by groups of Moriscos from different regions of Spain. Only the village of Grish el-Oued, in the Medjerda valley, is described by Ximénez of consisting only of Catalans: “we arrived at a place called Grassi Guat or village of the Catalans, because it is they who live there.”⁸⁵

In Conclusion: “They were Cast Out of Spain for being Moors, and here they were Taken for Christians”⁸⁶

The Moriscos who in Spain had struggled and fought to live in society as Muslims, continued to do so in Tunisia so as not to cease being Spaniards. We see the result in the community spirit of the group, which has survived from the time of their arrival virtually to the present day. It is also clear that they stood out – on purpose or by chance – from the rest of the population: in their physical appearance (“the Andalusí Moors differ...in their color, the perfection of their bodies, their manners and their customs... [they] are whiter, better shaped and fuller-bodied... cleaner and more careful in their dress”), in their organization (“government belongs to the Andalusis, and consists of a governor or *šayh*, three *jurados* [district representatives] and three *alguaciles* [sheriffs]). The first is elected by voice vote of all the Moors of Spanish origin and is an office held for life, unless the people demand a change. The representatives are chosen annually by ten or twelve of the principal men among the Spanish

84 “Hay muchos de estos moros andaluces, tagarinos y aragoneses.” In any event, the meaning of *tagarino* (from *tağrī* “dweller on the *tağr* or frontier”) is in dispute: for some it means the historic Moriscos of Aragón and Castile (J.D. Latham, “Contribution à l'étude des immigrations andalouses,” 47 n. 192), while for others it designates Moriscos who had lived in Algeria before settling in Tunisia (Epalza, “Moriscos,” 254).

85 “Llegamos a un lugar llamado Grassi Guat o el lugar de los catalanes, por ser éstos los que le habitan”: Epalza, “Nuevos documentos,” 218. See also Mikel de Epalza and Luis F. Bernabé, “Els moriscos valencians a l'exili després de l'expulsió del 1609,” *Afers* (Catarroja) 4–7 (1988–1989), 207–214.

86 “Los habían echado de España por ser moros y aquí los tenían por cristianos,” said by a Morisco from Soliman to Ximénez: Epalza, “Nuevos documentos,” 212.

Moors, and the sheriffs likewise”); and in their customs (bullfights, weddings, “they eat in the manner of the Spaniards,” even in the preservation of some Spanish words up to the present).

Mahamet Corral Andaluz, a Morisco from Soliman, confessed to the Trinitarian Ximénez: “they were cast out of Spain for being Moors, and here they were taken for Christians.” And that is indeed the message that we take away from the history of their exile and from their physical and cultural heritage.

The Expulsion of 1609–1614 and the Polemical Writings of the Moriscos Living in the Diaspora¹

Gerard Wiegers

The word polemics is derived from the Greek *polemiké techné*, and originally signified the argumentational style aiming at defeating an opponent in front of an audience, contrary to *apologetikós logos*, which in ancient culture meant the defending, justifying style. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century the word polemic began to be used in modern languages for a “war of words,” which remains its present-day meaning.² However, as Jesse Lander argues in his study on polemics in seventeenth-century England, polemic “is not only a literary form; it is also a social and cultural practice, a practice devoted to the constitution of particular communities. Located within a social context, polemic is always revealed to be part of a dialogue, not the face-to-face dialogue seeming to promise true communication, but a temporally and geographically extended exchange.”³ As is well known, many polemical encounters between Muslims and Christians have taken place over the course of the centuries. It is no wonder that, in view of their social and political position Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula were no exception.

Many studies have dealt with the details and general aspects of the polemical confrontations between Moriscos and Christians, among which Louis Cardaillac’s well-known study, *Morisques et Chrétiens, un affrontement polémique (1492–1640)*, still stands out.⁴

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- 1 The present chapter is an expanded and updated version of my article, “European converts to Islam in the Maghrib and the polemical writings of the Moriscos,” in *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose), 2001, 207–223.
 - 2 Hubert Cancik, Burkhard Gladigow, and Matthias Laubscher, eds., *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer), 1988, vv. (“Apologetik/Polemik” and “Konversion/Apostasie”). 29.
 - 3 Jesse M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic. Religion, Print, and literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University), 2006, 35.
 - 4 Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens: un affrontement polémique (1492–1640)* (Paris: Klincksieck), 1977. See on Mudejar polemics Gerard Wiegers, “Biographical Elements in Arabic and Spanish anti-Christian and anti-Jewish Mudéjar writings,” in *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana* (Madrid: CSIC), 2008, 497–515.

Two phases in the history of Morisco polemics against Christianity can be distinguished. The *first phase* is the period between the forced conversions which took place in Granada, Castile, Navarre and Aragón at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century and the Expulsion of 1609–1614. The *second phase* is the period after the Expulsion, which lasted well into the seventeenth century. One might even say it has continued to this very day, even though polemical writings by descendants of Moriscos are no longer found after the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵ In his *Morisques et Chrétiens*, Louis Cardaillac creates the impression that we are dealing with a homogenous body of Morisco polemical literature, as is suggested by its subtitle “*un affrontement polémique (1492–1640)*.” More recent studies have shown, however, that this homogeneity hardly exists. For example, the polemicist identified by Cardaillac as the Morisco al-Qaysī could be identified on closer inspection as a Tunisian captive of war in fourteenth century Lérida.⁶ Al-Qaysī’s polemical works, which circulated first among the Mudejars and later the Moriscos in Romance and Arabic as late as the sixteenth century, are therefore a survival of the *Mudejar* period. Moreover, it seems that hardly any fresh contributions to the polemical genre came into existence during the sixteenth century. The extant sixteenth-century polemical manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamiado are copies of earlier writings rather than new compositions. After the Expulsion, the first datable polemical works came into being, as I will show, in Morocco, while only later do we witness the emergence of a body of polemical literature in Algiers and Tunis. It is very likely that this Tunisian corpus should be interpreted amongst other things in the light of the elaboration of higher religious learning and perhaps confessionalization among the Moriscos in Tunis, as is also evidenced by the existence of a *madrassa* founded by them in the city.⁷ It was also in Tunis that the most famous polemicist of the Moriscos, the Hornachero Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī (ca. 1570–after 1642), settled at the end of his life, after having served at the court of the Moroccan

5 With the exception of the work copied out by Moriscos in Tunis in the eighteenth century for Fray Francisco Ximénez. See Alfredo Mateos Paramio and Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, eds., *Memoria de los Moriscos. Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales), 2010, 238–241 (description of the manuscript by Clara Ilham Álvarez Dopico).

6 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegiers, “The Polemical Works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and their Circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the Fourteenth Century,” *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994), 163–199.

7 See on confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire and the role of Moriscos especially the contribution by Tijana Krstić in this volume.

sultan Muley Zaydān (1608–1627) and his successors in Marrakesh. In Tunis he continued to work on his well-known *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ‘alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* [The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels] written by him at the request of the Egyptian religious scholar Al-Uḡhūrī in Cairo in 1637 and also continued to write other polemical texts, as I will argue below.⁸ It was also in polemical Morisco literature written in Tunis that the first mention was made of the so-called *Gospel of Barnabas*. Finally, it was there that the Lead Books which were discovered on the slopes of the Sacromonte in Granada in the late sixteenth-century became a polemical issue among Moriscos.⁹

In this contribution, I will deal with the anti-Christian polemical works written after the Expulsion against the background of the changing social and political circumstances which the Moriscos experienced as a result of that Expulsion. In it, I will focus on (1) integration in their host societies and (2) relations with other social groups, especially Jews, Christians and converts to Islam, most of them Christian captives, both in North Africa and Christian Europe. It was only after the Expulsion that Moriscos and converts to Islam lived closely together. With Christians, Moriscos maintained quite different relations than before their expulsion. Now that they were free to express themselves religiously, their polemical writings underwent important changes which will be discussed below. One of the most fascinating aspects of the polemical literature written by the Moriscos and their exiled descendants in North Africa is the place in their writings of the works of another category of migrants, namely the European converts to Islam. How are the contacts between Moriscos and converts to be explained? The similarity between their social positions and professions in the Maghreb may explain why the two groups came into contact. Many members of both groups devoted themselves to piracy, served in armies and often acted as translators, scribes and secretaries. Therefore, both groups can be described, to some extent, as having a mediating function between the receiving (Islamic) societies and the West. Additionally, it seems that doubts about the sincerity of the religious convictions of both groups played a role in shaping their social position in their new

8 See Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ‘alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn. The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidel*, historical study, critical edition and annotated translation by P.S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai, and G.A. Wieggers (Madrid: CSIC), 1997.

9 This will be discussed in more detail below. On the polemical aspects of the original texts of the Lead Books see, for example, Gerard A. Wieggers, “El contenido de los textos árabes de los Plomos: *El Libro de los misterios enormes (Kitāb al-asrār al-‘azīma)* como polémica islámica anticristiana y antijudía,” in *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudio del Sacro Monte. IV Centenario Fundacional (1610–2010)* (Granada: Fundación Euroarabe), 2011, 197–214.

environment. Due to their background, Muslim converts of Christian descent did not have access to all religious functions, and neither did their offspring. Such was the experience, for example, of the religious scholar Riḍwān al-Ġanawī (d. 991/1583), whose father, a Christian from Genoa, had married a Jewish woman in Salé. Both had converted to Islam.¹⁰ Although Riḍwān became a renowned ‘ālim, it was impossible for him to exercise all religious functions.¹¹ In the discussion that follows I will analyze Morisco polemical writings written in exile in a chronological order. We will start with the contributions of a convert to Islam, the enigmatic:

Juan Alonso

As far as we know, Juan Alonso was a converted priest who, between 1602 and 1612, wrote a highly complex theological work while in Tetuan. This work is included in a manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (henceforward BNE), classified under no. 9655.¹² The author, about whom very little is known except that he was a “master of theology,” describes his conversion to Islam in the dedicatory poem which can be found in the introduction to his work.¹³ In a paraphrase of a passage in that poem, the author of another text (to be discussed below) tells us that Juan Alonso

sought - without paying attention to whether his parents were Christians, Muslims or Jews - to undeceive himself and find out what seemed to be the truth, pondering and examining the three ways of the three religions, to find out which of them was the one that leads to salvation in order to follow it. Finding out what he found out, (he) went to Tetuan in order to follow it and, leaving behind enormous revenues, was satisfied with working hard, occupied with earning his living in a very miserable way.¹⁴

10 On Riḍwān al-Ġanawī, see L. Bušantūf, “Šūrat ‘ālim min al-qarn 10H/16M. Riḍwān al-Ġanawī min ḥilāl ‘Tuḥfat al-iḥwān wa-mawāhib al-imtinān fī manāqib sayyidi Riḍwān,” *‘Amal* 4 (1993), 29–52. On the position of converts of Christian and Jewish background in Sa’did Morocco in general: Mohamed Hajji, *L’activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l’époque sa’dide*, 2 vols. (Rabat: Dar el-Maghrib), 1976–1977, 318 ff.

11 Bušantūf, “Sūra,” 35.

12 About Juan Alonso and his work: Gerard A. Wiegiers, “Muḥammad as the Messiah: A Comparison of the Polemical Works of Juan Alonso with the *Gospel of Barnabas*,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52-3/4 (1995), 245–291.

13 Preserved in a quotation in the BNE, ms. 9653 f. 13r-13bis, r [sic].

14 BNE, ms. 9653, f. 12v.

The work itself is a comparative study of Jewish, Christian and Muslim beliefs and religious practices described in a polemical style which shows traces of a Christian scholastic education.¹⁵ One of the basic goals of the text is to show on the basis of Christian writings that Jesus was not the universal messiah (Sp. *mesías universal*), who is the Prophet Muḥammad, but the “evangelical messiah” (*mesías evangélico*), i.e. that he was not sent by God to the entire world, but to one particular religious group only, viz. the Christians, followers of the prophet ʿĪsā. This is an idea that this work has in common with a number of other texts that circulated among the Moriscos, including the *Gospel of Barnabas*.¹⁶

Because of its complexity, this polemical text must have been very difficult to understand for a readership without a Christian theological background. The text was used in subsequent polemical Morisco writings in a way which shows that later authors struggled to grasp the precise nature of its arguments. It is no wonder, therefore, that later Morisco authors summarised and simplified it.¹⁷ This is also the case with the polemical work attributed to the Morisco scholar Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī (d. 1061/1650), who probably did his writing in the 1630s in Testour, a Tunisian village densely populated by Moriscos. We will return to the text attributed to him below. The second polemical text is the work of:

Muḥammad Alguazir (Lived ca. 1612)

Louis Cardaillac calls this polemic a work of primordial interest for the study of the polemical literature of the Moriscos.¹⁸ We will see that the influence of this treatise is indeed highly conspicuous in later polemical writings.

Alguazir’s polemical text is extant in two manuscripts, both written in Spanish in Latin characters, like virtually all other Morisco texts written after the Expulsion: MS 9074 of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, and Wadham

15 The voluntary conversion of theologically educated Christians was not uncommon. See A. Gonzalez-Raymond, *La croix et le croissant. Les inquisiteurs des Iles face à l’islam 1550–1700* (Paris: CNRS), 1992, 154. See on conversion stories related to polemical literature Ryan Szpiech: *Conversion and Narrative. Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania), 2013.

16 Wiegers, “Muḥammad,” 245–291.

17 BNE, ms. 9067, also see below. The unpublished edition of this manuscript by Francisco Javier Ruvira Guilabert, *Manuscrito 9067 de la BNE. Estudio y edición* (PhD Alicante, 2004), was not accessible to me.

18 Cardaillac, *Morisques*, 187.

College, Oxford, MS A 18:15. In addition to Alguazir's polemical text, which occupies f. 1–f. 113v of the Madrid manuscript (we will see below that the original version of Alguazir's treatise was perhaps even shorter), the manuscript also includes a treatise in Spanish on the twenty Divine attributes (Ar. *ṣifāt*) (f. 115r–f. 123r) in which the attributes themselves are written in Arabic. Both treatises are written in the same seventeenth-century hand. The manuscript is undated. The watermarks are unfortunately impossible to identify, making dating of the paper difficult.

The same is true of the second manuscript, preserved in the library of Wadham College, Oxford, A 18.15, and described by L.P. Harvey.¹⁹ It is a book of 151 small sheets, 14 cm by 6 cm, all without watermarks.²⁰ Muḥammad Alguazir's polemic forms the major part of this manuscript as well (f. 2r–f. 123r). This manuscript does not include the treatise on the Divine attributes, but a number of poems instead (*décimas* and *romances*), plus notes and remarks on several subjects related to anti-Christian polemical subjects, including a commentary on the polemic by Alguazir, written in different hands and signed by different authors (f. 124r–f. 151v). Among these authors, we find the names of Ahamed Vitoria and Mahamed Valenciano, apparently authors of Spanish (most likely Morisco) descent.²¹ One of the main topics addressed in these poems is the way in which the Christian tradition dealt with the Prophets, departing from the Islamic doctrine of immunity from sin (*iṣma*). Some of them are laudatory poems dedicated by one Muslim author to another. Thus we find, for example, a poem by Mahamed Valenciano to his friend and countryman (*mi amigo y paysano*), Ahamed Vitoria, in which he calls him “the living repository (*archivo vivo*) of (Muslim) theology,” who will be able to answer the questions of all Christians looking for the Truth (f. 137r).²² On f. 138r we find a polemical poem dedicated to a Franciscan author, Alonso de Vascones, “author of *Destierro de ignorancias* and to his ignorance.” The said theological work was published in Madrid, and went through the press in 1614 and 1617. Hence, this reference provides a *terminus post quem* for these notes.

19 Leonard Patrick Harvey, “A second Morisco manuscript at Wadham College, Oxford: A 18–15,” *Al-Qanṭara* 10–1 (1989), 257–272.

20 *Ibid.*, 270.

21 *Ibid.*, 269.

22 This expression is highly reminiscent of other laudatory poems from among the Moriscos, such as a Spanish poem addressed to the Morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī in Rabat-Salé, preserved in MS 565 of the Bologna University library, in which this man is called “unique in art, the repository of science” (Eres único en el arte / de las ciencias el archivo). The Prophet Muḥammad is also called “archivo y cumplimiento de la ley” (BNE, ms. 9074, f. 2v).

Both manuscripts tell us that the author wrote it on the order of sultan Muley Zaydān (“por avermelo mandado el potentissimo uirtuosso socorredor y grande engrandezido justo y ssublimador Rey i gobernador de los moros, muley Zaidan”).²³ This implies that the work was written after Muley Zaydān had become sultan, viz. after 1608, when he established himself as a ruler in Marrakesh. A *terminus post quem*, 1612, will be discussed below. According to the Toledan Morisco Ibrāhīm Taybīlī, writing in Testour in 1037/1628, Alguazir had been a inhabitant of Pastrana, who was ‘now’ (i.e. around 1628) living in Marrakesh.²⁴

In a recent study, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano describe a document from the early seventeenth century about the discovery of a number of Arabic manuscripts in the city of Pastrana. The scholar to whom we owe a description and analysis of this collection in his *Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal*, Marcos Dobelio (who was also active in translating the Lead Books of Granada), identifies works such as the well-known *Kitāb al-Šifā’* by Qāḍī ‘Iyād and the very popular *Kitāb al-anwār* by Al-Bakrī.²⁵ He also discusses an anti-Christian polemical text that deals with the attributes of God and stresses that Muḥammad was the messiah predicted in Scripture and a manuscript described as a “Libro de la disputa contra los judíos y cristianos,” of which Dobelio merely says that the author was a Spanish Arab, learned not only in the Sacred Scripture but also the Hebrew language. This is very likely, as the authors argue, the polemical work written by Juan Alonso.²⁶ The first manuscript is very likely the polemical work written by Muḥammad Alguazir.²⁷

23 Madrid, BNE, ms. 9074, f. 2r, cf. Harvey, “A second Morisco manuscript,” 267.

24 Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, *El cántico islámico del morisco hispanotunecino Taybili* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico), 1988, 139–140.

25 On the Kurdish Arabist Dobelio, see Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Mercedes García-Arenal, “De Diego de Urrea a Marcos Dobelio: intérpretes y traductores de los ‘Plomos,’” in *Los Plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y Tesoro* (Valencia: Universitat) 2006, 297–334.

26 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 2010, 296 [English translation: *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden-Boston: Brill), 2013].

27 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *ibid.*, 296ff, believe that the author is identical with one Diego Alguacil who was tried by the Inquisition in 1613. This seems to indicate that he was still in Spain when he wrote the polemical work. On the other hand in my *Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḥmad b. Qasim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit), 1988, 43, I discussed a letter by al-Ḥaḡarī, dated 1611, which makes reference to a Mr. Alguazil who was at the time in Marrakesh, and could also be identified as the author of the polemical work. It is hard

This discovery implies two things. First it seems likely that at the beginning of the seventeenth century polemical works written at the time of the Expulsion circulated among the Moriscos in Spain. Secondly, the existence of these manuscripts is another strong indication that Pastrana played an important role as a centre of Morisco intellectual activity.²⁸ It is this point that merits a little more attention here. Recent research into the Expulsion process and the activities of Moriscos themselves to influence the outcome of that process indicates that there existed nuclei of influential Moriscos in Castile, many of whom were of Granadan origin. They formed networks with Moriscos within the Peninsula and other places in the Mediterranean, the South of France and elsewhere, in order to improve conditions of settlement or to prevent expulsion.²⁹ It appears that a number of them arranged for travel funds in Toulouse, where a *procurador* was also active. A very prominent role in these years was also played by the Morisco whom we will discuss below in more detail, Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī.³⁰ But we will first discuss another convert to Islam Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hayṭī al-Marunī.

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hayṭī al-Marunī, also Called “Biscaino” and the Latin Translation of Alguazir’s Polemic

Probably of Spanish origin, this *qaīd* of the Moroccan Sultan Muley Zaydān was a convert to Islam; the date of his conversion is however unknown. In 1610–1611, he was sent as an ambassador to the Netherlands. During his stay, he attended a banquet in The Hague and was questioned by the Dutch Stadholder Prince Maurice of Nassau concerning Islamic opinions about Jesus.³¹ However,

to imagine that the Moroccan sultan would order a Morisco living in Pastrana at the time to write a polemical work. That Alguazir wrote it at the command of the sultan is mentioned in all extant manuscripts.

- 28 A. López García, “Andalusíes en Pastrana. Las quejas de una minoría marginada de moriscos, con noticias sobre su paralelismo en el Reino de Granada,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 12 (1995), 163–177, and the literature referred to (see note 2).
- 29 L.F. Bernabé Pons, “Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29–2 (2008), 307–332. Gerard A. Wiegiers, “Managing disaster. Networks of Moriscos during the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36–2 (2010), 141–168. See also the contributions by Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons and by Youssef El Alaoui in this volume.
- 30 Wiegiers, “Managing,” *passim*.
- 31 Ahmet Ben-Abdallah, *Mohamedani Epistola theologica de articulis quibusdam fidei ad serenissimos Auriacum et Portugalliae Principes* (Rostock), 1705, 8; and 14–17.

the ambassador preferred not to answer immediately and announced that he would later send an answer in writing. Apparently, he had two reasons for acting like this. First of all, the moment had not been suitable. An important question such as this one could not be answered in a satisfactory way during a banquet (*inter prandendum*). Secondly, he also had felt that he needed to consult sources such as Qur'ānic commentaries (*interpretatio sancti Alcorani*) as well as works dealing with the subject of the Unity (*tawḥīd*, i.e. works of theology) composed by the very learned “Sidi Mehemet Elemuci” (very likely Al-Sanūsī) and “Sidi Mohamet Eleir,” in addition to Sacred Scripture (*Sacra Scriptura*, i.e. the Old Testament) and the Gospels (*Evangelia*).

The person enigmatically referred to as Mohamet Eleir is to be identified with the apesaid Morisco Muḥammad Alguazir, well known as the author of an anti-Christian polemical work in Spanish.³² This polemical work is, in fact, the sole source for the polemical letter (extant only in a Latin version) which Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh sent to Maurice after his return to Marrakesh in 1612.

It is interesting to observe that connections exist between the two works discussed here and religious discussions in Northern Europe. Martin Mulso and Justin Champion have shown that Alguazir’s polemic was used in anti-Trinitarian circles (Deists, Socinians and perhaps Arminians) in England and the Dutch Republic in the second half of the seventeenth century and used in religious polemics with orthodox, Trinitarian Christians. At the end of the seventeenth century, it was read and used by such people as Henry Stubbe (1632–1676) and John Toland (1670–1722).³³ Toland is one of the first European intellectuals to draw attention to the existence of the *Gospel of Barnabas* and was also one of the first persons in history to have seen the manuscript of this text, now preserved in the National Library in Vienna. The idea cherished by many in these circles was that Islam was in truth a form of Christianity, which after a reformation and purging of ideas that had crept in later (such as the idea that Jesus did not die on the cross) might be brought into complete agreement with Protestant thought. That idea legitimised not only the nascent Western study of Arabic and Islam, but also the conclusion of treaties and alliances with Muslim powers such as Morocco.

32 Gerard A. Wiegiers, “The Andalusī Heritage in the Maghrib: The Polemical Work of Muḥammad Alguazir (fl. 1610),” in *Poetry, Politics and Polemics. Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi), 1997, 107–132.

33 See also Martin Mulso: “Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship,” *Al-Qanṭara*, 31–32 (2010), 549–586; Justin Champion, “I remember a Mahometan Story of Ahmed ben Idris: Freethinking Uses of Islam from Stubbe to Toland,” *Al-Qanṭara* 31–32 (2010), 443–480.

Ibrāhīm Taybīlī, *Contradición de los catorce artículos de la fe cristiana, missa y sacrificios, con otras pruebas y argumentos contra la falsa trinidad* (1627)

In the Morisco village of Testour, the Morisco Ibrāhīm Taybīlī, alias Juan Pérez,³⁴ composed the third anti-Christian polemical work that needs to be discussed here. This text is basically a versification of Alguazir's polemic. Taybīlī was a wealthy man, known for his activities in the slave trade. He dedicated his work to 'Alī al-Niwālī, the *naqīb* of the Andalusian *šurafā'* in Tunis, with whom we will deal below. Taybīlī completed this work in 1037/1627-8 in Testour where he enjoyed an isolated life, far removed from the troubles of the world.

The Anonymous Author of the Polemical BNE ms. 9653 (Tunis 1630s?)

The next text is BNE ms. 9653, an incomplete and anonymous theological treatise, a commentary on a poem of another Andalusian author, Ibrahim Bolfad, a blind inhabitant of Algiers, which is quoted throughout the text. The text was most likely written in Tunis.³⁵ It was probably written in the 1630s.³⁶ Bolfad's poem deals with the creed on the basis of the works of al-Sanūsī, which he may have known from the work of Muḥammad Alguazir, discussed above. He appears to have been strongly influenced by al-Sanūsī, sometimes to the point of including a simple paraphrase of one of al-Sanūsī's creeds in his work. The same holds true for the commentary, of which many parts are direct translations of the *Muqaddimāt* by al-Sanūsī, including its polemical passages.³⁷

34 Bernabé Pons, *El cántico*, 64. Taybīlī probably came from Toledo.

35 There is no conclusive evidence that the text was written in Tunis, but in several places it becomes clear that the city occupies a conspicuous place while no other locations are mentioned. See, for example, f. 115v–116r for an anecdote about a poor pious fisherman who lived near Tunis and the rich saint "Sidi Marchan" and f. 176v where the name of the Prophet is said to be found on a red pillar in the Zaytuna mosque next to the place where the Qur'ān is recited (this same sign heralding Muḥammad's prophethood is mentioned in Vat. Ms. 14009 to be discussed below). On this manuscript see: Ridha Mami, "La obra de un morisco en Túnez," in *L'Expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 361–368; *El manuscrito morisco 9653 de la Biblioteca nacional de Madrid Edición, estudio lingüístico* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal), 2002. Mami does not discuss the identity of the author.

36 According to Cardaillac, *Morisques*, 186. The following seems to confirm this dating.

37 See BNE ms. 9653, f. 117b where al-Sanūsī is even explicitly mentioned as a direct source. Compare BNE ms. 9653, f. 40r ff. and E. Luciani, ed., *Les prolégomènes théologiques de*

In the first part, a large quotation of a long autobiographical polemical poem by Juan Alonso is found. It is interesting that the author complains that this was the only part of Juan Alonso's polemic which he was able to obtain. For extraordinary reasons, the rest "has not come to light, because some persons like to conceal things which could be very useful indeed, for even the extant fragments had effect. Some people returned from their ways, having grasped the Truth and the lack of fundament of the Trinity and of the teachings of Athanasius [on the Trinity]."³⁸ It is remarkable that some sort of secrecy was also maintained among the Moriscos in Tunis with regard to the Lead Books. According to al-Ḥaḡarī a book concerning the lead Books written or copied by Alonso del Castillo, al-Ukayḥil, had been brought to Tunis from Granada by one of the Moriscos and there "remained in the hands of one of the Andalusian brothers who concealed it, as some learned Andalusians were searching for it."³⁹ Does this point to a certain tension among the Andalusians with regard to matters of learning and orthodoxy? This might very well be the case, for the author of ms. 9653 also tells us that he expects to be criticised by "learned" circles because of his use of the Castilian language. But the author questions their self-assertive learning: BNE ms. 9653, f. 1v–8r (prólogo). In the rest of the text, it becomes apparent that the author did not know Alonso's work. As said before, his most direct sources are the works of al-Sanūsī, though he occasionally quotes al-Burda, the *Kitāb al-Šifā'* by the famous Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ and other sources in Arabic.

The Identity of the Author

There is strong evidence that the author of this text is the same person who also wrote another Spanish Morisco text in Tunis (BNE ms. 9654), an anonymous work on the devotional obligations (Ar. *'ibādāt*) according to the Ḥanafī law school (*madḥab*); other parts of the work concern matters of beliefs. The possibility that both texts may have been written by the same author can be concluded from a remark at the very end of BNE ms. 9653 where the author

Senoussi. Texte arabe et traduction française (Alger: impr. P. Fontana), 1908, 72 ff.; BNE, ms. 9653, f. 79 ff and 92 ff, etc.

38 "que no salen a luz por condiciones extraordinarias de personas que gustan de encubrir lo que podia ser de mucho provecho, pues esto poco lo a sido para algunos que se an buuelto al camino conociendo la berdad y echando de ber el poco fundamento de la trinidad y dichos de Atanaçio," BNE, ms. 9653, f. 13bis, v.

39 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, 245.

mentions that he has begun writing yet another religious work in which he will deal with “the obligatory (*farḍ*) and laudable (*sunna*), mentioning the particulars of each sin and its background.”⁴⁰

It is very likely that the treatise referred to here is a text included in another anonymous text in BNE ms. 9654, since this is the only Spanish text which deals with the *farḍ* and *sunna* elements of the canonical ritual as well as with “pecados” (sins).⁴¹ Hence, it is the only work which completely answers the description of the aforesaid passage in ms. 9653.⁴²

In another manuscript the authorship of such a work is attributed to a Morisco who had gone to Tunis three years before – presumably – the General Expulsion of 1609 via France (Ms. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, S 2⁴³). Another interesting aspect of the work included in BNE ms. 9654 is that it is a Hanafite work, which may be explained by the dominance of the Hanafite school of law in Tunis.

The aforesaid characteristics once led me to suppose that the author of both texts discussed above (mss. 9653 and ms. 9654) is to be identified as the well-known Morisco scholar Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, author of a great number of religious works in Arabic, allegedly the author of an anti-Christian polemic in Spanish and a Morisco who fled from Spain to Belgrade shortly before the Expulsion.⁴⁴ However, I have now found other evidence suggesting that we may be dealing here with another author, perhaps al-Ḥaḡarī.

Why can it not be excluded that al-Ḥaḡarī is the author? In the first place, the handwriting seems very similar, and this holds especially true for the

40 “otro tratado que tengo comenzado en el fard y la çuna espaçificar [sic] cada pecado de por ssi con sus circunstançias (BNE, ms. 9653, f. 233v).

41 BNE, ms. 9654, f. 147r ff.

42 Cardaillac also put forward the hypothesis that both works had a common author, but, in my view, his proposal rests on weak grounds such as common views and common passages which could easily be explained by the use of one of the texts as a direct source: Cardaillac, *Morisques*, 182.

43 Edited as *Tratado de los dos caminos por un morisco refugiado en Túnez* [ms S2 de la colección *Gayangos*] by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes (Madrid: Instituto Universitario Menéndez Pidal, Universidad de Oviedo), 2005, at 204. Cardaillac identifies the *fiqh* work in question as folios 39r–100r in BNE MS 9067 (see Wiegiers, “Muḥammad”), but the corresponding part of that text is a simple *fiqh* work on the *‘ibādāt* according to the Maliki law school. Since it does not discuss transgressions (“pecados”), it does not answer the description of the work offered by the author of BNE MS 9653.

44 G.A. Wiegiers, “European Converts to Islam in the Maghrib and the polemical writings of the Moriscos,” in *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose), 2001, 207–223, and see below.

Arabic hand.⁴⁵ Secondly, the sources used in this manuscript and in *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* are also very similar. We can find a great influence of the works of al-Sanūsī and a number of very idiosyncratic stories such as the one claiming that the Jews read the Bible in Spanish.⁴⁶ Thirdly, we find the same story about the ways God supports the Sufi sheikhs who spend so much time praying that they cannot earn money, and then discover money under their prayer rug. This continues until the moment one tells others about it. This is the reason that al-Ḥaḡarī hesitated to write the thirteenth chapter of *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, devoted to the graces that God bestowed upon him. He was afraid that by making these graces public, God's grace would leave him. Lastly, al-Ḥaḡarī also matches the characteristic that he had left Spain shortly before the Expulsion and lived from 1637 onwards in Tunis and had stayed in France for some time.

As Cardaillac famously pointed out, MS 9653 is the only –and earliest– manuscript in which the *Gospel of Barnabas* is briefly mentioned as a text in which the light (truth) is to be found.⁴⁷ For our purposes, it is only important to know the influence of the *Gospel of Barnabas* on the text, a problem which has not yet been adequately addressed. Does the author merely refer to the *Gospel of Barnabas* or does he also use the text elsewhere in his polemic? If the author of the *Gospel of Barnabas* have a Morisco origin, one might expect some use of the text itself in Morisco circles. This is not the case. Even if the manuscript under study (BNE ms. 9653) recommends the *Gospel of Barnabas* as a text “in which the light is to be found” and on account of which “some persons had converted to Islam,” no conclusive evidence can be found that it was ever used in polemical events or writings.

In several recent studies, the conclusion has been reached that the famous *Gospel of Barnabas* originated within the milieu of the Moriscos in the Diaspora.⁴⁸ However, such an identification of the milieu of the *Gospel's* author fails to account for palaeographical, literary and historical evidence which seems to suggest that it came into being in Istanbul.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, a strong resemblance with the work of the aforesaid Juan Alonso suggests a connection

45 Compare for example, the *basmala* in Bologna MS 565 f 119r and MS 9653 f. 8a.

46 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, 245; MS 9653, f. 178a

47 Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, *El texto morisco del Evangelio de San Bernabé* (Granada: Universidad), 1998, 40. His reference is to BNE 9653, f. 178r.

48 Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, *El evangelio de San Bernabé. Un evangelio islámico-español* (Alicante: Universidad), 1995; cf. Laura Marie Ragg and Lonsdale Ragg, *The Gospel of Barnabas* (Oxford: Clarendon), 1907, Jan Slomp, “The ‘Gospel of Barnabas’ in Recent Research,” *Islamochristiana* 23 (1997), 81–109.

49 See Wiegers, “Muḥammad.”

between the *Gospel of Barnabas* and a Morisco milieu. Therefore, it seems most likely that the author maintained close contacts with Moriscos in Tunis, Spain and Morocco.⁵⁰ The fact remains that the Italian manuscript of the *Gospel of Barnabas* dates from the early seventeenth century and can be localised in Istanbul and that a “Muslim” (the Spanish text of the Gospel does not use the word Morisco) from the Iberian Peninsula indicated as Mustafá de Aranda from Ambel, then in Istanbul, had a hand in its coming into being. Subsequently the text spread in Morisco circles in Tunis and became known among European Anti-Trinitarians such as Toland.⁵¹

Vat. Lat. 14009

Vat Lat. 14009 is the only Spanish anti-Christian polemic attributed to Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī. The work is extant in only one Spanish manuscript (Vatican Library ms. Lat. 14009).⁵² G. Levi della Vida, who describes the manuscript in his long article about Arabic manuscripts of Spanish origin in the Vatican Library, points out that the main text of the manuscript was copied by a professional scribe, probably in Tunis.⁵³ Cardaillac describes the work as “une marquetterie de citations et de phrases que l'on retrouve souvent textuellement dans le ms. 9655 [the work of Juan Alonso].” According to him, the work is largely dependent on BNE mss. 9655, 9654, and 9653.⁵⁴ Cardaillac’s main argument for supposing that the author knew the work included in BNE ms. 9653 is the fact that in both texts there is a discussion of an incident which took place in Madrid before the Expulsion, regarding a theatre play in which the splitting of the moon as one of the miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad played a role.⁵⁵

50 Also see below. Vat. Lat. 14009 is evidence for the close relations between Moriscos in Tunis and Istanbul in the 1630s.

51 The Spanish text is preceded by an introduction which describes the alleged discovery of the Gospel in the library of the Pope. This introduction is strongly reminiscent of the polemical work of the 14th century Tunisian author, Muḥammad al-Qaysī, whose work was well known in Mudejar and Morisco circles. See Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, “The Polemical works.” The Spanish introduction may be found in Bernabé Pons, *El texto morisco*, 55–58.

52 Giorgio Levi della Vida, “Manoscritti Arabi di Origine Spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana,” *Studi e Testi* 220 (1954), 133–189, esp. 181.

53 F. 72v where one finds a marginal remark in Spanish about changes introduced by the scribe (“la palabra ‘y de todos’, alah sabidor, que era ‘y que todos’ y que el escribano la mudo”). The observation is correct.

54 Cardaillac, *Morisques*, 187–193.

55 Vat. 14009, f. 50r, BNE 9653, f. 136r.

Numerous notes in Arabic and Spanish can be found in the flyleaves and in the margins. These notes are basically reflections about the text as it is found in the present manuscript. For example, one finds the phrase “según tienen escrito” throughout the text; it is written numerous times in the margins, always as a reference to a Christian source quoted in the main text. The goal of these remarks is clarified in the notes in the flyleaves (f. 2r): the author of the remarks had been engaged in a discussion with a certain Sayyid Ḥasan al-Šarīf, secretary (*kātib*) to “Sayyidi Muṣṭafā,” who had told him to comment in the margins that such and such is mentioned in their own [i.e. Christian] books so that the argument against them would be stronger. But the said Ḥasan did not think it necessary to add them. Nevertheless, this remark is found throughout the margins in the entire text. Therefore, Levi della Vida’s observation that the marginal remarks were probably made by the author himself seems feasible. Nearly all the marginal remarks are observations concerning improvements and corrections of the text, apparently meant to serve a new version.

According to the late Mikel de Epalza,⁵⁶ the notes on the flyleaves of the manuscript show that its author, who Epalza believed to be Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, dictated the work to Ibrāhīm Taybīlī in Testour and that he travelled from Tunis to the village for this purpose. According to Epalza, a remark on f. 94r, “y a pedimiento de Si Mostaffa he escripto lo rreferido,” refers to Mustafá de Cárdenas, whom he qualifies as the ‘inspiration’ of the work (*inspirador del libro*).⁵⁷ I have been unable to find proof of Taybīlī’s involvement.

Cardaillac argues that the work was written before 1630. This *terminus ante quem* is based on evidence from another manuscript written in Tunis by an anonymous Catholic theologian (ms. Esp. 49 of the National Library in Paris). Although the manuscript has a modern cover, it also preserves the original one made of parchment. This second cover (f. Ir of the Ms) reads: *Defensa de la Fè Christiana contra lo que le opone el Mahometano 1630*. The text consists of 36 chapters and begins with a prologue (f. 1r–2r) in which the motives for writing the work are set forth. The author had read an anti-Christian work written by a Muslim author who stated that he was learned in six⁵⁸ scholarly disciplines. The anonymous author felt obliged to react to the anti-Christian work, but this had been very difficult since, at that time, he was a slave who lived far from his

56 Mikel de Epalza, “Arabismos en el manuscrito castellano del morisco tunecino Ahmad al-Hanafi,” in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Madrid-Oviedo: Gredos-Universidad), 1985, II: 515–527.

57 *Ibid.*, 524.

58 Perhaps seven? See also below.

books, with little opportunity for serious study.⁵⁹ The first words of the anti-Christian work quoted by him⁶⁰ correspond exactly to the first words of ms. 14009. Moreover, the author of manuscript Vat lat. ms. 14009 claims that he acquired knowledge in seven sciences after having started his studies “more than twenty years ago.”⁶¹ But although this clearly confirms the identity of the text that the anonymous theologian had before him, the evidence of the date found on the cover in a different hand is confusing and contradicted by another more reliable date found on one of the flyleaves (f. 98) and written by the author himself: “diçe o dijo çidi gasan⁶² que en este año, que es el que benimos en el de Teçator, que es año de mil y çinquenta y ocho [1648 A.D.], abrá doçe o treçe años la ynterpeaçion y escriptura desse libro.” In view of all the other texts in the margins and on the flyleaves, it seems most likely that this is a reference to the moment when the original work was conceived, that is, about 1636. Moreover, since this remark is also written in the author’s hand, one can date the discussions which formed the basis for the notes and point to the date for the notes on the flyleaves in 1058/1648.

The anonymous author of ms. 49 does not reveal the name of the Muslim author of the anti-Christian polemic. The reason for this is probably that both authors preferred to retain their anonymity. In the Vatican manuscript, however, the author’s name is mentioned in a later hand, although only in a note on the flyleaves (about which more below), now numbered f. 97v. The note reads as follows:

This book was composed by the learned *‘ālim*, the *şayḥ* Aḥmad al-Andalusī al-Ḥanafī al-Tūnisī for the community of the Andalusians who were unable to read Arabic. He put it for them in the non-Arabic (*aġami*) language⁶³ and copied it in his [own] hand[writing]⁶⁴ in order to free them

59 Auiendome venido a las manos un tratado contra la santa fe catolica, que dizen ser de un moro tan docto, que segun el mismo confiessa en su tratado, ha estudiado seis ciencias; y siendome forçoso reponder a él [...] porque si se mira el estado de la esclavitud en que yo me hallo, el solo basta para decir lo inutil que puedo estar para tal impresa; sin libros, sin estudios sin oportunidad de ni recojimiento [...]

60 f. 3r.

61 f. 45r: “y yo a mas de veinte años que estoy estudiando y con aber aprendido siete çiençias...”

62 For example, Sayyid Ḥasan al-Şarīf, who, as has already been seen, was most probably the secretary to Mustafá de Cárdenas.

63 This is not very precise since the basic source, Juan Alonso’s polemical work, was originally written in Spanish.

64 Not correct, if this manuscript is meant.

from [the shackles of] *taqlīd*. A note by an owner of the book, Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, is found on f. 100v. It is well known that Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī fled from Spain and went to Belgrade. Another Morisco, Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī’, tells us in his *Kitāb al-anwār al-nabawiyya fi abā’ ḥayr al-bariyya*⁶⁵ that some time after 1604:

Some of us secretly began to leave [Spain], some for the Maghreb, some for the Mashriq, pretending to profess the religion of the Unbelievers (*muzhiran dīn al-kuffār*) - may God eliminate them. Some of our beloved brothers, such as the honoured *faqīh* and teacher (*mudarris*) Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, known as ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Quraṣī, and one of his (maternal) uncles, went to the city of Belgrade (Balighrad),⁶⁶ in the province of the great Constantinople, and had a meeting with the minister, Murad Pasha, one of the *wazirs* at the court of the great and regretted Sultan Ahmet Khan.⁶⁷

According to Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa, al-Ḥanafī studied in Bushnaq and later in Bursa with the foremost scholars of his day. Afterwards, he settled in Tunis where he had a brilliant career as a religious scholar, being the first Hanafite scholar to teach at the Šamma’iyya Madrasa. Hence, he could very well have written the work included in BNE ms. 9654 for Spanish-speaking Moriscos who followed the Hanafite *madhhab*.⁶⁸ It is clear that al-Ḥanafī, who was educated as an ‘*ālim*, must have had the ability to use the Arabic sources translated in BNE ms. 9653.

The general contents of the work may be divided into three parts: 1) the anti-Christian polemic (f.3v–71v) of which the last part (2) consists of a

65 Rabat, Royal Library, ms. K 1238, 327–328.

66 B. Djurdjev, “Belgrade,” *ET*², I, 1986 (phototechnical reprint), 1163–1165.

67 He reigned from Raḡab 1012/ December 1603 onwards. Most Moriscos heading for the Ottoman Empire travelled via southern France.

68 For more information on al-Ḥanafī, see: Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa, *Dayl baṣā’ir ahl al-īmān bi futuḥāt Āl ‘Uthmān*, (ed. al-Ṭāhir al-Ma’mūrī) Tunis/Libya: Al-dār al-‘arabiyya lil-kitāb, 1395/1975, 170–171 (no. 57). All the manuscripts which served as the basis for the edition fail to give the year of his death, mentioning only that he died in the year... See also Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡ, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya fi ‘l-aḥbar al-tūnisiyya*, (ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hīla, 3 v., Beirut: Dār al-ḡarb al-islāmī, 1984–1985, vol. 2, 353, 354, 398, 431, 478, 529, 573; Ahmed Abdeselem, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles: essai d’histoire culturelle* (Paris: C. Klincksieck), 1973, 34 (his study of Hanafite works on *fiqh*): 38, 85, 185, 289 (his descendants), 409; Mikel de Epalza, “Moriscos y Andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo XVII,” *Al-Andalus* 34–2 (1969), 247–327, esp. 295, mentions 1650 as the year of his death.

discussion of some of the miracles performed by the Prophet (f.74v–77v) and (3) a summary of the main arguments of the first part (f. 81r–96r).

The structure and contents of the polemical work are not very different from the work written by Juan Alonso. The author's main concern is to show on the basis of the canonical gospels and other texts of the New Testament, as well as apocryphal texts such as IV Ezra, that the Christians cannot prove their dogmas. Here, too, it is the Catholic church which is blamed for corruption of the true doctrine.

As Cardaillac concluded on the basis of parallel texts, this polemical work shows a great deal of influence by Juan Alonso's polemical work. This is also confirmed by a marginal note dealing with the End of Time which remained unnoticed by Cardaillac:

The last times which means: the coming ones, we take this from the book by Juan Alonso who wrote in Tetuan against the Christians; he was of Aragonese origin and a famous theologian among the Christians.⁶⁹

The author is certainly not consistent in his use of Juan Alonso's work. Although he adopts Juan Alonso's idiosyncratic term "evanxelico mesias" (f. 28r, f. 71r), used by the latter in order to make a distinction between the true messiah, the Prophet Muḥammad, and the person whom the Christians saw as the messiah, he never uses the term "mesías universal" for the Prophet Muḥammad. Neither does he mention the 'document' which Juan Alonso produces concerning the story about King Jesus which was meant to prove his replacement on the cross by a pious King who wished to atone for his sin of unknowingly marrying his own mother, as in the Oedipus story. On the basis, however, of Juan Alonso's arguments, he is quite explicit in his rejection of the possibility that Jesus was crucified; the author sometimes uses exactly the same words as Juan Alonso.⁷⁰ Without previous knowledge of Juan Alonso's work itself, however, the passages in question are very difficult to understand, since the context is omitted.

69 "los cageros tiempos: quiere decir los venidores – y esto lo tomamos del libro de Juan Alonso que escribió en Tetuan contra los cristianos – el qual era Aragonés y grande teologo entre los cristianos" (Vat. Lat. ms. 14009, f. 48r).

70 "Y siendo ydolatras como lo prouamos antes, atribuyen a los propheetas la ydolatria y ansi dicen en nuestros libros arauigos quando trata de la opinion xna y a xente tan torpe les es dificultoso conoçer las haquicas y ser de las cosas y luego prueua con diuersidad de prueuas y argumentos la torpeça fragilidad de su opinion y e puesto en castellano algunos argumentos dellos pudiendo poner muchos mas por bastar con lo dicho y ansi fi çabil ylah, y a pedimiento de çi Mostaffa, mi hermano, e escripto lo referido para que eche de uer toda la cristiandad, no particulares de ellos, solamente que presumen ser philosophos,

The author himself shows that he is sometimes unable to grasp Juan Alonso's complex arguments.⁷¹

In conclusion, it may be said that the polemic is a compilation of existing works rather than an independent work of religious scholarship.

Why was the work written and for whom? A clue is found at the end of the work where a certain "Çi Mostaffa" is mentioned as the person at whose instigation the book was written.⁷² This may very well be, as Epalza suggests, Mustafá de Cárdenas who, for a long time, was *šayḥ al-Andalus*, that is, leader of the Andalusian community in Tunis. He is known to have possessed a house in Testour.⁷³ This would perhaps also explain why the work was refuted in writing by a slave since Mustafá de Cárdenas was a major merchant in the slave trade and probably owned more than 300 slaves in Grombalia, located some forty kilometres south of Tunis. It is interesting to observe that the author is well aware of anti-Christian polemical literature in Arabic and that he translated into Spanish many passages from the Gospels found in these writings. Even if it was meant to be read by Christians, the work also answered the needs of the aged Andalusians who were unable to learn Arabic but wished to be informed about authoritative statements concerning the tenets of Christianity, the religion which had been forced upon them and which continued to preoccupy their thoughts. Such an authoritative statement could have been given by one of the most learned among them such as Aḥmad al-Ḥanafi who, if he was indeed the author, did not write the work in isolation. He had obviously had wide-ranging discussions with others about these matters. The flyleaves give ample testimony of the exchange of documents, perhaps even entire books, sent between Tunis, Istanbul and Bursa as well as discussions about them in Arabic and

no tienen que rresponder ni sabran haçerlo pues no tienen rrespuesta y echen de uer mienten en lo que diçen que los muzlimes no tienen rraçones en defensa de su ley y fuera de las armas, estando escripto en nuestros libros arabigos muchos lugares del euaxelio xpno, que yo e traduçido de arabigo en castellano y muchos de la biblia todos en prueua de la uerdad de nuestra ley y de la mentira de la fe xpna" (Vat. Lat. 14009, f. 94r–94v).

71 For example, regarding Enoch and Elijah, he seems to think that they showed that Jesus would not return to Earth to judge all mankind: "Y escribimos antes como a bisto el lector que la uenida de 'Eça, 'alayhi alçalam, al mundo segun Elias y Enoc para restaurar el daño del maldicto antecristo, no a juzgar bibos y muertos como ellos diçen y con lo que consta por Elias y Enoc se prueua tambien no auer muerto" (Vat. Lat. 14009 f. 69r).

72 Vat. Lat. 14009, f. 94r–94v.

73 See on him, for example, John Derek Latham, "Mustafa de Cardenas et l'apport des 'Morisques' à la société tunisienne du XVII siècle," in *Études sur les Morisques Andalous* (Tunis: Institut national d'archéologie et d'art), 1983, 157–178.

Spanish.⁷⁴ However, the Arabic hand of the notes on the flyleaves suggests the involvement, again, of al-Ḥaḡarī in the coming into being of this manuscript.

Aḥmad b. Qāsīm al-Ḥaḡarī (ca. 1570–ca. 1650)

The last polemicist to be discussed here is in fact one of the most important Morisco authors of all. His contribution to the polemical literature consists of his well-known *Nāṣir al-dīn ‘ala ‘l qawm al-kāfirīn*, written in Arabic in Egypt and some minor parts of which were translated by himself into Spanish. *Nāṣir al-dīn* itself is a summary of a much larger work, which was probably much wider in scope, as the title, *Riḥlat al-šihāb ila liqā’ al-aḡbāb* [the journey of *al-šihāb* to meet his beloved, i.e. his family], indicates. Of this text three manuscripts are now known, two from Cairo and an MS in the National Library in Paris. The second Cairo manuscript, Azhar manuscript, no. 30714, was discovered by Mohammed Ghaly of Qatar University, and my colleagues and I have used it in the preparation of a new edition of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* to be published by the CSIC in Madrid. The first manuscript, used by us in our edition of 1997, was expanded by the author in Tunis after he had arrived from Egypt in about 1637. The manuscript demonstrates that al-Ḥaḡarī kept working on the text until at least 1642.⁷⁵ It seems unlikely that he only started to make notes for his text after he left Morocco. In Tunis he added parts on the Lead Books on the basis of the transcriptions of al-Ukayḡil, to be identified as the Granadan physician and Arabic translator, Alonso del Castillo.⁷⁶ He also discovered Protestant writings such as the Spanish translation of the Bible by Cipriano de Valera published in 1602.⁷⁷ The Azhar manuscript is not an autograph, but was written by a scribe under the supervision of al-Ḥaḡarī, as indicated by the autograph comments and the final passage, which contains the dating. Al-Ḥaḡarī was in turn corrected by the person who had asked him to put his memories in writing, al-Uḡhūrī. The manuscript can be said to represent a more primitive stage, and is shorter than the Dār al-Kutub manuscript. With regard to the polemical passages, it can be seen that al-Ḥaḡarī did not yet possess some of the sources he used in the polemical passages in the manuscript written in Tunis. However, it

74 Vat. Lat. 14009, f. 1-2v, f. 97r ff.

75 See al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, 55.

76 M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden-Boston: Brill), 2013.

77 See al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, 245. See also Natalio Ohanna: "Heterodoxos en cautiverio: De Cipriano de Valera a los protestantes de África," *Hispanic Review* 80–1 (2012), 21–40.

includes some interesting historical details not be found in the manuscript completed in Tunis, such as for example the fact that the grandson of the Granadan translator of the Lead Books, al-Ġabbis (El Chapiz), Muḥammad b. Abī ʿI-ʿĀṣī, lived in the house of his grandfather and became known as a translator thanks to his grandfather!

Concluding Remarks

We may conclude that the writings of Juan Alonso and Muḥammad Alguazir (Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Marunī), both active in Morocco in the early seventeenth century, had a great influence on Moriscos living in Tunis. Another polemical writing, the *Gospel of Barnabas*, is also first mentioned among the Moriscos in Tunis. It is remarkable that there is no evidence of any kind of influence of the works by Tunisian Moriscos on Moriscos living in Morocco. This fact should be seen against the background of a process of emigration of many persons from Morocco to Tunis, both native Moroccans as well as Andalusians who had been living there. Famous among them are people such as Ibn ʿĀṣūr and al-Ḥaḡarī. In 1612, al-Ḥaḡarī, who fled from Spain in 1599 and settled in Morocco, where he became a court official at the court of Zaydān, discussed the advantages and disadvantages of certain places for settlement and tells us that the most unfortunate Moriscos were those who went to Tunis because “as Mármol writes in his book *Description of Africa*,⁷⁸ it is a place where the poor will not taste sweet water as there are two plagues: the Bedouins, on one hand, and the unbearable renegades and Turks, on the other. The same goes for Algiers and Tlemcen.”⁷⁹ However, al-Ḥaḡarī left Morocco in about 1634 in order to perform the *ḥaġġ*. Returning, he settled in Tunis where he was still alive in about 1642 with his family.⁸⁰ At that time, he describes Tunis as “the best place for the people of our nation.”

As has been demonstrated here, the influence of al-Sanūsī is quite conspicuous in nearly all the polemical writings by Moriscos in the Diaspora. Perhaps the interest in his ideas, which the expelled Moriscos evinced only after they had left Spain, arose, to some extent, from their need to come to terms with the official doctrine that they encountered in their new homelands. However, this

78 A reference to Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Primera parte de la descripción general de Affrica, con todos los sucesos de guerras que a auido entre los infieles y el pueblo christiano* [Granada: Rene Rabut, 1573].

79 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 565, f. 155v, cited in Wiegers, *Learned*, 38.

80 Abdeselem, *Les historiens*.

is not to say that al-Sanūsī's works did not meet the real intellectual need which they felt for a "modern" critique of the Christian creed written in their own Spanish language which took, as its point of departure, that very creed in which they had all been indoctrinated to some extent. They presented them also with the tools of Aristotelian logic and some fine pieces of anti-Christian polemic. Another influential author was Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, whose famous *Kitāb al-Šifā' fi ḥuqūq al-Muṣtafā*, written in about 1136, was even partly translated into Spanish by al-Ḥaḡarī and circulated among the Moriscos in Tunis.⁸¹ Moriscos were undoubtedly attracted by the way 'Iyāḍ extolled the figure and authority of the Prophet and his miracles, which for them served as a counterbalance to the sermons they had been obliged to listen to in Spain, as al-Ḥaḡarī remarks.

Perhaps the rising notions of religious scepticism and agnosticism, along with the slow process of assimilation and Christianisation among Moriscos in late sixteenth-century Spain, which was partly a result of religious repression but also a "natural" process which Moriscos had in common with other religious groups in society,⁸² may help to explain the strong commitment to Islamic religious orthodoxy in the Maghreb which is found in the impressive number of polemical writings against Christianity written there. This was a way to fight opinions existent in the Morisco communities themselves.⁸³ Written both from within and against the Christian worldview, the converts' works discussed in this study must have possessed great value for the achievement of such a goal.

Halperin Donghi quotes a Morisco who testified before the Inquisition that "ley ninguna tenía en su corazón" [he had no law/faith in his heart], explaining that he was too poor to afford this luxury.⁸⁴ According to the bishop of Segorbe in his *Memorial*, other Moriscos were too ignorant to know whether they were Muslims or Christians. M. García-Arenal,⁸⁵ Tapia Sánchez⁸⁶ and others have found similar data with regard to Moriscos in late sixteenth-century Castile. The Expulsion of 1609 and the subsequent refusal of nearly all European countries to admit the expelled people, resulted in immigration towards the Maghreb not only of people who were believers in Islam, but also of many people whose religious convictions

81 See Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, "El Qadi Iyad en la Literatura Aljamiado-Morisca," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998), 201–218.

82 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias), 1991.

83 Cancik, *et al*, *Handbuch*, III, "Konversion / Apostasie."

84 Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional: moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo), 1980, 105–106.

85 Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y Moriscos. Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 1978.

86 Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La Comunidad Morisca de Ávila* (Salamanca: Universidad), 1991.

ranged from true Christianity to agnosticism. Polemics served to widen the spiritual gap between the immigrant Moriscos and the Christian communities.

The acculturation process which the Moriscos had undergone while still in Spain created their subsequent need for religious works upon arrival in their new lands which took into account the religious changes they had experienced. Juan Alonso, whom the author of the text in BNE MS 9653 considered to be “one of the greatest Christian (sic) theologians,” wrote just such a religious work. Written in Spanish, it provided the exiled Moriscos with a “new” Islamic identity, one which marked them off from the society around them but which, at the same time, served the process of integration. The religious orientation displayed by the authors of these works in relation to their old beliefs, however, varies. On one hand, Juan Alonso largely accepted the Christian canon as historically reliable, although according to him, it was misinterpreted. On the other hand, in the *Gospel of Barnabas*, the Christian tradition is presented as utterly unreliable, whereas the work of Alguazir occupies a middle position.

The process of gathering this heritage and “constructing” a “Maghrebi Morisco” identity seems to have taken place in Morocco between 1602 and 1612 and subsequently mainly in Tunis in the 1620s and 1630s. Next to the works described above, one of the most conspicuous manifestations of this process seems to have been the founding of the *madrassa* of the Andalusians. The name of ‘Alī al-Niwālī, the person to whom Ibrāhīm Taybīlī, it will be remembered, dedicated his *Contradicti6n* in 1627, is found on the commemorative inscription of this *madrassa*. It reads as follows:

A group of Andalusians began to construct this “*madrassa* of the victory”, among whom the noble sayyid Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Niwālī, known as Ibn al-Sarrāġ, *naqīb* of the Andalusian *šurafā’*,⁸⁷ the noble *šarīf* Muḥammad b. Maḥfūz’ and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm from Aragón,⁸⁸ may God reward them all, in the last days of the Holy Month of Raġab of the year 1034 (beginning of May 1625).⁸⁹

From the inscription, it appears that sometime around 1625, two government-appointed officials, ‘Alī al-Niwālī, either as *naqīb al-ašraf* or *nā’ib naqīb al-ašraf* (the evidence remains unclear) and sayyid Muḥammad b. Maḥfūz’ who, as we

87 Hūġa, *Dayl*, 199, l. 26; 197, l. 5.

88 This is perhaps the son of ‘Abd al-Karim b. ‘Alī Pérez, author of a the polemical manuscript in Spanish written in Algiers in 1615 (J. Morgan, *Mohametism Fully Explained*, 2 vols. (London), 1723–25, II: 295–299, 344 ff.).

89 A reproduction of the commemorative inscription can be found in Abdel Hakim Gafsi-Slama, “La medersa des Moriscos andalous à Tunis,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 5 (1988), 169–180, esp.173.

can see from the genealogical work of Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī’, was the šayḫ of Testour,⁹⁰ were among the founders of this *madrassa*.⁹¹ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify the third person, undoubtedly also of Spanish descent.

The historian Al-Wazīr al-Sarrāğ⁹² (also of Andalusian descent) gives some additional information about the *madrassa*. He confirms that it was established by a group (*firqā*) of Andalusians for the study of the religious sciences (*li’l-‘ilm al-šarīf*) in the city of Tunis and that it was founded in Rağab 1034/May 1625. According to him, Ša’bān al-Andalusī, an expert in theology (*kalām*), was the first to teach in it. After his death, Abū ‘l-Rabī‘ Sulaymān,⁹³ called “the Sibawayh of his time,” was to lecture there. From both sources, it becomes clear that there was a strong Andalusian influence on the *madrassa* and that the teaching of theology (*kalām*) and grammar played an important role. The involvement of a small number of leading Andalusians, both in the formation of the *madrassa* and the emergence of Morisco polemical writings, suggests the existence of an attempt to construct an Andalusian identity in which the works of converts from Morocco were included. As far as we know, the last polemical works in Spanish were written around 1650 for those aged Andalusians who were unable to read Arabic. This suggests that a process of Arabisation was taking place among the younger generations. This process may explain why hardly any Spanish manuscripts survive from later dates. The Moriscos apparently integrated into the North African societies. Seen in this light, the polemical literature reflects an early stage of their integration process. It represents, in the first place, a reaction against the Catholic Christendom that had been forced upon them in the Peninsula and a search for a new Islamic Orthodoxy. In the second place, this literature reflects a rapprochement with regard to non-Catholic currents in Christianity, Protestants, Deists, Socinians, and possibly Arminians, and other currents on the fringes of orthodox Protestant and Catholic Christianity. In these contacts, a role was played by shared notions of a rational approach towards scriptures and the divine.

90 Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī, *Al-Anwār*, Rabat, Bibliothèque du Royaume, MS K 1238, f. 251.

91 See on the role of the *šurafā’* in the Diaspora also Mercedes García-Arenal, “Shurafā in the last years of al-Andalus and the Morisco period,” in *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies. The Living Links to the Prophet* (London-New York: Routledge), 2012, 161–184.

92 Al-Wazīr al-Sarrāğ, *Ḥulal*, II, 344.

93 Ḥūğā, *Dayl*, 268. He was also known as Sulaymān al-Ġarbī.

Judeoconversos and Moriscos in the Diaspora

Natalia Muchnik

Moriscos and *judeoconversos* or simply *conversos* [converted Jews] have often been compared to each other on account of their similar situations in Catholic Spain: both were religious minorities stigmatised by the *estatutos de limpieza de sangre* [purity-of-blood statutes] and repressed by the Inquisition, and the social practices of both groups were strongly influenced by marginalisation and clandestinity. We might add that in both cases, their religious practice was the object of intense scrutiny by part of the population, helped by the Inquisition; both their Spanish contemporaries and modern historians have believed implicitly in their heterodoxy. On the other hand, while there are several terms that refer to *judeoconversos* (“crypto-Jews,” “Marranos,” etc.), the word “Morisco” serves for both the convert and the crypto-Muslim; the confusion is increased in the Maghreb by the use of “Andalusi,” which does not distinguish among the various waves of immigrants. While there are many studies of Jewish-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages, comparative analysis of their Early Modern situation, with notable exceptions,¹ has not gone beyond the use of one group as a heuristic tool, a mere model for defining the characteristics of the other. As a result, the limited bibliography on the topic has overestimated, and often exaggerated, the differences between the two groups, as viewed in broad perspective: rural or village life vs. urban life (often in the capital and port cities); agricultural pursuits and craftsmanship vs. business and banking; strong cultural and religious identity vs. a tendency to blend in. It is asserted that the Moriscos were more visible because they lived in homogeneous villages as compared to the *conversos*’ geographic dispersion and relative assimilation, at least in the sixteenth century. These differences, in the sociopolitical context of Spain at the time, would then explain why the *conversos* did not rebel, and why the Expulsion of the Moriscos actually took place while that of the *conversos*, planned for the first half of the seventeenth century, was never effectively carried out. This dualistic and contrasting perspective cannot be justified on historical grounds, since the Moriscos were often integrated into local society and held important municipal posts; it also ignores the great

1 Like Claude Bernard Stuczynski’s article “Two Minorities Facing the Iberian Inquisition: The ‘Marranos’ and the ‘Moriscos,’” *Hispania Judaica* 3 (2000), 127–143 and the contribution by Pulido in this volume. James Amelang’s comparative study appeared too late to be dealt with here.

social and religious differences that existed within each group. It is well known, for instance, that a *converso* might face religious choices that divided families and communities and could change over his lifetime, but would not necessarily alter his membership in the group's economic networks.

Although broadly based comparisons have often been made between *conversos* and Moriscos, only rarely have the analytical models used to study one group been applied to the other. This state of affairs applies particularly to the diaspora. Traditionally associated with Judaism, it should be understood, in my opinion, not only as a "scattering" of emigrants but as a migrant population, imbued with a feeling of common destiny, who maintain links with their country of origin. On the Sephardic side a vast bibliography has included the converted Jews, and to an even greater extent the Marranos, in the diaspora (the *Nação*). Studies have touched on many of its aspects: the family and professional networks that joined nuclei of Spanish and Portuguese Marranos to Judeo-Iberian communities in Europe, formed *ex nihilo* by the exiled; the circulation of persons, goods and ideas (millenarianism, for one); and imaginative creations. No comparable historiography exists for the Moriscos, especially in relation to their exile before and after the Expulsions of 1609–1614. Many scholarly studies emanating from Tunisia, Teruel and Alicante about the lives of "overseas" Moriscos (*andalusíes* or *tagarinos*) could have benefited from a diasporic analysis: at issue are these groups' integration into local socio-economic frameworks, the "political" role of the Morisco elite, the persistence of specific cultural and social practices (endogamy, for example), the language and literature of exile, and the general process of acculturation. We have seen some shift in recent years as – probably thanks to the development of "Diaspora Studies" – more work on the "Morisco diaspora" has begun to appear. Many years after Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent's *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (1978), with its single chapter on the "Morisco diaspora," and Mikel de Epalza's *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (1992), new books have appeared that employ the concept of diaspora, such as *La diáspora de los Andalusíes* by Mercedes García-Arenal (2003).

In an attempt at synthesis, therefore, we shall ask in this essay how productive it may be to apply the model of the *judeoconverso* or Sephardic diaspora to the Moriscos. In other words, our aim is to apply the knowledge accumulated through research and theory to the construction of a new concept: the Morisco exile as a diaspora. We begin with the idea that a diaspora, at least in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is marked by a specific set of criteria: the impact of a triggering factor that provokes the exile, usually a political event; the massive and sudden character of that exile, which has repercussions on the group's social organisation in the receiving countries; unity in both

culture (language, architecture, etc.) and religious practice; and the persistence of intra- and intercommunal ties.² For two reasons, we focus this study on Western Europe and the Western Mediterranean: first, because those were the places where contacts between Spain and the exiles (both *conversos* and Moriscos) were the most constant, and second, because those two areas contained the majority of the Moriscos expelled at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We must stress, however, that at the heart of the Sephardic diaspora there was a profound split: most of the Eastern Sephardim descended from the exiles of 1492 and did not suffer conversion, while the Western ones were generally converted and often were Marranos while still in the Iberian Peninsula. These two components of the diaspora differ in their socioeconomic status and particularly in their cultural traits; what most interests me here is the intensity of their relations with the Peninsula (and with the *judeoconversos*), which were naturally much closer for members of the diaspora in the West.

I will focus my analysis here on the roles of Spain, the *conversos* and the Moriscos within the two diaspora communities; but I will take a special interest in those members of both groups who remained within their community at least in culture, if not in religion – leaving aside, for the time being, those who “assimilated” or became “invisible.”³ I will examine in particular the relationships, real or imagined, established by Spanish Moriscos with the groups of *andalusíes* created by the waves of migration that began in the 1480s – or even in the thirteenth century – and culminated in the Expulsion of 1609–1614; and I will compare them to those formed in the *judeoconverso* case by the Sephardim who were exiled in 1492 and after. Might the Moriscos have benefited from the lessons of the other diaspora through travellers’ tales and, eventually, letters? Could they have developed, as the Marranos did, discourses and myths that sought to legitimate, before their coreligionists in their own diaspora, their pretended Christianity and their altered religious rituals? And how did the *andalusíes* of the diaspora look upon their coreligionists in the Peninsula?

Judeoconversos, Moriscos and those Who Left

A trait common to both Moriscos and *conversos* was that they were considered traitors to both Church and Crown. The former were suspected of forging

2 See Natalia Muchnik, “Les diasporas soumises aux persécutions (16^e–18^e siècles): perspectives de recherche,” *Diaspora, Histoire et Société* 13 (2009), 20–31.

3 On this topic we refer to the works that Mercedes García-Arenal considers in “Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age,” *The Journal of Modern History* 81 (2009), 888–920, esp. 891–895.

alliances with the Barbary pirates, with the Turks or with France, depending on the historical moment and the political situation. The latter, who (even if born in Spain) had assimilated to the Portuguese during the emigration of the Portuguese *conversos* starting in the 1580s, were accused of providing economic aid to the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands. The “conspiracy myth” and the fear of invasion were of course much stronger in the Morisco case, especially after the War of the Alpujarras. Nonetheless, throughout the seventeenth century there was fear of a supposed growing influx of *judíos de nación* [true Jews] into Spain, and of an exodus of wealth: beside “the sacrileges that they commit, they are an infestation of the Kingdom, extracting money in order to come here as public Jews,” reported a spy for the Holy Office in Amsterdam in 1663.⁴ These external loyalties that were assumed to be held by those living in Spain made the converts doubly foreign; they were maintained in exile through certain traits that, by the criteria outlined in our introduction, can be read as factors of “diasporisation.” These, in turn, were unifying elements within the space of the diaspora, but also indices that may reveal and reinforce a form of attachment to Spain, the country of origin.

The first and clearest unifying factor in a diaspora is, paradoxically, the dispersion of families, which became divided or “stretched.”⁵ We know that socio-economic strategies of the Sephardic diaspora rested on family networks and solidarity, the intimacy and monopoly exercised by clans that created professional and especially commercial associations.⁶ The dispersion of families shows itself in a variety of ways, such as the separation of spouses with one living in the Peninsula and the other in a diaspora community, or the scattering of siblings and cousins among different European and Mediterranean ports – all of it leading to an intense circulation of people, goods and ideas. What was the Morisco case? Was there also a comparable “international outlook” of family relationships? It seems that the circumstances of the Expulsion and a lesser dedication to trade explain why Morisco families were not so divided in space. Still, there are cases of division of labor within families, and some

4 “De los sacrilegios que cometen, son una polilla del Reyno sacando el dinero para venirse con el a ser Judios publicos”: AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1131, fol. 360v. See Natalia Muchnik, “Des intrus en pays d’Inquisition: présence et activités des juifs dans l’Espagne du XVII^e siècle,” *Revue des Études Juives* 164 (2005), 119–156.

5 Rafaël Carrasco, “Inquisición y judaizantes portugueses en Toledo (segunda mitad del siglo XVI),” *Manuscrits* 10 (1992), 41–60, esp. 49.

6 Within the abundant bibliography see Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2009.

geographic diffusion within the receiving countries: for instance in the manufacture of the *chéchia*, the traditional red cap that was one of Tunisia's principal exports. In my opinion this industry, largely controlled by Moriscos, forged connections between scattered Tunisian settlements. The wool was imported from Segovia in Spain, spun in Gabès and woven in Ariana; the *chéchias* were then felted in Zaghouan and the "Andalusi" towns of the Medjerda Valley, carded in Tunis, dyed in Zaghouan, and finished in Tunis.⁷ This system constituted a true "Morisco territory" similar to the *conversos'* pyramids of clients.

A second factor, highly typical of the Early Modern diaspora, was of course the religious one, or rather the ethno-religious identity of both peoples. As I noted in the introduction, the practices and beliefs of both *judeoconversos* and Moriscos were diverse and variable. Not all of them were crypto-Judaizers or Muslims; many were undecided, passed from one faith to another, maintained some form of syncretism, or were merely skeptical. And those who practiced their religion did not have access to a great body of cultural knowledge. They were limited to a diminishing set of rituals in spite of occasional outside help, as we shall see; the Marranos early on, in the sixteenth century, and the Moriscos who remained in Spain in the seventeenth. But more significant than the impoverishment of their rituals was, in my view, that through clandestinity and the loss of inherited norms they evolved a more individual and intimate form of faith, one in which personal belief counted more than external rites and in which religion was understood above all as an identity. It is remarkable to read in Inquisition testimonies how often Moriscos insist on their ancestors, their "lineage" or their family tradition in defending their Muslim status. María, a Morisca from Baza who received a penance around 1573 during a visit from the Inquisitor of Granada, justified not eating bacon by saying that because "her father and mother were Moors, she had to be one too." Gonçalo Romayle, also from Baza, affirmed that "my grandfather died a Moor and I must die a Moor also."⁸ This concept continued into exile and often caused a rupture

7 John Derek Latham, "Contribution à l'étude des immigrations andalouses et leur place dans l'histoire de la Tunisie," in *Recueil d'études sur les morisques andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid-Tunis: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Société tunisienne de diffusion), 1973, 21–63, esp. 57; and Abdel-Hakim Gafsi-Slama, "La familia Lakhoua, descendientes tunecinos de moriscos granadinos de los siglos XVII–XVIII, y sus actividades en la industria del bonete chechía," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–98), 219–244. See also Villanueva in this volume.

8 "Su padre y su madre eran moros y [ella] también lo avía de ser"; "moro morió [sic] mi abuelo y moro tengo de morir yo": AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1953 (74), ed. José María García Fuentes, *Visitas de la Inquisición al Reino de Granada* (Granada: Universidad), 2006, 136 and 138: visit by the Inquisitor Dr Diego Mesía de Lazarte to the Diocese of Guadix, November 1573–March 1574.

with, or rather an evolution of, the entire receiving community. In this sense the Marrano phenomenon had the effect of accelerating the “secularisation” of Sephardic Judaism; a transition took place in the concept of religion from a received, global Jewishness to a Jewishness that was a voluntary act of self-identification.⁹

The third unifying factor was that of language. In the case of the *conversos*, we know that the Hebrew language and its alphabet disappeared from Spain by the early sixteenth century and that exiled Marranos in Western Europe and the Indies used vernacular Spanish and Portuguese exclusively. It was in these languages – with an occasional Hebrew term – that presses in Amsterdam and Livorno published books for the new arrivals who needed to learn the rites and beliefs of traditional Judaism: one example was the *Thesoro de Preceptos a donde se encierran Las joyas de los Seys cientos y treze Preceptos, que encomendó el Señor a su Pueblo Israel* [Treasury of Precepts that Contains the Gems of the Six Hundred Thirteen Precepts that the Lord Enjoined on his People Israel] by Rabbi Ishac Atias, published in Venice in 1629 and in Amsterdam in 1649. Marranos and Western Sephardim did not appropriate Hebrew, or at least its alphabet, as the Eastern Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire did for writing Judeo-Spanish and Ladino, and as the Moriscos used Arabic script for writing Aljamiado. But this choice allowed the *conversos* to communicate easily with the exiles and to integrate fully into the diaspora.

We know that the Moriscos continued to speak Arabic in sixteenth-century Spain, but not in a uniform manner: the language was rare in Aragón and Castile and used chiefly in the regions of Granada and Valencia. Documents related to the Expulsion affirm, however, that the Moriscos were ignorant of Arabic when they reached the Maghreb, and that they continued to speak Spanish and Catalan there until the mid-eighteenth century: the fact was confirmed by European travellers like the Spanish Trinitarian Francisco Ximénez, who visited Morisco towns in Tunisia in the 1720s. Further, a number of works intended to instruct the Moriscos in Muslim rituals were written in Spanish; these survive in several manuscripts that were copied and circulated within the Ottoman Empire. One treatise on Islamic beliefs and rituals was *De la crehencia y lo que debe saber el mahometano y otras cossas curiosas* [On Belief and on What the Muslim Should Know and Other Curious Matters], “a true encyclopedia of Islamic learning.”¹⁰ Other works narrated the lives of prophets and

9 Jonathan Webber, “Modern Jewish Identities: The Ethnographic Complexities,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992), 246–267, esp. 251.

10 “Verdadera enciclopedia de conocimientos islámicos”: Ms. Gayangos S2 of the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid; cited by Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “La literatura en español

imams; there were also anti-Christian polemics like the *Apología contra la religión cristiana* [Apology against the Christian Religion] by Muḥammad Alguazir, written in Morocco under the patronage of Muley Zaydān but widely read in Tunisia.¹¹ Beyond language, and as in the case of the Sephardim, what stands out in these works is the memory of Spain and of all the culture of its Golden Age. *De la crehencia*, for example, combines moral principles with quotations from Quevedo and Garcilaso and fragments of Lope de Vega's dramatic and poetic works.¹² Likewise, Chapter 4 of the Third Treatise of *La certeza del camino* [The Truth of the Way] (Amsterdam, 1666) by Abraham Pereyra, a *converso* who returned to Judaism, is an almost exact copy of Fray Luis de Granada's *Guía de pecadores* [Guide for Sinners], Book Two, Chapter 17.¹³ It appears that *Aljamiado* was written in Spain before the conversions of 1500–1502 but that it disappeared rapidly in exile. Some scholars explain its disappearance, and the practice of writing in Spanish in the Maghreb, as an attempt to counter criticisms about the Moriscos' ignorance of Arabic; it may also have been an assertion of Hispanic identity, since the artistic, technical and intellectual aspects of Iberian culture proved to be a means of social advancement.¹⁴

A factor closely allied with the use of Iberian languages in exile is the issue of personal names; this too was a unifying force in both diasporas. We should bear in mind that first names and surnames, although they were transmitted

de los moriscos en Túnez," in *Mudéjares y moriscos. Cambios sociales y culturales, Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares), 2004, 449–464, esp. 458. The full manuscript has been edited by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes and Juan Carlos Villaverde, with an Introduction by Luce López-Baralt: *Tratado de los dos caminos, por un morisco refugiado en Túnez (Ms. S2 de la Colección Gayangos, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia)* Madrid-Oviedo: Insituto Universitario Menéndez Pidal, Universidad de Oviedo), 2005.

- 11 BNE, Madrid, ms. 9074. See Juan Penella, "Littérature morisque en espagnol en Tunisie," in *Recueil d'études sur les morisques*, 187–198, esp. 191; and Gerard A. Wiegiers, "Diplomatie et polémique anti-chrétienne: naissance et influence de l'oeuvre de Muḥammad Alguazir (vers 1021/1612)," in *Actes du Ve Symposium international d'Etudes morisques sur le Ve centenaire de la Chute de Grenade 1492–1992* (Zaghouan: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Informacion), 1993, II: 747–756. Note that Wiegiers believes the work to be directed toward Old Christians and to have formed part of a diplomatic project; see his contribution to this volume.
- 12 Jaime Oliver Asín, "Un morisco tunecino admirador de Lope. Estudios del Ms. S.2 de la Colección Gayangos," *Al-Andalus* 1 (1933), 409–450, esp. 438–449.
- 13 Jonas A. van Praag, "Almas en litigio," *Clavileño* 1 (1950), 14–26, esp. 19–20; and Henri Méchoulan, "Diego de Estella, une source espagnole de l'oeuvre d'Abraham Pereyra," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981), 178–187.
- 14 Penella, "Littérature," 189.

variably and sometimes illogically in the Iberian world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were essential pillars of one's consciousness of origin and therefore of membership in a widely dispersed collective entity. Within the *judeoconverso* population, which as we have seen was especially widely scattered, the two surnames may not be the same between siblings and are more likely to match the grandparents' than the parents'. Nonetheless some family surnames might survive, together with a Hebrew first name, if the *converso* converted to Judaism without breaking his link to the Peninsula or to the rest of his clan. The use of several aliases was a defense mechanism against the Inquisition, and also a tool employed by merchants settled outside the Peninsula so that they could travel to and within it and its colonies; such names crystallised a *converso* identity within the Sephardic diaspora. The Moriscos, beside adding the *nisba* "Andalusi," also tended to retain their Spanish surnames. Surnames based on regions or cities reinforced ties to one's native soil: for *conversos* these were often Portuguese, like Chaves, Almeida, Lamego and Monsanto, while Morisco surnames include Teruel/Tarwāl and Alicante in Tunisia, and Baessa/Baiza (Baeza) and Balensianu/Valensí (Valencia) in Morocco.¹⁵

Native soil also played a part in the exiles' new settlements, at least in the early generations: we know this from the so-called "Catalans" (many of them actually Valencians) of Grish el-Oued in Tunisia's Medjerda Valley and the well-known "Hornacheros" (from Hornachos, Extremadura) in Salé. Because exiled Moriscos were encouraged by the authorities to cluster in towns founded or revived by the new arrivals, we can also trace models of urban planning and architecture that go back to their regions of origin. In the neighborhoods of "Los andaluces" and "Los tagarinos" in Testour, for example, the minarets recall bell towers in Aragón or Toledo, the brick façades reflect Mudejar style, and "Spanish-style" bullfights were held, as the Trinitarian Francisco Ximénez recorded in 1724.¹⁶ That dense clustering was less typical of *judeoconversos*, although it can be detected in certain places: the San Ginés parish of Madrid in the early seventeenth century, for example, and other Spanish cities and ports. Outside the Peninsula the density was greater, as in Bayonne where the

15 Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, "Antroponimia morisca en Marruecos. Datos para su estudio," in *L'expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià. Actas del V Congrés internacional "380 aniversari de l'expulsió del moriscos"* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 351–360.

16 Georges Marçais, "Testour et sa grande mosquée. Contribution à l'étude des Andalous en Tunisie," in *Recueil d'études sur les morisques*, op. cit., 271–284, esp. 280–281; and Ahmed Saadaoui, *Testour du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle, histoire architecturale d'une ville morisque de Tunisie* (Tunis: Faculté de Lettres de La Manouba), 1996, 451–465.

conversos lived chiefly on the outskirts, in Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne or farther north in Peyrehorade, on the road to Dax. The *esprit de corps* that arose from a shared regional origin, however, is obvious both within Spain and in the rest of Europe. In the seventeenth century several clans of *conversos*, like the Montesinos-López Tellez, and important diaspora figures like Menasseh ben Israel, came from Vila Flôr, near Braganza, and “to be from Vila Flôr” became a visiting card among members of *la Nação*, both in Spain and in Amsterdam.

Beside the cultural and economic ties that bound the exiles to their homeland and to their coreligionists from Spain, there were also imaginative relationships: we must ask to what extent they thought of themselves as part of a global entity, whether the Judeo-Iberian *Nação* or the Jewish diaspora, the Morisco-Andalusi diaspora or the Islamic *umma*.

It does seem to be the case that the *conversos* were conscious of pertaining to the “people of the [Hebrew or Portuguese] nation,” the *Nação* with a capital *N* that defined the Western Sephardic diaspora. I do not know, on the other hand, if the Moriscos saw themselves as a group distinct from the rest of the Arab-Islamic world. It would be interesting to know the exact meaning and range of the term *nación* in certain writings by Moriscos: in the lost manuscript *Libro de la expulsión y salida de la nación de España y las causas de ella* [Book of the Nation’s Expulsion and Departure from Spain, and its Causes], supposedly by Ibrāhīm Taybilī; and in a letter written in Paris in the late 1630s by the Granadan Morisco (by then settled in Morocco) Aḥmad al-Ḥaḡarī, addressed to his compatriots living in Istanbul: “At that time things happened in that way, and today Tunis is the best harbour for those of [our] nation.”¹⁷

Several studies have pointed out that the Moriscos or Andalusis in exile, especially in the Maghreb, claimed a cultural specificity and even superiority, almost a kind of noble origin: they preferred endogamy and sought to distinguish themselves through their dress. As late as 1752 M. Poiron, in his *Mémoires concernans [sic] l’état présent du Royaume de Tunis* [Notes on the Present State of the Kingdom of Tunis], wrote that “as they consider their origin to be a type of nobility, they do not deign to intermarry with the rest.”¹⁸ We find the same *orgullo de linaje* [pride in lineage],¹⁹ a sort of “collective *hidalgo*-hood,” among *judeoconversos* and Sephardim, who saw themselves as different from and

17 “En aquel tiempo era de aquella manera y el día de oy Túnez es el mejor puerto para los de la naçión”: Bernabé Pons, “La literatura,” 452–453 and 461.

18 M. Poiron, *Mémoires concernans l’état présent du Royaume de Tunis* (Paris: Leroux), 1925, 13–14.

19 José Luis Lacave, “España y los judíos españoles,” *Revue des Études Juives* 144 (1985), 7–25, esp. 21–22.

superior to other Jews: the former because they thought themselves descended from the Jewish aristocracy expelled from Jerusalem, from the Maccabees, from the House of David or from the Ten Lost Tribes; the latter in their zeal to separate themselves clearly from the *tudescos* ["German" Jews] by insisting on the nobility and culture of the "Portuguese."²⁰

Family and religious ties reinforced Marrano identity, which was nourished more by conversations and narratives than by actual Jewish rites. These encounters helped to spread information about both ritual practices and news of the community on different scales (local, national and international), thus helping to integrate each individual member into the group. We know that the Moriscos followed contemporary politics closely and witnessed anxiously how the clash between Muslim and Christian powers evolved, especially where the Spanish Crown was concerned. As Mikel de Epalza noted, victories and defeats "affected them in person, because they showed their ties to the whole Islamic universe and its values; [the Moriscos] made these their own in the political sphere as well."²¹ As one case among many we can cite that of Úrsula de Mendoza, a Morisca from the Baza area who was reconciled by the Holy Office in Granada: according to a witness in June 1577, "the said Úrsula," on hearing about a naval victory of Don John of Austria (undoubtedly the Battle of Lepanto), "declared in Arabic to another Morisca, 'it has gone badly for us this year', meaning that it had gone badly for the Moors."²² Liberty and prosperity in the diaspora also encouraged the idea of flight. Amsterdam, the capital of the *Nação* in the seventeenth century – even more than the Italian cities – represented for *conversos* the promised land, both for the possibility of living openly as Jews and for the strength of the Dutch economy. *Conversos* were constantly leaving, sometimes in a well-planned fashion, sending money or a family member ahead of them to pave the way. Flight was no less common on the Morisco side, as revealed by the Inquisition's condemnation of those who tried to leave for North Africa: an *Auto de Fe* in Granada in February 1560 involved 19 such individuals, of whom four were already "absent," while 13 more were tried

20 Miram Bodian, "Men of the Nation: the Shaping of *Converso* Identity in Early Modern Europe," *Past and Present* 143 (1994), 48–76, and *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation. Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1997, 85–95.

21 "Les afectaban personalmente, porque manifestaban su relación con el conjunto del universo musulmán y con sus valores, que ellos hacían suyos, también en el campo político": Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre), 1992, 147.

22 "Havía dicho la dicha Úrsula a otra morisca, en algarabía, 'mal nos ha ydo este año', dando a entender que havia ydo mal a los moros": AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1953 (74), ed. García Fuentes, *Visitas*, 186.

in 1560, 24 in 1569, etc.²³ We should add those who joined Berber-Morisco corsair crews, seizing the occasion of attacks and incursions along the coast as a means of escape.

In these emotional ties to the diaspora, a fundamental role was played by prophetism and the messianic hopes that circulated on both sides of the Mediterranean and even in Northern Europe. Recent comparative studies, such as those by Mercedes García-Arenal,²⁴ have shown that ever since the fifteenth century these beliefs had crystallised around certain events (the disappearance of King Sebastian of Portugal in 1578) or characters (David Reubeni and Gonzalo Bandarra in the early sixteenth century, Sabbatai Zevi in the 1660s, etc.), producing figures who were common to Islam and Judaism, to the Moriscos and the Marranos. Sabbateanism, born in Palestine, was diffused through three Western centres where *judeoconvertos* were concentrated: Amsterdam, Livorno and Salé (where a central role was played by the Bueno de Mesquita family, originally from Vila Flôr).²⁵

To simplify, we might say that both groups entertained a concept of history that proceeded as follows: an initial cycle of suffering under Christian rule would end for the Marranos with the coming of the Messiah and for the Moriscos with the Expulsion. Then a saviour would arrive who might be a hidden ruler (like the Hidden or Shrouded King in Spain), an emperor of the last days (sometimes Boabdil, the last Sultan of Granada) or perhaps the Ottomans, who were to reconquer Spain. For both groups the king would impose his rule, Christianity would be vanquished at last, and thus all would be avenged and compensation given.²⁶ We should note that in both cases liberation would come from the outside, an idea found also during the War of the Alpujarras of 1568–1570: at that moment the destruction of Spain appeared imminent and the Moriscos wished to contribute to it. There is a clear current here of polemic against Christianity; there are common structural elements (hidden monarch, destruction/restoration) and even common sources, like the prophecies of

23 Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Universidades de Valencia-Granada-Zaragoza), 2006, 70.

24 E.g., Mercedes García-Arenal, “‘Un réconfort pour ceux qui sont dans l’attente’. Prophétie et millénarisme dans la Péninsule Ibérique et au Maghreb (XVI^e –XVII^e siècles),” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 220–224 (2003), 445–486.

25 Mercedes García-Arenal, “Les juifs portugais, le Maroc et les Dix Tribus perdues,” in *La Diaspora des ‘Nouveaux-Chrétiens’* (Paris-Lisbon: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian), 2004, 151–170.

26 Louis Cardaillac, “Le prophétisme, signe de l’identité morisque,” in *Religion, identité et sources documentaires sur les morisques andalous* (Tunis: Institut Supérieur de Documentation), 1984, I: 138–146, esp. 141.

Isidore of Seville (560–636), whose texts the Moriscos believed to have been falsified by Christians.²⁷

It is interesting that these two diasporic peoples, in an essentially similar way, claimed a specific role in the fate of Muslims and Jews in general based on their “captivity” and “suffering.” The Moriscos considered themselves a chosen people and the Marranos claimed descent from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, or else from the Lost Tribes that would be reunited at the End of Days. It is well known that this belief was intense in the Sephardic diaspora of the mid-seventeenth century, as shown by Menasseh ben Israel’s *The Hope of Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650) and the messianic claims of Sabbatai Zevi. These convictions continued into exile, as witnessed in letters written by exiles in Morocco to their relatives in Spain. Mercedes García-Arenal notes, for example, that a counsellor to Muley Zaydān, the Sultan whose wife was a Morisca born in Alcalá de Henares, had told his master that according to the prophecies it was he who would reconquer Spain. The idea of reconquest (which would be facilitated by a bridge across the Strait of Gibraltar) is also found, in strengthened form, within native messianic movements: see the figure of Ibn Abī Maḥallī in southern Morocco in the second decade of the seventeenth century.²⁸

Prophetism and messianism were supreme expressions of collective feeling for both Moriscos and Marranos, and raised the profile of each group within its respective *umma* or *Nação*. Together with other unifying factors we have discussed (language, surnames, architecture, etc.) prophetism and messianism show that both Morisco and *judeoconverso* exiles retained close cultural, economic and family ties to the Peninsula. We can therefore conclude that many of the elements that united *conversos* within their *Nação* could have characterized a Morisco diaspora made up of those who remained in Spain after the Expulsion. But we must still analyse how the émigrés judged their coreligionists in the Peninsula.

The Exiles and those Who Remained

The issue of how those who remained were perceived by the exiles involves the status of the populations who lived under Catholicism, or in “the lands of idolatry,” to use the Sephardi term. Were they considered coreligionists and members of a single people? What part did they play within family and economic networks?

27 Cardaillac, “Le prophétisme,” 143.

28 García-Arenal, “Un réconfort,” 470–473.

The generally recognised distinction between *conversos* and Moriscos – or rather between crypto-Judaizers or Marranos and Moriscos – rests on the doctrine of *taqiyya* (analyzed by among others Louis Cardaillac²⁹): a precautionary principle that permitted a person, up to a point, to conceal his Islamic faith when in a hostile environment. But recent historical scholarship has questioned the notion, which is based chiefly on the *fatwā* of 1504 by a Mufti of Fez, Aḥmad b. Ğum'a, copies of which (some of them in Aljamiado) circulated in Spain. The text, a reply to a query by a Morisco from Granada, explained how prayer could be replaced by a series of gestures, how ablutions could be performed by bathing in a river or in the sea or by rubbing one's hands against a wall, and how Muslims forced to drink wine or eat bacon could do so as long as they rejected the action "in their hearts." If we take the position that *taqiyya* did not exist, can we make the status of Moriscos in Spain approach that of *conversos*, whose right to membership in the *Nação* was questioned by many? In effect, rabbinical authorities in the Judeo-Iberian or Sephardic diaspora were very critical of the *conversos*: the work of Benzion Netanyahu,³⁰ based on readings of the *responsa* and diaspora texts, has shown how often doubt was cast on the good faith of Spanish crypto-Jews and their integration into the Jewish world. Naturally these criticisms need to be tempered, particularly for communities in the Western diaspora: they were created out of whole cloth by exiled *conversos* in Amsterdam, Livorno and Hamburg, where those like themselves were fully integrated into the diaspora.

In turning to an analysis of the Morisco diaspora we should, in my opinion, keep in mind and apply three aspects of the Jewish one. First, the fact that "new Jews" (Yosef Kaplan's term) thought that Judaizers in the Peninsula were members of the diaspora because they represented the quintessence of the Iberian character, which was in turn and specifically the greatest point of pride for members of the Western diaspora within the Jewish world. Second, the fact that Inquisitorial repression and the sacrifices made by *conversos* in the name of Judaism transformed them into glorified martyrs, central to diasporic memory and culture. We see this in the way that accounts of *Autos de Fe*, and ashes taken from the pyres of victims (especially after the Madrid *Auto de Fe* of 4 July

29 Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens, un affrontement polémique (1492–1640)* (Paris: Klincksieck), 1977, 87–90. See also Mercedes García-Arenal, "Taqiyya: Legal Dissimulation", special issue *Al-Qanṭara* 34-2 (2013).

30 Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain from the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research), 1966, and *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House), 1995.

1632), circulated among Jewish communities, and also in works like *Elogios que zelozos dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Nuñez Bernal, que fue quemado vivo sanctificando el Nombre de su Criador en Cordova a 3 de Mayo 5415* [Eulogies Dedicated by Believers to the Sacred Memory of Abraham Nuñez Bernal, who was Burned Alive While Blessing the Name of His Creator in Córdoba on 3 May 5415]: the texts were composed by the principal writers of the Judeo-Iberian community and then collected and published by Jahacob Bernal in Amsterdam in 1665. We should note that this same admiration for suffering for the sake of one's faith is found in the *fatwā* by the aforesaid Mufti of Fez. Third, the fact that *judeoconvertos* formed a front in the (theoretical) struggle by the diaspora to triumph in the face of Christianity, especially in dealing with the Habsburg Empire; this front justified, to an extent, the existence of a "rearguard," which was made up of the exile communities. Thus we find a former *judeoconverso* like Daniel Levi de Barrios (*alias* Miguel de Barrios) praising martyrs of the Inquisition in his *Gobierno Popular Judayco* [Jewish Popular Government] (Amsterdam 1684): "what most highly exalts the People of the Synagogue is the following Recollection of the Martyrs who were burned alive on different occasions and in different Cities of Spain because they defended the indivisible Unity of the eternal Lawgiver," and "these Martyrs are what justifies the Judaic masses, and they shine like stars with the light of the divine Sun."³¹ I believe this aspect to be much more strongly marked, or rather materialised, in the Morisco case; it would justify the promised and/or expected support of the Muslim powers in the event of a revolt or at the time of the Expulsions.

In both cases it is difficult to determine the exact position of the exiles vis-à-vis the converts who remained in Spain, and above all to know what was their legal status. For the Moriscos there is the additional problem of the rupture produced by the Expulsions of 1609–1614. We must ask ourselves if those who left Spain did have a particular view of those who remained behind voluntarily, either under the protection of local authorities like the Bishop of Tortosa in southern Catalonia, or by special statute (for example the noble families of

31 "Lo que mas engrandece el Pueblo Sinagoguico es la siguiente Memoria de los Martires que fueron quemados vivos en diferentes tiempos, y Ciudades de España por sanctificar la indivisa Unidad del eterno Legislador"; "Estos Martires son los que justifican a la multitud Judayca, y los que resplandecen como estrellas con la luz del divino Sol": London, British Library, c. 127 e. 18, fols. 42 and 46; also cited by Henri Méchoulan, "Los judíos de Ámsterdam y Spinoza," *Spinoza y España, Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Relación entre Spinoza y España* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha), 1994, 55. See also Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses. Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University), 2007.

Granada or the Mudéjares Antiguos from the Campo de Calatrava³²). Is it possible that the seven or eight thousand Moriscos who stayed behind (not counting children forcibly separated from their parents) were all Catholics, and that they broke all ties with the exiles? The answer appears to be negative. We know that the exiles continued to correspond with those who remained: an example is Luis Zapata of Granada, the *šayḥ* or *alguacil mayor* [chief bailiff] of the Moriscos in Tunisia, who belonged to a commercial network that linked Tunisia, Sicily, Spain and Provence (especially Avignon, where Moriscos named Rodrigo Zapata and Felipe de Padilla resided). His ties would explain a trip that he made to Marseille in February or March 1613, probably to claim *alguna hacienda* [some property].³³ There were intense exchanges of letters between the various points of the network: in some that were intercepted in Sicily in late May 1616, a scribe in Granada named Juan Calvo informed Rodrigo Zapata that the famous Miguel de Luna had died.³⁴

The legal status of the Peninsular Moriscos can be approached through the way in which they were perceived on their arrival in the Maghreb. The Ottomans seem to have considered the expelled Moriscos to be non-Arab Muslims, thus establishing a linguistic and cultural split between them and their Andalusí ancestors (although the term “Andalusí” continued to be applied to them). Therefore the Moriscos were immediately integrated into the system of “nations” as a singular, autonomous ethnic and religious community; the Ottomans further, for political and military reasons, settled communities of Moriscos as buffers in frontier zones like Anatolia. Status as a nation, together with the existence of all-Morisco towns like Zaghuan and Testour in Tunisia and Salé in Morocco, encouraged the Moriscos’ cultural and fiscal unity; their leaders, like Luis Zapata and later Mustafá de Cárdenas in Tunisia, were representatives of the ruling government (with the title *šayḥ al-Andalus*) but were Moriscos themselves. They were also allowed to form their own military units, as in the army of the Moroccan Sultan Aḥmad al-Manšūr.

32 Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV–XVIII). Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert), 2007, and Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, “Los que se quedaron. Significado e influencia de los moriscos conversos que no siguieron el exilio,” in *L’Expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya), 1994, 173–182.

33 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29–2 (2008), 317–318 and 325.

34 Bernard Vincent, “Les études morisques: acquis et perspectives,” in *Cartas de La Goleta 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional “Los Moriscos y Túnez,”* (Tunis: Embajada de España), 2009, 27–38, esp. 36–37. We thank Bernard Vincent for providing this reference.

As for the *judeoconversos*, the manner of their integration into Judeo-Iberian communities in exile is revealing. Although we do not know the exact nature of the rites that they had to undergo on arriving, there is reason to suppose that they resembled those imposed on *goyim* [*Gentiles* who had no previous tie to Judaism]: circumcision and a change of name for men, and for women the *tevilah* [ritual bath] normally prescribed after a period of impurity (menstruation, childbirth, etc.). *Conversos* were also required to retake their marriage vows, even if they had been sworn between two Marranos in the presence of Marrano witnesses. This practice can be explained by the dispersion of families and the separation of couples: a number of diaspora communities had to resolve the problem of the *agunot*, [“temporary” widows], whose husbands had disappeared but who could not provide evidence of their deaths. *Judeoconversos* were distinguished from *Gentiles* in the proofs that Marranos had to present in order to establish their identity: these were usually testimonies or documents showing that they or their families had been pursued by the Inquisition. Here we have yet another demonstration of how Inquisitorial repression served to reinforce the diaspora. In the exile communities the Iberian *conversos* incited great interest, as is confirmed by the texts and preachers that the diaspora sent to them.

The same circulation of information that we note among *conversos* within Spain occurred as well among those who had departed. In 1661, Josef García de León told the Inquisitors of his conversations with Sephardim in Amsterdam: “You should be aware that those of Amsterdam, Bordeaux and Livorno know the Jews of Spain better than do those who are here, through correspondence and communications and because most of them have been to Spain and know what happens here”; then he added that “they make a particular effort to learn about those who are observant in Spain and elsewhere.”³⁵ Letters are significant not only for what they contain (which may touch on religious matters) but also as objects that, as they pass from hand to hand, help to construct diasporic networks.

A crucial difference between the two groups under study has to do with the circulation of texts. The Marranos had no real access to religious texts until at least the mid-seventeenth century, whereas the Moriscos had liturgical volumes ready to hand. Traditional scholarship limited the Moriscos’ religious knowledge essentially to oral transmission, but recent studies have shown that

35 “Es de saver que mas bien conoçen los de Absterdam, Burdeos y Livorno a los Judios de España, que los mismos que estan por aca, por las corespondençias, por las comunicaçiones, y porque los más fueron de España y sabían lo que por acá pasa”; “haçen estudio particular en saver de los observantes de España y de otras partes”: AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1129, fols. 607r–v and 614r.

they were owners of books and even sometimes of complete libraries.³⁶ They could also receive anti-Christian polemics from the Maghreb: before the Expulsion, although they read chiefly Aljamiado texts, they also drew on traditional Arabic polemics such as *Las demandas de unos judíos a Muḥammad* [Questions Posed by Jews to Muḥammad], which exists in twelve versions in Aljamiado, one in Latin-letter Spanish, and one in Arabic.³⁷ In the Maghreb, on the other hand, Morisco polemics include references to the Scriptures and to Golden Age literature. Such was not the case with the Marranos, who had only the Christian Bible on which to base their beliefs and rituals until books from diaspora presses began to reach Spain and Portugal in the seventeenth century. It is well known that in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Livorno and elsewhere there were editors of religious texts in Spanish and Portuguese, beginning with the Ferrara Bible in 1553; these were destined for *conversos* newly returned to Judaism who did not know Hebrew and would not expect to learn it. These works are striking for their didactic intent and for the simplicity with which they seek to explain the principal rites of the Jewish religious calendar. An example is Rabbi Ishac Atias's *Thesoro de Preceptos* [Treasury of Precepts] referred to above. In the prologue its author explains words and abbreviations clearly, while at the end he includes tables that allow the volume to be used as a reference work rather than to be read straight through. It is reasonable to suppose that such books, which were full of practical details and appeared in ever-smaller formats (16°, 32°) that were compact and easy to hide, were directed equally to *conversos* in France and in the Iberian Peninsula.³⁸ Menasseh ben Israel, in his *Orden de las oraciones del mes* [Order of Worship for Each Month] edited in Amsterdam in 1636, makes a significant observation in this regard:

Everything that is obligatory is contained in this volume, and with such clarity in the notes that not only those who are experienced, but even more so those who are outside the guild can take advantage of it by consulting it only once and learning its order.³⁹

36 Luce López-Baralt, *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España* (Madrid: Trotta), 2009.

37 L.P. Harvey, "Textes de littérature religieuse des moriscos tunisiens," in *Recueil d'études sur les morisques*, 199–204, esp. 200.

38 See Carsten L. Wilke, "Un judaïsme clandestin dans la France du XVII^e siècle. Un rite au rythme de l'imprimerie," in *Transmission et passages en monde juif* (Paris: Publisud), 1997, 281–311, esp. 295–297.

39 "Que todo lo obligatorio [...] se contiene en este volumen, y con tanta claridad en las notas, que no solamente los que estan acostumbrados, con gran facilidad se podrán

The intent is even more obvious in the tables or calendars that often came at the end of such volumes or were published separately, containing the dates of the main Jewish holidays as they occur in the Christian calendar – an aid that would be wholly unnecessary in Jewish communities that were centered around a synagogue. The tables were much more needed “outside the guild,” and in fact were occasionally mentioned in Inquisition documents, proving that they reached the Iberian kingdoms and circulated there. Manuel Sarmiento, *alias* Pedro Rodríguez, 22 years old and a resident of Valdepeñas in Ciudad Real, declared in December 1639 that he had seen “a calendar in numbers that had noted on it all the holidays of the Law of Moses” in the hands of his uncle Santiago Luis, from Málaga; when Manuel asked “when the great day of fasting fell this year,” Santiago was able to reply, “on 8 November.”⁴⁰ That calendar could have been the calculating tool published in Amsterdam in 1638 by Judah Machabeu under the title *Calendario de las fiestas que celebran los Hebreos...de 5398 hasta 5423* [Calendar of the Feasts Celebrated by the Hebrews...from 5398 to 5423], which figures in the Appendix to his *Orden de oraciones del mes con los ayunos del solo [sic] y congregacion y pascuas* [Order of Worship for Each Month with the Personal and Public Fast Days and the Pilgrim Festivals] (5397/1636–1637).⁴¹

We must always consider the problem of reception: that is, what benefit Marranos and Moriscos might have derived from these texts, since in general they lacked the background knowledge needed to understand their contents. It is possible that better-informed individuals who visited Muslim or Jewish communities might have helped to equip them with the intellectual tools for grasping their meaning, at least in part. In the absence of official preachers (the same lack faced by French Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685), Jewish businessmen who travelled between Northern Europe and Italy, for the *conversos*, and captives and renegades who returned to Spain, for the Moriscos, may have acted as cultural vectors or, in Inquisition parlance, “dogmatists.” Bernard Vincent, among others, has studied the presence in Inquisition Spain of *moros*, especially slaves: he cites the example of Mula (Murcia), where

aprovechar, más aun los que están fuera del gremio, haziendo una sola experiencia y conociendo el orden”: *Orden de las oraciones del mes, con lo mas necessario y obligatorio de las tres fiestas del año. Como tambien Lo que toca a los ayunos, Hanucah, y Purim: con sus advertencias y notas para mas facilidad, y clareza* (Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel, first of Hesvan 5397 [1636]), BNE, R. 27290, fol. 548.

40 “Un calendario en guarismo en que tiene sentadas todas las fiestas de la ley de Moysen”; “quando caía el día de el ayuno grande este presente año”; “que a ocho de noviembre.”

41 AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 163 (14), fol. 2v: cited by Wilke, “Un judaïsme,” 295 and 297.

in around 1665 a group of unbaptized Muslims resided in a single neighborhood. Further instances occurred in the city of Murcia, where in 1690 there were over forty unbaptized Muslims, half of them slaves and most born in Oran and Tlemcen; and in Cartagena, where in 1695 a shop was being used as a mosque. Vincent sees the growth of religious missions in the second half of the seventeenth century as further proof that crypto-Muslim centres existed in Spain: these missions included Francisco Poch's in Barcelona in 1676 and 1679–1683, Tirso González de Santalla and Gabriel Guillén's in Andalusia in 1669–1679, and Juan de Almarza's in Murcia: the latter wrote a *Método que se debe guardar en la conversión de los moros esclavos a nuestra Santa Fe con algunas industrias para lograr este fruto* [Method to be Followed in the Conversion of Moorish Slaves to our Holy Faith, with some Techniques to Achieve that End].⁴² There is no doubt that the presence of these slaves, whatever its real significance, had an impact among the Moriscos. As to the Jewish world, I have analyzed in one of my studies the motives and circumstances of the arrival of Jews who were *judíos de señal* [openly acknowledged] or *judíos de permiso* [authorised] and, above all, their effect among the *judeoconversos*. Although their numbers were few throughout the Peninsula they were sufficient – given their “immunity” before the Holy Office – to cause anxiety among the Inquisitors. Thus the Inquisition in Seville, in a letter of 19 June 1663, showed its unease about reports from commissioners in the ports of Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María and Tarifa that described how

some true Jews (*Judíos de nación*) have disembarked who come to these kingdoms under pretext of wishing to become Christians; and others come to them without that motive, but rather for commerce; and in neither case do they have permission, [...] so that it seems necessary that the tribunal apply some remedy to the disturbance that could result.⁴³

The advantage for the *conversos* was that many of these visitors were former Marranos who realized the need for concealment and could adapt their

42 Bernard Vincent, “Musulmans et conversion en Espagne au XVI^e siècle,” in *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose), 2001, 193–205.

43 “Desembarcado algunos Judíos de nación que vienen a estos reynos con pretexto de querer ser cristianos y otros que sin este pretexto sino el de comerciar se pasan a ellos y unos y otros sin licencia [...] por lo qual parece preciso que el tribunal ponga algun remedio por el escandalo que puede seguirse”: AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 2996, n.f. See Natalia Muchnik, “La inquisición española y los judíos de ‘nación y profesión’ en Europa (siglo 17),” in *Inquisição Portuguesa: Tempo, Razão e Circunstância* (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa), 2007, 125–144.

teachings to a Spanish audience. Such was the case of Manuel Díaz Pimentel, a “Portuguese” (i.e., Judeo-Iberian) aged 34 years, who had converted to Judaism in Pisa or in Livorno, where he then lived. In 1648–1649 he spent four or five months in Andújar (Jaén) and held long conversations with Judaizers in the town; when he explained the rituals that the Jews of Italy followed he was giving them the tools to adapt those practices without incurring risk. For example, “To eat a partridge that has been shot with a harquebus in Spain, it must be roasted and smeared with oil on the inside, for he said that this would make up for its not having had its throat slit.”⁴⁴ Like other travellers from the diaspora, Manuel also brought news of relatives and friends; he thereby strengthened the Spaniards’ ties to the exiles, and reinforced their membership in the *Nação* and the oneness of the whole community.

As we consider the attitudes of the exiles it is important to remember that some Moriscos, in spite of the relative freedom that the Maghreb offered, chose to return to Spain (or to take refuge in a Spanish garrison town). Such returns occurred among *judeoconversos* also, and dramatise the problems of reception and integration that the exiles encountered. At the same time they betray an attachment to the native country: Moriscos saw it, if not as a homeland, at least as the land of their origin, so often mythified in the messianic imagination.

The exiles’ affection for Spain, in spite of their hostility to the Inquisition, cannot be doubted. It is often mentioned that Moriscos, in a symbolic gesture, took the keys of their houses with them when they were expelled, and later passed them on to their children; and also that at the time of the Expulsion there were clusters of Moriscos around Ceuta and Tangier who wished to return secretly to Spain. The Morisco Ricote, in *Don Quixote* II:54, expresses this wish in his famous lament:

No matter where we are we weep for Spain [...] our native country [...] and the greatest desire in almost all of us is to return to Spain; most of those, and there are many of them, who know the language as well as I do, abandon their wives and children and return.⁴⁵

44 “Para comer la perdiz siendo muerta al alcabuzazo en España ha de ser asada y untada con açeyte por de dentro porque deste modo dijo que se suplía el no estar degollada”: AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1112, fol. 31r.

45 “Doquiera que estamos lloramos por España [...] nuestra patria natural [...] es el deseo tan grande que casi todos tenemos de volver a España que los de aquellos – y son muchos – que saben la lengua como yo, se vuelven a ella”: Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: HarperCollins), 2003, 813. See also “La presencia morisca en España después de la expulsión,” in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent,

This attitude is confirmed by the persistence of Iberian culture in the Maghreb, which we have already noted. We find the same phenomenon among *judeo-conversos*: in the works of authors like Miguel de Barrios in Amsterdam and Antonio Enríquez Gómez in Rouen, in dedications of books to members of the Spanish and Portuguese nobility, etc.

The mythification of Spain is reflected even more clearly in Jews born in the diaspora who decided to enter the country in order to convert to Christianity, and who appeared voluntarily before the Holy Office: in them the wish to travel to Spain, whose image had been passed down to them by their parents, was often stronger than their supposed desire for conversion. Still, it is difficult to distinguish in the case of these “new Jews” how much of their motivation was economic (because of problems of survival in diaspora communities) and how much was true nostalgia for the land of their origin. It is often unclear also whether a true “return” was involved or merely a visit of some length, perhaps in order to conduct business. There is likewise little information about the return of exiled Moriscos, although they are mentioned from time to time. Some came back in order to foment a revolt, like a certain Luis Alboacén from Almuñecar (Granada) who had settled in Algeria, returned to Valencia with a group of renegades, and tried – according to Inquisition sources, of course – to incite mutiny among the Moriscos; arrested by the Holy Office, he was burned at the stake in the *Auto de Fe* celebrated in Granada on 23 October 1562.⁴⁶ Another case was that of the Morisco Alonso Rufián, a resident of Pinillos who crossed to North Africa, where he lived as a Muslim: “hearing that the Moriscos of this kingdom had risen up against the Christian religion and against His Majesty, he came from Barbary to this kingdom with other Moors who brought powder and weapons, and joined the rebellious Moors.” He was condemned to the galleys in the *Auto de Fe* held in Granada on 18 March 1571.⁴⁷ At the time of the Expulsion there seem to have been some attempts at return by groups leaving from Algiers. The Marquis of Caracena wrote to Philip III in November 1610, informing him that he had seen near the coast of Valencia a ship “with five hundred Moors from Castile, who were forcing the Captain to return them to

Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría (Madrid: Revista de Occidente), 1978, 247–266.

46 José María García Fuentes, *La Inquisición en Granada en el Siglo XVI. Fuentes para su estudio* (Granada: Universidad), 1981, 43.

47 “Entendiendo que los moriscos de este reyno eran levantados contra la religión cristiana y su Magestad se vino desde Berbería a este reyno con otros moros que trayan polvora y armas y se junto con los moros levantados”: AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1953, ed. García Fuentes, *La Inquisición*, 104.

Spain where they would prefer to be enslaved rather than go to Barbary.”⁴⁸ Bernard Vincent has suggested that there was a continual current of migration from North Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; that would explain why, for example, 27 of the 58 Moriscos condemned by the Inquisition in Murcia between 1611 and 1632 had come from Oran.⁴⁹

We conclude from this overview of the relations between *conversos* in Spain and their exiled coreligionists, and of the factors that tended to unite them, that they show significant similarities to the Moriscos. We are now faced with the following question: What links were forged in exile between these two groups who so often resembled each other? Did the Morisco diaspora develop a structure similar to that of the *Nação*?

The Morisco Diaspora and the *Nação*

In the history of Moriscos and *conversos* in exile we find a few individuals who moved continually across the frontier between the two groups. One famous case is that of Alfonso López, a Morisco born in Aragón in 1572, who settled in France (perhaps before the Expulsion) in order to receive his exiled coreligionists: in the spring of 1611 he presented himself in Marseille as the representative of the Aragonese Moriscos. By profession both a silversmith and a moneylender, he was closely allied with the Concinis' Jewish doctor and eventually became the agent or “creature” of Richelieu; he gained vast wealth and rose to the position of Councillor of State in 1638. An interesting fact about this surprising figure is that he was believed in his own time, and sometimes by later historians, to be of *judeoconverso* origin: Richelieu called him, ironically, a “Hebrew gentleman” in a letter to Mazarin in 1642. López himself was constantly playing a double game, assuming one or the other of his two identities by turns: he tells in his *Mémoire sur le Havre* of having welcomed *converso* Portuguese businessmen to France.⁵⁰ And in fact the closeness of the two

48 “Con quinientos moros de los de Castilla que forçavan el Maestre los bolviesse a España donde querían ser esclavos y no yr a Berbería”: AGS, Estado, Leg. 226; cited in Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589–1839: una sociedad española en la frontera de Berbería* (Madrid: CSIC), 2000, 307 n. 384.

49 Vincent, “Musulmans,” 195–196; Juan Blázquez Miguel, *El tribunal de la Inquisición de Murcia* (Murcia: Academia Alfonso el Sabio), 1986, 267 ff.

50 Françoise Hildesheimer, “Une créature de Richelieu: Alphonse Lopez, le ‘Seigneur Hebreo,’” in *Les Juifs au regard de l’histoire. Mélanges en l’honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz* (Paris: Picard), 1985, 293–299. And in this volume, the contribution of El Alaoui.

groups in Spain became even greater in exile. Within their overall relationship we may distinguish certain special moments and spaces of meeting and contact.

Moments of meeting are probably the most difficult to record precisely, since contacts within the Peninsula were in general not interrupted by exile: the two groups shared their status as religious and cultural minorities and their ties to the homeland and above all to Iberian culture, all of which were fertile ground for mutual attraction. Their proximity was sometimes made manifest by certain individuals, both in relation to the countries that received them and within their respective communities.⁵¹ See, for example, the case of the Morisco Hamet Mušrif who, in order to convince Henry IV to help the Spanish Moriscos, suggested that they would be followed into France by members “of the Law of Moses,” many of them prosperous businessmen, who would then settle there. Fernando Alvares Melo (*alias* David Abenatar Melo), a *judeoconverso* from Lisbon, had converted in Amsterdam in 1613; in his dedication to the *150 Psalmos de David* published in Spanish in Hamburg in 1626, addressed “to the Blessed Company of Israel and Judaism scattered throughout the world in this long captivity,” he lamented that

within her [Spain, NM], for our sins, our fathers did not teach us the holy tongue and allowed it to be lost, so that not a single word of it is spoken there. It was otherwise for the Moriscos who lived there, for until the year 603 [*sic*, for (1)609] in which they left, they did not let their children leave home before teaching them their language and the Qur’ān as I saw and experienced in many Spanish cities, Andalusia, Granada, kingdom of Murcia, Aragón [...]. And if you tell me that the Inquisition was the reason for all this, I will reply that it was the same for the Moors and even worse.⁵²

51 This concept and the examples that follow may be found in Stuczynski, “Two Minorities,” 135.

52 “Pues en ella [España] por nuestros pecados no nos enseñaron nuestros padres la lengua santa y la dexaron perder, de suerte que ni una palabra se abla allá della. Bien diferente de los moriscos que en ella estuvieron, pues hasta el anho de 603 [*sic*, (1)609] que salieron, no dexavan salir sus hijos de caza hasta enseñarles su lengua y alcorán, como yo vide y experimenté en muchas ciudades de Espanha, Andaluzía, Granada, Reino de Murçia, Aragón [...] Y si me dixeran algunos que la iniquiçión aya sido la causa desto, le responderé que para los moros era también común y aún peor para ellos”: Dedication by David Abenatar Melo, *Los CL Psalmos de David en lengua española, en varias rimas* (Franquaforte [i.e., Hamburg], 5386 [1626]); ed. Herman Prinz Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian: Fernão Álvares Melo (1569–1632)* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian-Centro Cultural Português), 1982, 293.

This reciprocal effect is at its clearest at the moment of greatest contact between the two groups, the Moriscos' Expulsion. It is well known that, almost as soon as the measure was decreed, *converso* men of business offered to convey the Moriscos' goods and property – jewels, for instance – out of Spain so as to avoid the royal agents.⁵³ They could rely on their international networks, particularly in France, where they had representatives in Saint Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Marseille, etc. – these charged a high interest, of course (20% to 30% of the value of the goods). Among *conversos* who travelled to Morisco towns like Almagro and Daimiel were prominent persons such as the purveyor Juan Núñez Saravia.⁵⁴

There was, however, a limited number of spaces in which the two groups had good opportunities for meeting. The most important of these, in my opinion, were Spain, the ports and cities of Southern France, and of course North Africa (where the Spanish garrison towns should be mentioned as well).

It is curious that relations among *judeoconversos*, Marranos and Moriscos within Spain have been so little studied. There are several barriers to such analysis: a lack of non-Inquisitorial sources (and even those from the Inquisition are scarce); a discourse contaminated by stigmas that reduce both *conversos* and Moriscos to stereotypes; the attribution of one group's traits to the other, etc. It is reasonable to suppose that the groups maintained mutual relations, just as each did with Old Christians (in spite of the contrary image that Inquisition documents suggest). Certain pursuits could lead to professional relationships, like the silk trade in eastern Spain or in interior towns such as Pastrana: in the latter, "Portuguese" merchants who arrived in the late sixteenth century specialised in buying and selling Morisco fabrics up until the Expulsion. Later they took up textile manufacture to the point of making it their monopoly, having occupied the former Morisco neighborhood.⁵⁵ It is difficult to determine, however, if solidarity between the groups existed in the face of their common social exclusion and Inquisitorial repression. How are we to interpret, for instance, the words of Alonso Herreros, a Morisco from Comares,

53 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *Un hombre en tres mundos. Samuel Pallache, un judío marroquí en la Europa protestante y la católica* (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 2006, 100 [English translation: *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University), 2003, 53–54].

54 Jesús Carrasco Velázquez, "Contrabando, moneda y espionaje (el negocio del vellón: 1606–1620)," *Hispania*, 57/3, 197 (1997), 1081–1105; and Bernabé Pons, "Notas," 307–332, esp. 307–313.

55 Erika Puentes Quesada, "Un linaje 'portugués' en Pastrana. La familia de sederos de Simón Muñoz," *Manuscrits* 10 (1992), 157–182, esp. 157–164.

who said in 1568 “that God would repay the good deeds that the Moors and the Jews performed”⁵⁶?

The fact is that we find signs of personal and doctrinal attraction but also of repulsion, in addition to a changing panorama of alliances and estrangements as sociopolitical factors dictated. There are some cases of apparent syncretism, like that of the Morisca Catalina Mora from Quintanar: she kept a candle lit on Friday nights, did not cook on Saturdays, and worked on Sundays, following (she said) the Law of Moses. Likewise the Morisco Juan Ortuvia from Deza, who in 1569 was following Mosaic prescriptions on fasting.⁵⁷ We also know of instances in which Judaizers were willing to eat meat prepared by Moriscos because it was slaughtered in the same fashion as their own.⁵⁸ But all these cases seem to have been unusual. The field remains open for research into cultural exchanges, which may have been more or less voluntary, between the two groups, and also into the Inquisitorial scrutiny that classified certain common practices according to the ancestry of the accused.⁵⁹

Outside Spain, as we have mentioned, the most active points of contact were ports and cities in the South of France. But it is well known that aside from Marseille and Toulon, the ports to which most Moriscos arrived in order to take ship to the Maghreb, other regions also received groups of Moriscos, some of whom were still present in the 1660s. We find them in Provence employed in cultivating silkworms and making roof tiles, and also in Guyenne and Béarn; many of these had taken refuge there in the course of the sixteenth century thanks to their relations with French Protestants. A certain Lorenzo de Baessa, from Fuentes in Andalusia, managed to become a French citizen in Marseille in 1643, declaring that he had lived there for 33 years.⁶⁰ There were also clusters in Normandy, especially in Rouen, and in Bordeaux, where Moriscos left traces in local archives: in 1629 twenty-two of them were paid for having cleaned out the water-tank called “of the red hat.” There are similar mentions in Biarritz, where some Morisco potters had settled, in Bayonne, and possibly in Saint Jean de Luz, whose governor travelled to the frontier in 1610 to

56 “Que Dios pagaría las buenas obras que hiziesen los moros y los judíos”: García Fuentes, *Visitas*, 121.

57 ADC, Legajos 277 (3830) and 246 (3306), cited by Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos: Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo XXI), 1978, 113. The same examples occur in Stuczynski, “Two Minorities,” 137.

58 Stuczynski, “Two Minorities.”

59 García-Arenal, “Religious,” 904.

60 Pierre Santoni, “Le passage des morisques en Provence,” *Provence Historique* 46–185 (1996), 333–383, esp. 377.

urge the expelled Moriscos to convert to the Catholic faith and remain in the region. The Morisco presence in France was still felt in 1668: Father Gourdan, a Jesuit, wrote to Colbert from Marseille on 16 November of that year, complaining that “the Moriscos of France, who are perfectly Francophone, constitute ‘a sort of republic’ within the kingdom and, when they marry young Frenchwomen, distance them from the Christian faith.”⁶¹ In those same port cities – Bayonne, Bordeaux, Saint Jean de Luz, Rouen – there lived at the same time important communities of *judeoconversos*, most of them Judaizers. France had been welcoming them since the early sixteenth century; they settled there, rather than travelling on to Antwerp or Italy, because the French monarchy was offering favorable conditions. The patents of 1550 had allowed twenty of them to settle and trade freely in France, and those privileges would be extended in 1574, 1656 and 1723. Several communities were formed in this way and continued to grow, in the very same cities where Moriscos had settled. In the 1630s there were some 22 families in Rouen, 40 in Bordeaux and over 60 in Bayonne. It is impossible that there should not have been some kind of contact between the Morisco and *judeoconverso* populations in France, both of them holding minority status and united by their history and, above all, by their Hispanic language and culture. One witness was Aḥmad al-Ḥaḡarī, who dedicated an entire chapter of his *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ‘alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* [The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels] to his disputations with *conversos* and Sephardim in France and Flanders in 1611–1613.⁶²

The common presence of *conversos* or Sephardim and Moriscos is even more prominent in the Maghreb. We should recall that in the chief Maghrebi port cities like Salé, Tunis and Tetouan, Morisco and Sephardic populations coexisted and shared their Iberian culture, their “foreignness” in the societies that received them, their involvement in redeeming captives, their relations with corsair activity, and their posts as interpreters and diplomats.⁶³ Similarly the Spanish coastal garrison towns, and especially Oran before the expulsion of the Jews in 1669, could be spaces that favored close encounters. In their case the problem is to distinguish “new Jews” of *converso* origin from Iberian Jews descended from those expelled in 1492 (the *meḡorashim*, or *rūmiyyīn*

61 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Colbert; cited in Guy Turbet-Delof, “Documents sur la diaspora morisque en France au XVII^e siècle,” in *Religion, identité et sources documentaires sur les morisques andalous* (Tunis: Institut Supérieur de Documentation), 1984, I: 163–166, esp. 165.

62 Stuczynski, “Two Minorities,” 141–142.

63 Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, “Convivencia judeo-morisca en el exilio,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie IV: Historia Moderna, 6 (1993), 85–107, esp. 98–107.

[Europeans]). Some local peculiarities permit a finer analysis: the Jews of Livorno (called the *Grana* in Tunis to distinguish them from the local *Touansa*) wore Christian clothing in Algiers, unlike all the other Jews. The Livorno community, established by privileges granted by the Grand Dukes of Tuscany in 1547 and 1593, was of mainly *converso* origin; there is no doubt that the Livornesi who had settled in North Africa maintained close relations with the rest of the *Nação*. Their links to Moriscos were at first chiefly commercial, but there are later indications of mutual support: on 29 April 1619 we find a group of Andalusis testifying in favor of the Jewish merchant Luis Gómez de León and his colleague Isaac de Faro.⁶⁴

In conclusion, I wish to insist upon the potential of the Sephardic model for analyzing the totality of the Morisco diaspora. There is one heuristic axis that I consider fundamental: that of the degree of diasporic structuring. In this regard we can recall the strict hierarchisation of certain poles of the *Nação* that follow each other in time – Venice in the sixteenth century, Amsterdam and Livorno in the seventeenth, The Hague and London in the eighteenth – with secondary poles like Bayonne. Each metropolis sought to impose its influence on the rest of the diaspora, for instance with institutions like brotherhoods that provided dowries to orphaned and indigent young women; candidates for these were Jewish and *conversa* women from all over the diaspora. Venice founded its brotherhood in 1613, Amsterdam in 1615 and Livorno in 1644. Could there have been similar structures among the Moriscos? Might Tunis be a Morisco metropolis, as Amsterdam was for the Sephardim? And could Testour have acted as a regional pole, as a center of diffusion for texts in Spanish, among other things? These issues, in turn, raise questions about the relations among Morisco settlements on different levels.

64 Pierre Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie au XVII^e siècle. Inventaire des Archives du Consulat de France à Tunis* (Tunis: Imprimerie Aloccio) 1920–1930; Lionel Levy, *La nation juive portugaise. Livourne, Amsterdam, Tunis, 1591–1951* (Paris: L'Harmattan), 1999, 69–70; and Epalza, “Moriscos,” 150–186, esp. 171.

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